



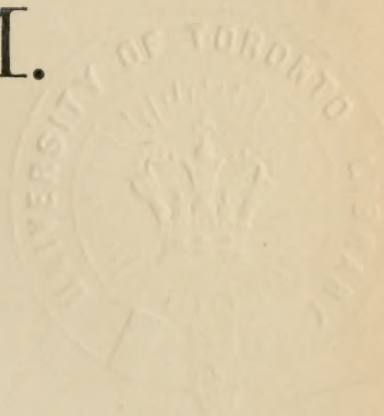
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Balloon in Warfare	H. HERGESELL 1
Isolation or Imperialism ?	JOHN R. PROCTER 14
Lessons of Our War Loan	FRANK A. VANDERLIP 27
Our Interest in the Next Congress of the Powers	TRUXTUN BEALE 37
The Significance of the Oregon Election	WALLACE McCAMANT 41
The Pilgrimage to the Klondyke and its Outcome	FREDERICK PALMER 45
The Course of Human Development	W. J. MCGEE 56
Democratic Art	OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS 66
The New Psychology and the Consulting Psychologist	JOSIAH ROYCE 80
Gold and Other Resources of the Far West	J. A. LATCHA 97
Our Public Grazing-Lands	FREDERICK V. COVILLE 108
The Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero	GUSTAV KOBBE 119
England and Russia in the Far East	GEOFFREY DRAGE 129
The Populist Conceit—The Free Coinage of Silver by the United States alone	JUSTIN S. MORRILL 136
About Play-Acting	MARK TWAIN 143
The Conduct of the Cubans in the Late War	O. O. HOWARD 152
Amateurs in War	A. MAURICE LOW 157
Our War with Spain, from the Political Point of View	HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST 167
The Dangers of Imperialism	WILLIAM MACDONALD 177
Bismarck	DIETRICH SCHÄFER 188
Tammany Past and Present	EDWARD CARY 200
A Decade of Magazine Literature	CHARLES H. EATON 211
Tramps and Hoboes	E. LAMAR BAILEY 217
Intercollegiate Debating	CECIL FREDERICK BACON 222
Industrial Investigations: Fallacious Statistics and Erroneous Generalizations	JACOB SCHOENHOF 229
The Byron Revival	WILLIAM P. TRENT 242
The Dreyfus Affair	YVES GUYOT 257
Shall We Keep the Philippines?	CHARLES DENBY 279
The Moral of the Cuban War	GOLDWIN SMITH 282
Naval Lessons of the War	FRED. T. JANE 294
Some Weak Places in our Pension System	S. N. CLARK 306
Germany and Great Britain	ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE 321
The Nicaragua Canal	WARNER MILLER 331
The New Panama Canal	H. L. ABBOT 343
Does College Education Pay?	JOHN CARLETON JONES 354
The Change in English Sentiment toward the United States	SIDNEY LOW 364
Hermann Sudermann	BENJAMIN W. WELLS 374

	PAGE
The Doctrine of Intervention	CHARLES DENBY 385-
Annexation and Universal Suffrage	J. B. McMASTER 393-
Lessons of the Recent Election	J. W. BABCOCK 403
Forest Fires	HENRY GANNETT 406
Political Activity in the Civil Service	PERRY S. HEATH 413
The Relation of Japan to Other Nations	D. W. STEVENS 427
The Educated Negro and Menial Pursuits	W. S. SCARBOROUGH 434
Journalism: its Rewards and its Opportunities	TRUMAN A. DE WEESE 441
Recent Construction of the Federal Anti-Trust Act	DAVID WILLCOX 452
Germany and Great Britain.—II	ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE 459
The Protest of the Pillager Indians	FRANCIS E. LEUPP 471
Sociological and Ethnical Sources of the Greatness of Venice	CESARE LOMBROSO 485
Cyrano de Bergerac	GUSTAV KOBBE 502
The Army of the United States	H. C. CORBIN 513
The Future Relations of Great Britain and the United States	CHARLES W. DILKE 521
Colonel Waring on the Sanitation of Havana	G. E. HILL 529
The Recent Election and its Results	JAMES KERR 547
Liquor Legislation in Norway	FRANCIS G. PEABODY 551
The Upper Regions of the Air	JOHN TROWERIDGE 561
San Francisco's Struggle for Good Government	FRANK W. BLACKMAR 567
The Race War in North Carolina	HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST 578
Are the Germans Still a Nation of Thinkers?	RUDOLF EUCKEN 592
Government and Society in the Klondyke	FREDERICK PALMER 603
Social Ethics in the Schools	JULIA E. BULKLEY 615
A Study in Nativities	BYRON C. MATHEWS 621
American Literature and American Nationality	HAMILTON W. MABIE 633
Why the Treaty Should be Ratified	CHARLES DENBY 641
The War and the Extension of Civilization	DAVID J. HILL 650-
The Increasing Supply of Gold	GEORGE E. ROBERTS 656
Good Roads and State Aid	OTTO DORNER 668
Some Japanese Ways	JOSEPH KING GOODRICH 673
Quarantine and Sanitation	WALTER WYMAN 684
Culture and Education	WILHELM REIN 693
Saxon and Latin Courts	WALTER S. LOGAN 703
The School System of Porto Rico	A. P. GARDNER 711
The American Seaman under the Law	WALTER MACARTHUR 718
Coaling-Stations for the Navy	R. B. BRADFORD 732
At the New York Theatres	JOHN GILMER SPEED 748
INDEX	761

The Forum

SEPTEMBER, 1898.

THE BALLOON IN WARFARE.

IN September, 1896, a great meteorological conference was held in Paris, at which nearly every important station throughout the world was represented. One of the most important subjects discussed at this conference was the utility of the balloon for scientific purposes. A mode of equipment for aeronautic expeditions was established; and an international commission was appointed to organize experiments, upon methods previously agreed upon, and with the aid of scientific instruments accurately tested and compared.

The work of this commission has been greatly facilitated by the fact, that the interest in aeronautics has steadily increased during recent decades; this interest being due, in great part, to the exigencies of modern warfare. German military operations have necessitated the expenditure of a considerable sum of money; and a part of this has been devoted to aeronautic investigation. In this way the researches of students have received a powerful stimulus; and much valuable information, both as regards equipment and technic, has been obtained. Indeed the ascensions which have taken place at Berlin have been conducted under the auspices of the Emperor himself, with the active coöperation of the officers attached to the Engineer Corps (Aeronautic Division) of the German army. It was in this branch of the service that the writer received his practical training in aeronautical science.

In other European countries, also, scientific investigation in aeronautics has received great encouragement at the hands of the military authorities. In St. Petersburg the aeronaut Stark is in close communica-

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tion with the Central Observatory; in Vienna the Meteorological Institute is actively supported by the Imperial Ministry of War; and similar gratifying coöperation exists also in Paris, Rome, Strasburg, and several other cities. Indeed, as already intimated, the entire development of aeronautical science may be traced in great part to the demands of modern warfare. An article devoted to recent achievements in this domain must, therefore, of necessity, emphasize the military side of the question.

The first troop of military aeronauts in Europe was called into being toward the close of the last century, when the young French Republic, striving single-handed against the combined forces of all Europe, was compelled to tax its ingenuity to the utmost in order to cope successfully with its enemies.

In August, 1793, the chemist Guyton de Morveau succeeded in inducing the French Government to provide for a series of aeronautic experiments in order that balloons might be eventually utilized for military purposes. Owing to the success of these experiments, the National Convention of France, in October of the same year, organized a company of military aeronauts, with orders to report at once for active service to Gen. Jourdan of L'Armée du Nord. The promoter of these enterprises, De Morveau, was at first confronted by great obstacles. At that time it was almost impossible to procure sulphuric acid in France; consequently the hydrogen necessary to the inflation of the balloon had to be laboriously manufactured by passing steam over iron filings,—a method invented shortly before by Lavoisier. In order to generate a sufficient quantity of gas in this manner, it was necessary to build a large number of ovens in the open field,—a very laborious and costly proceeding;—and it was undoubtedly the great expense thus involved that, within a few years, arrested the development of the science. But the achievements of this first French troop of aerial navigators are memorable by reason of the great difficulties encountered.

The balloons of that period were made of oiled pongee silk, varnished, and woven so closely as to admit of a very high pressure of gas. At present, a captive balloon requires refilling after about eight days. At the time of which I write, however, balloons sometimes remained in use for months without requiring to be recharged.

As the balloon always remained inflated, its transportation was a matter of extreme difficulty. In this respect, the great achievements of Coutelle are worthy of notice, as the following instance will show: When Gen. Jourdan abandoned the siege of Maubeuge, and decided to invest

Charleroi, Coutelle, with an inflated balloon, marched thither, a distance of forty-five kilometres, at night, and in the face of the opposing army. This achievement aroused the admiration even of the enemy.

Owing to our meagre sources of information with regard to methods of warfare in the last century, we cannot form an idea of the military value of the balloon for purposes of reconnaissance. We know, however, that much valuable information regarding the operations of the opposing force was obtained by aeronauts at the capitulation of Charleroi, as well as at the battle of Fleurens, where a staff officer took observations from a balloon which remained aloft for several hours. Undoubtedly also this new method of reconnaissance did not fail of its moral effect upon the enemy.

On June 23, 1794, a new company of aeronauts was formed by the Government, and in October, 1795, the *École nationale aerostatique* was founded at Meudon. We possess but little information concerning the achievements of these two companies during the succeeding years. We know that the first company was attached to the army of the Sambre and the Meuse under Gen. Jourdan, and that it fell into the hands of the enemy at Würzburg. The second company operated with the Army of the Rhine; and it was first employed at the siege of Mayence. It then accompanied Moreau across the Rhine, and proceeded with him as far as Donauwörth. Here the last ascension was made, as the materials for refilling the balloon could not be obtained in the enemy's country. When Napoleon planned his Egyptian campaign this troop of aeronauts, under the leadership of Coutelle, was reorganized. The troop could not operate, however, as the English had seized the transport-ship which was to convey the balloon-material to Egypt. In the following year both companies of aeronauts were disbanded, and the school at Meudon was closed. From this time until 1870 aerial navigation for military purposes was entirely suspended.

The revival of the science of aeronautics dates from the Franco-Prussian war. Paris, hemmed in on all sides, and cut off entirely from the outer world, sought to reestablish communication with the provinces, and to this end was compelled to employ the balloon. Rampon, then Postmaster of Paris, organized a complete system of aerial communication; and no fewer than sixty-four balloons were despatched during the siege. These balloons carried in all one hundred and fifty-two passengers, more than four million letters, and several hundred portfolios. The voyage of Gambetta was a memorable one. Desirous of reaching the provinces in order that he might complete arrangements for the national

defence, yet unable to break through the ranks of the beleaguering army, he was at last compelled to make his escape from Paris in a balloon.

Some of the balloons sent out during the siege were lost in the ocean; others were captured by the enemy, who soon became expert in the art; and a few met with adventures of the most singular nature. Worthy of mention in the latter regard is the voyage of the aeronauts Rotier and Bezier, who ascended from Paris at 11 p.m. on November 24, 1870, and landed upon one of the frozen fjords of Norway at noon the next day. Caught in one of the violent autumnal storms, they were carried, in a single night, with terrific velocity, over France and the North Sea, to the shores of Scandinavia. All attempts to utilize for defensive purposes the balloons sent out from Paris failed, owing, not to a scarcity of men,—for aeronautic companies had been formed throughout the provinces,—but to a lack of material. Nor did the German detachment, organized during the war upon French models, operate effectively. After a few ascensions, it was disbanded before Paris in October, 1870.

A complete reorganization of the Aeronautic Department of France did not take place until 1879. This reorganization was due to the energy of Gambetta. The School at Meudon was reopened; and a series of appropriations was set apart for the purpose of forming a number of balloon-parks, each of which consisted of a windlass, with cable, a machine for generating hydrogen, and a baggage-wagon for the transportation of material. Before proceeding to discuss the further development of military aeronautics, it will be well to dwell briefly upon the contributions which England, since the Franco-Prussian war, has furnished to this department of science.

England has developed an independent school, based upon new principles, which has already been prolific of excellent results. As early as 1871 a commission was appointed to organize a Department of Military Aeronautics. This commission fitted up an arsenal at Woolwich, where the technic of balloon construction was brought to a high degree of perfection.

In England balloons are still made principally of gold-beaters' skin,—a material light, though expensive, and very difficult to manipulate. Of its advantages—or rather disadvantages—I shall speak later.

It is to the Arsenal at Woolwich that we are indebted for the introduction of cylindrical steel retorts for the storage of compressed gas; and the fact, that military aeronautics is a live science to-day, is due mainly to this new method of generating and transporting the hydrogen requisite for the inflation of balloons.

In discussing the first attempts of military aeronauts in France, I stated that the greatest obstacle to the military serviceability of the balloon lay in the clumsiness of the gas-generators, which had laboriously to be erected at the various camping-grounds, or transported from place to place by means of heavy wagons. England can claim the honor of being the first to supply an aeronautic troop operating in the field with a sufficient quantity of compressed gas stored in portable retorts. By reason of this innovation, the aeronautic troop, no longer hampered by *impedimenta*, can now operate with a celerity formerly impossible. As the equipment of an English aeronautic park has been adopted by most European countries, a brief description of it may not be uninteresting.

According to the specification for 1889, an English aeronautic park, when mobilized and fully equipped, should properly consist of: One balloon-wagon with hand-winch; 1 balloon made of gold-beaters' skin (size, 250 cubic metres); 1 steel cable, 760 metres; 1 supply-wagon; and 4 gas-wagons, each carrying 35 retorts containing 3.6 cubic metres of gas each. The contents of three wagons suffice fully to inflate the balloon within fifteen minutes. The hydrogen used is manufactured in Chatham, either in liquid form or by the above-mentioned method of passing steam over iron filings. The English have already utilized their parks in the Sudan and in India. Unfortunately, however, their excellent aeronautic material has not been always supported by effective training and proper organization.

It is astonishing that the English principle enunciated in the foregoing has not yet been introduced into France. So late as 1890 a French aeronautic park consisted of the following equipment; viz., One steam windlass, with 6 horses; one tender (2,250 kilogrammes), with 4 horses; 1 balloon-wagon (2,100 kilogrammes), 4 horses; 1 gas-holder (2,300 kilogrammes), 6 horses; 2 box-wagons containing chemicals, 10 horses; 2 provision-wagons, 4 horses; and 8 two-horse wagons for the transportation of chemicals. A French aeronautic train, therefore, when complete, consists of 16 heavy wagons, 50 draught-horses, and 6 riding-horses.

Capt. Moedebeck, the experienced German officer to whom I am indebted for the foregoing figures, points to the difficulty of moving a train so long and ponderous; and he adds the following criticism:

"France undoubtedly carried the technic of military aeronautics to a high degree of development. In consequence, however, of her failure to adopt the English invention of portable gas-retorts, her leadership in this department of science has now been lost to her."

Nor is the organization of the various divisions of the French Aero-

nautic Corps free from defects. Indeed, it is only since 1890 that officers have received a practical education in this important branch of the service.

I shall now give a description of the German system, which I shall treat more exhaustively for two reasons: (1) Owing to my closer acquaintance with the subject; and (2) because I believe that the German system is the most highly developed. It is scarcely necessary to add that my statements are based entirely upon facts long known in professional circles.

In Germany to-day there is a central troop, the Royal Prussian Aeronautic Division, garrisoned at Schoeneberg, near Berlin, and subject to the commands of the general staff. In the event of a general mobilization, and at every manœuvre, this central aeronautic division sends out detachments which are placed at the disposal of the commanders of the several army corps. The equipment of these detachments, though simple, is yet perfectly adapted to military service, and thus permits of very rapid evolutions in the field. As the English system of generating gas is employed, special wagons for this purpose, such as are used in France, are rendered unnecessary. Compressed gas is carried in wagons specially constructed for the purpose, and which are so mobile that they can at any time leave the main road and travel over rough ground. The gas is manufactured at central stations, and at once compressed into portable retorts. Formerly hydrogen was manufactured at Schoeneberg; both "wet" and "dry" methods being employed. Lately a new method has been discovered, by means of which a very pure, and consequently a very light, gas may be produced. It is a well-known fact that the purest hydrogen gas is obtained by means of the electrolytic system. For the rapid manufacture of gas in great quantity, however, this system is too costly; moreover, it requires an extensive plant. For these reasons it has been rejected by the German military authorities.

There are at present in Germany a number of chemical factories which employ the electrolytic system in the manufacture of such products as chlorine and potash,—products which throw off a considerable quantity of hydrogen. Formerly the hydrogen gas thus generated was considered worthless and was allowed to mingle with the air. Upon the request, however, of the military authorities, this gas is now saved. It is not only inexpensive, but—and this is of far greater importance—extremely pure.

As already stated, the hydrogen gas is stored in portable retorts; the pressure being the high one of 120 atmospheres. Formerly these

retorts, particularly when stored for some time, occasionally exploded; and this rendered their transportation by rail or road somewhat dangerous. Indeed, several accidents occurred both in England and in Germany; and in consequence the development of aeronautical science in this direction was to some extent retarded. But these accidents did not dismay German scientists, whose attention was now directed toward improving the material of the retort itself. And well their efforts have been repaid. The retorts manufactured to-day are of a standard of excellence exceeding all expectation.

The inflated balloon is held by steel cables in which strength and lightness are combined. Experiments with hempen ropes were also made; but these proved unsatisfactory, and were consequently abandoned. By means of the steel cable, the balloon is enabled to ascend to a great height. I have often taken observations from a captive balloon at a height of 800–1,000 metres. The cable is wound upon a windlass which is attached to a heavy wagon, and which can be operated by hand or steam power. The steam windlass, however, is rarely employed, as it cannot be used at a moment's notice; moreover, it is extremely heavy and, consequently, difficult to transport. As men are always plentiful, the hand-windlass for military operations is in every way preferable. By means of this windlass—when operated by fifty men—the balloon may be easily drawn down from a height of one thousand metres in ten to fifteen minutes.

We now come to the main feature of the aeronautic park,—the balloon itself. Formerly balloons were made almost exclusively of silk,—a material selected because of its lightness. The silk was rendered gas-tight by the application of several coatings of linseed-oil varnish, which was applied to both sides of the material, and, after penetrating every fibre, became perfectly dry. Owing, however, to the costliness of silk, it is now rarely, if ever, employed in Germany. Moreover, new processes of manufacturing gas-proof materials have been discovered. At present the material most extensively used for this purpose is rubber—a material scarcely heavier than silk, and greatly preferable to the latter by reason of its superior cleanliness. The rubber used in the manufacture of balloons is subjected to the following process: Pure caoutchouc is dissolved in benzine; the product being evenly distributed in thin layers upon the cloth, and then vulcanized. The cloth consists of double layers of cotton, which contain the vulcanized rubber in the form of an intermediate layer. Such balloon-cloth is strong and very durable, particularly when the double layers of cotton run diagonally to each other. Indeed, under

these conditions, a rent in the cloth is almost an impossibility. It can be readily understood how serviceable this material must be in the case of captive balloons exposed to a high pressure of wind.

In England—and in England only—balloons are still made of gold-beater's skin, a material prepared from the gut of calves or horses. It is composed of many pieces, and is remarkable for its lightness. A great many layers of this skin are required to give the balloon a sufficient power of resistance; and thus the advantage of lightness is counterbalanced by the great expenditure of time and labor involved.

Judging by my own experience, I should unhesitatingly declare in favor of vulcanized-rubber cloth for balloons subjected to hard usage. The material is powerfully resistant and easy to handle and to fold; and above all, it admits of repairs in the field. A rent or a hole may be patched in a very short time; and this, from a military point of view, must be considered a very great advantage.

The German army is the only one which has departed from the original globular form of the captive balloon. This departure may, perhaps, be regarded as the greatest improvement hitherto introduced in the department of military aeronautics. Notwithstanding the advantages accruing from improved material, superior technic, and facilities of transportation, the Aeronautic Troop has been, until very recently, dependent upon atmospheric conditions. A heavy fog was a calamity which at once interrupted all observations, and affected skirmishing parties of horse and foot, as well as the Aeronautic Troop itself. Wind and rain also acted as serious hindrances to aeronautic observations,—more particularly in the case of globular balloons,—inasmuch as they frequently rendered the ascension difficult, if not impossible. Only a very experienced aeronaut can remain in a balloon for hours when it is exposed to a wind-velocity of eleven miles an hour. As the pressure of the wind produces constant oscillations or pulsations, a balloon ascending during a very powerful gale performs the most extraordinary evolutions. Within a very short time the balloon-car swerves hundreds of metres from its altitude. At one time, the balloon almost touches the earth. At another, it rapidly ascends in a vertical direction; tugging at its cable, and straining the steel strands to their utmost tension. The undulations of a ship on a rough sea are a pleasant lullaby compared with the experiences of an aeronaut in a gale. Nevertheless, even under the most trying circumstances there have been officers willing to undertake an ascension; and their deeds bear witness to the almost unlimited powers of human

achievement. Unfortunately, the material of the balloon can offer but a fixed amount of resistance. With the velocity of the wind above seventeen miles an hour, the atmospheric pressure exerted upon the globular balloon becomes so great as to render its ascension an impossibility. The steel cable unwinds, it is true; but the balloon only sways from side to side, and does not rise. Such atmospheric conditions are frequent on the open sea in the vicinity of the coast, where the balloon is employed for taking marine observations; and whenever they occur, the ordinary aeronautic outfit is rendered useless.

The credit of inventing an air-ship capable of overcoming adverse atmospheric conditions belongs to two German officers,—Von Parseval, a Bavarian captain, and Lieut. Bartsch von Liegsfeld, of the Prussian aeronautic service. After repeated experiments and numerous modifications, these officers at last conjointly succeeded in constructing a balloon, designated as the "Drachenballon" (kite-balloon), which is capable of ascending during the heaviest gale, and which, indeed, receives an increased impetus according to the atmospheric pressure exerted upon it.

In this new invention, the qualities of the balloon and the kite are admirably combined. Its gaseous content gives the balloon its permanent buoyancy, and enables it to rise in a calm, while its peculiar form—so unlike that of the globular balloon—enables it to stand like a kite against the wind, by which it is not depressed, but driven upwards. But the most admirable feature, perhaps, of this new contrivance is its peculiar construction, which enables it to retain its distended form amid the varying conditions of atmospheric pressure, and despite the loss of gas entailed by diffusion through the rising and falling of the balloon. Strange as it may seem, this stability of form has been secured without resorting to any mechanical aids or appliances whatsoever; it is maintained solely by means of the equal distribution of pressure exerted within the balloon itself.

The kite-balloon has the form of a long cylinder, terminating at each end in a hemisphere of exactly the same diameter as the cylinder itself. The balloon is secured somewhat like a kite, and placed obliquely against the wind. Moreover, it is divided within by a horizontal gas-tight partition which virtually separates it into two distinct compartments; the upper and larger compartment receiving the gas. The inner partition contains sufficient material (balloon-cloth) to admit of its distention. Indeed, when the upper compartment of the balloon is entirely filled, this partition is pressed tightly against the lower wall, or belly, of the

balloon, so that the entire cylinder, with its hemispherical appendages, is fully distended.

The inner partition being depressed against the outer wall of the balloon, the volume of the lower compartment—technically known as the “ballonet”—is reduced to *nil*. Now, as soon as the balloon ascends, an expansion of gas takes place; the excess being discharged by means of an automatic safety-valve. In consequence of this discharge, a vacuum is created in the lower compartment. This, however, is connected by a clack-valve with the outer air, which at once rushes in to fill the vacuum caused by the escaping gas. This clack-valve, which is fastened to the belly of the balloon, is always exposed to the wind, and works automatically; permitting the entrance of the air, but preventing its escape. By means of this device, the balloon always remains fully distended—at first with pure gas, and afterward, according to the condition of the ballonet, with gas and air. Owing, however, to the partition in the interior of the balloon, these two gases always remain entirely separated; the heavier gas—the air—remaining below, *i.e.*, in the ballonet. Thus, the balloon, in course of time, constantly increases in size.

Another important feature of the kite-balloon is known as the steering-ring or steering-pouch. This is disposed about the lower part of the balloon in much the same manner as the belly-fins are attached to the body of an eel. A clack-valve attached to the upper end of this contrivance admits the air, which escapes through an opening at the lower end. In this way the steering-pouch can be distended and the balloon placed in the direction of the wind—an arrangement indispensable to the proper operation of the two clack-valves.

The experiments made with balloons constructed upon the above principle have proved most satisfactory. The balloons possess remarkable stability; and they can ascend and remain aloft during a heavy gale. In this respect, indeed, the performances of the captive balloons have exceeded all expectation. The first attempts, it is true, were not entirely free from drawbacks. Probably the most serious of these were the oscillations of the balloon itself. These oscillations,—resembling those of a pendulum,—although not violent, nevertheless acted as a disturbing element, and occasionally interfered with the observations of the aeronaut. To obviate this difficulty, a kite-tail and a small globular balloon have been attached to the lower end of the balloon; and by this means a perfectly steady motion has now been secured. A firmer and more quiet aerial observatory, even in the heaviest

weather, than that furnished by the kite-balloon to-day, is scarcely conceivable.

The balloon has been tried in all kinds of weather. It is said that during the manœuvres at Kiel, an ascension took place, although the wind blew at the rate of forty-two miles an hour. A kite-balloon, used for meteorological observations at Strasburg, remained aloft during a snow-storm of great violence for two days and three nights; and, although somewhat depressed by its weight of snow, the usefulness of the balloon was by no means impaired.

Owing to the increased strain of the kite-balloon, the tensile strength of the cable has been greatly augmented; and by reason of the great improvements now made in cable construction, it has become possible to obtain greater tensile strength without a corresponding increase of weight.

Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the achievements of German aeronauts should have proved extremely satisfactory. During the manœuvres the balloon was always stationed at the front, where it proved a valuable post of observation; moreover, owing to its facility and rapidity of motion, it was used as the most suitable vehicle for conveying important despatches to the commanding general. In this connection, I wish to refer to an excellent feature of aeronautic training in Germany. In addition to their technical education, the officers of our Aeronautic Corps must pass through a course in tactics, in order that they may be able immediately to utilize the results of their observations. In France and Russia it is different. There the education of the officers in the aeronautic branch of the service is confined solely to the technic of the science. The superiority of the German method is obvious. It is impossible to take observations from the car of a balloon successfully, without practical training. The eye of the observer must become accustomed to gauge distances. The configuration of a landscape as seen from the car of a balloon is an entirely different thing from what we imagine it to be; and many details, such as the outlines of fortifications, etc., are visible only to the experienced observer. In short, the aeronaut, like the navigator, gradually acquires a peculiar power of vision which enables him to detect objects that escape the scrutiny of the layman.

The science of military aeronautics has proved particularly useful to the foot artillery; while its serviceability in the siege of fortresses can scarcely be overestimated. One ascension frequently suffices to observe the fortifications, as well as the batteries to be attacked; and these are at once cartographically registered. What a valuable adjunct a well-

equipped and carefully organized aeronautic troop would have been to the American army in the recent war with Spain! Had some of the American vessels engaged in blockading the harbors of Cuba been equipped with a complete kite-balloon outfit, the task of investment would have been greatly facilitated, the enemy's fortifications would have been immediately exposed to view, and the position and number of the Spanish boats at once definitely ascertained.

To the enemy, the captive balloon becomes an object of attack, upon which the fire of both musketry and artillery is frequently trained. The question here involved is obviously of the highest importance; and considerable time and labor have been devoted by the German Government to its solution. Investigation has now shown musketry-fire to be quite ineffective; for, owing to the difficulty of measuring height and distance, the balloon is hard to hit. Moreover, a few bullet-holes entail but a slight loss of gas, and cannot, therefore, inflict much damage. In the case of heavy guns, however, the matter assumes an entirely different aspect. Cannon loaded with shrapnel have proved very effective,—more particularly when the balloon has been stationary, the range not too short, and the distance approximately known. Capt. Moedebeck states that at long range the destruction of the balloon by the batteries is a comparatively simple matter. At short range, heavy guns are too unwieldy to be effective. Krupp, in 1870, sought to obviate this difficulty by the construction of a "balloon-gun"; but of his experiments with this weapon I have as yet been unable to obtain any information.

What has been said of the effectiveness of battery-fire applies to the stationary balloon only. By a constant change of position and altitude, the security of the balloon is greatly increased. Such a change of position is by no means difficult for our German aeronauts, whose equipment permits of great mobility. One of our most experienced aeronauts, Capt. Gross, has expressed the opinion, now generally accepted, that the effectiveness of field-pieces or heavy guns is greatly diminished so long as the balloon is kept in constant motion. Experiments have proved the advisability of keeping the balloon at a distance of 5 kilometres from the batteries,—a distance which still affords the aeronaut excellent facilities for observation.

When attached to a vessel, the mobility of the balloon is greatly increased; and it must be regarded as an invaluable adjunct to a blockading fleet.

I have hitherto confined myself to a discussion of the captive balloon, solely because of its serviceability for purposes of military reconnais-

sance. This article would be incomplete, however, without a reference to the achievements of our military aeronauts with the free balloon, so frequently used in every part of the world.

Ascensions with the free balloon serve, above all, to increase the technical knowledge of the aeronaut in every possible way. To pilot a globular balloon successfully through the uncertain currents of the air is an extremely difficult task, for which the aeronaut must be qualified by long study and practical experience. As the course of the balloon is affected by atmospherical conditions, the aeronaut must acquire a knowledge of the fundamental principles of meteorology; while, at the same time, a familiarity with the laws governing the direction of air-currents is absolutely essential.

But it is not practical technical knowledge alone which is benefited in this way. All the attributes, such as energy, keenness of observation, and rapid decision, are prominently called into play. The diverse conditions under which a landing must be effected demand rapid judgment. The aeronaut must, at a glance, scan the ground, and choose his landing-place. He must also open the valve at the given moment, and pull the life-line at the very instant the balloon touches the ground. The drag-anchor, with which balloons were formerly equipped, has now been supplanted by a very simple device. By means of a life-line, the aeronaut, on touching ground, can rip open the balloon from pole to equator, in such a way as to effect an almost instantaneous discharge of the gas; by which means, the monster, whose death-throes were formerly fraught with serious danger to the aeronaut, is at once despatched.

Owing to the ever-varying conditions and the constant dangers incurred, ascensions with the free balloon have proved splendid tests of the nerve and character of our military aeronautic officers. Indeed, the ascensions, both altitudinal and long-distance, which have taken place at Berlin within the last few years may be ranked among the foremost achievements in modern aeronautic science. Voyages were undertaken in all kinds of weather,—the order given, its execution became imperative. Thus, ascensions were made in snow, wind, and rain; and on several occasions the balloon was driven to a height of 6,000–7,000 metres. That the investigations of our military aeronauts have been rendered available to science generally, is due to the initiative of His Majesty, our broad-minded Emperor.

H. HERGESELL.

ISOLATION OR IMPERIALISM?

THE year 1898 will be one of the epoch-marking years in the history of the United States. In this year is to be decided the great question whether this country is to continue in its policy of political isolation, or is to take its rightful place among the great World-Powers, and assume the unselfish obligations and responsibilities demanded by the enlightened civilization of the age.

Many of our statesmen, forgetting that *prestige* is as dear to nations as to individuals, and underestimating the inherited racial instincts, the restless activities, and the aggressive enterprise of our people, wrongly imagine that they can remain contented with political and commercial isolation, and satisfied, as are the Chinese, to be guided in questions of immediate and world-wide importance by quotations from obsolete texts from the wise sayings of remote ancestors.

When Washington wrote his justly celebrated Farewell Address, nations were as distant from each other in time, and communication was as slow and difficult, as at the beginning of the Christian era; but steam and electricity have so drawn the ends of the earth together that civilized society is fast becoming one highly organized and interdependent whole.

Each generation has the power to shape its own destinies; and had Washington and his fellow-patriots been governed by warnings against a departure from traditions, our present form of government would never have been established, the Constitution would have been rejected by the States, and untold evils would have resulted. Madison, when arguing for the adoption of the Constitution, met arguments very like those now being made in favor of political isolation, in the following language:

“Is it not the glory of the people of America that, whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to override the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of the numerous innovations on the American theatre in favor of private rights and public happiness.”

In answer to the arguments that there is no constitutional provision

for governing acquired territory, it is only necessary to quote from Section 2, Art. IV of the Constitution :

“The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.”

This country has acquired territory by purchase, by conquest, by treaty, and has made such laws for the government of such acquired territory as seemed most suitable to the requirements. There is no constitutional bar to this country having colonies or dependencies corresponding to the Crown colonies of Great Britain, or to the self-governing colonies, such as New Zealand and Natal.

It has been demonstrated in the past that colonial expansion has met with the approval of the people both in this country and in England. It is true that for a number of years prior to 1885 there was in Great Britain a large following—mainly of the Manchester School—believing, as expressed by an English statesman of the time,

“that the destiny of our colonies is independence ; and that in this point of view the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connection, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible.”

Fortunately for civilization and for the future of the English-speaking peoples of all lands, this indifference to colonial interests and to the integrity of the Empire which was characteristic of the “Little Britain” party in England, as shown by the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from the Transvaal after Majuba Hill, and the failure to relieve Gordon at Khartoum until too late, has given place to the enthusiastic followers of the “Greater Britain” school of to-day. The party of political isolation in England has suffered almost disintegration, just as in this country the old Federalist party suffered after its opposition to the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson, and as the Whig party suffered after its opposition to the annexation of Texas.

The world has been divided into two opposing colonial systems: (1) the Continental European, or government of provinces or dependencies from the central or home government—acquiring colonies for the advantage supposed to accrue from the monopoly of their commerce; and (2) the Anglo-American system, where the government is the creature of the union of previously autonomous parts, as in the United States and Canada, where colonies are encouraged to establish local self-government, and where colonies such as the English Crown colonies are thrown open to unrestricted trade. We thus have two antagonistic systems and

forces contending for world-supremacy. Continental Europe inherited from Rome the system of governing colonies for the exclusive benefit of the home governments; while the Anglo-Americans have developed their systems from the germs inherited from their Teutonic ancestors of Northern Europe. As Mr. Fiske has said :

"In the four discreet men sent out to speak for their townspeople in the old Anglo-Saxon County Assembly, we have the germs of institutions that have ripened into the House of Commons, and into the legislatures of modern kingdoms and republics. In the system thus inaugurated lay the future possibilities of such gigantic political aggregations as the United States of America."

The defeat of Varus by Arminius prevented the extension of Roman dominion over the tribes around the south shores of the Baltic. Four hundred and forty years after the destruction of the Roman legions of Varus the descendants of the victors landed in Britain; bringing the germs of English freedom and of the American Federation of States, the Federation of Canada, of Australasia, and of South Africa. And if we are true to our destiny, our high privileges, and advantages, these germs will ripen under Anglo-American coöperation and direction into Tennyson's "Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World."

In our sea-girt homes of America, South Africa, and the islands of the seas, free—so long as we stand together—from interference from the military systems of Continental Europe, our race will be enabled to develop to the ultimate free institutions and the principles of local self-government.

In this connection it may be profitable to note how the elimination of danger from Continental European interference has been followed by an advance in the principles of freedom. It was not until after the English fleet had dispelled all danger of the threatened invasion of England that the Barons assembled at Runnymede and forced the unwilling John to sign the Great Charter. Three centuries later, with the destruction of the Spanish Armada, representative government made rapid advances; the Parliament becoming more and more independent. After Trafalgar and Waterloo England ceased to fear invasion, and entered upon that wonderful system of reforms—extension of the suffrage, tax and tariff reforms, administrative reforms, reforms of the civil service—which has made her the commercial and financial centre of the world, and, with the exception of the United States, the freest country in the world.

The descendants of the sea-rovers of Hengist rested for more than a

thousand years in their fair island-home before they crossed the greater ocean and began their world-conquest. Here, in this New World, the two systems that had struggled for mastery in the Old World met face to face. France and Spain were first on the ground; they had taken possession of the larger part of the western hemisphere; and had established colonies which were as complete examples of despotic, and at the same time paternal, government as could be devised.

With the advent of the English colonies, a new and untried element of colonial administration was inaugurated. The old historian, Hutchinson, writing in the year 1619, says: "This year the House of Burgesses broke out in Virginia"; while the Pilgrims, on landing in Massachusetts, drew up a solemn compact of government combining themselves into a civil body politic, "By virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most mete and convenient for the general good of the Colony."

The revolution here put into operation has extended to the English colonies in all parts of the world. In this epoch-marking year of 1898 the remaining vestige of the Roman system of colonial government is to be driven from the western hemisphere; descendants of the Norse searovers are to carry the victorious banner of our civilization to the confines of the Far East; and there, in conjunction with their kinsmen from Britain, they are to settle for all time the question whether the repressive militarism of the Middle Ages shall be extended over more than one-half of the population of the globe. It is the old contest of the centuries transferred to another field of action. On one side are represented the Powers of Continental Europe, striving to obtain concessions looking to the acquisition of possessions in the Far East, with the intention of closing the ports of such acquired territories to the commerce of the world, by the placing of high customs duties on all imports other than those from the country in control. On the other, Great Britain and the United States, being enabled by their resources, the industry and inventiveness of their peoples, and their facilities for reaching foreign markets to compete on equal terms,—and having a large and increasing population dependent on foreign markets in which to dispose of an increasing surplus production,—their interests demand that no combination of Powers be allowed to close the ports of Asia to their commerce.

Hitherto the United States has lent no aid to England in her efforts to avert the impending danger. Fettered by its policy of isolation, this country has been strangely remiss in asserting its rights and guarding its interests. It remained silent while France acquired Madagascar

and abrogated our treaty rights by placing discriminating duties in favor of French products. We make no protest at the occupation of Chinese territory by Russia, Germany, and France, and the threatened dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. We seem to have forgotten the provisions of the treaty of 1858 with China, Art. XXX of which reads:

"The contracting parties hereby agree that should at any time the Ta Tsing Empire grant to any nation the right, privilege, or favor, connected either with navigation, commerce, political or other intercourse, which is not conferred by this treaty, such right, privilege, and favor shall at once freely inure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants, and citizens."

Why, but for our isolation paralysis, do we not unite with Great Britain in safeguarding the interests of our people in China and in other countries of Asia? Our fathers met the "Family Compact" of 1761 and the Holy Alliance in 1823 when they were comparatively weak; and now that we are rich and powerful, we should not hesitate to meet, if necessary, a "Concert of the Powers." The conditions to-day are like those of 1823, when Jefferson wrote:

"Great Britain is the nation that can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the Old World. With her we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship."

When the Holy Alliance threatened to extend the Continental system to America, Great Britain offered her assistance; and the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated, and the threatened dangers averted. A few weeks ago the British Chancellor of the Exchequer said: "We do not regard China as a place for conquest or colonization by any European or other Power." Here is a new Monroe Doctrine promulgated.¹ Shall this, the most powerful nation in the world, certain to have in the future larger interests in the open ports of China than any other country, fail to reciprocate England's proffered aid of 1823, and refuse to join our natural ally in putting in force this new Monroe Doctrine, which alone can avert the evils which threaten? The tone of the Continental press, and the information from Americans travelling in Europe, demonstrate that, with singular and significant unanimity, the sympathies of the people of Europe are with Spain in the present war; and it is no longer a secret that, but for the firm and friendly stand taken by Great Britain, this country would have recently had to face the Concert of Powers. Count Goluchowski, the Austrian statesman,

¹ President Monroe, in his famous Message, December 2, 1823, said: "The American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power."

voiced the sentiment of Europe in a remarkable speech delivered in November last:

"A turning-point has been reached in European development. The destructive competition with the transoceanic countries, which has partly to be carried on at present and is partly to be expected in the immediate future, requires prompt and thorough counteracting measures if the vital interests of the peoples of Europe are not to be gravely compromised. They must fight shoulder to shoulder against a common danger, and must arm themselves for the struggle with all the means at their disposal. As the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were absorbed by religious wars, and as the eighteenth century was distinguished by the triumphs of liberal ideas, and our own by the appearance of the nationality question—so the twentieth century will be for Europe a period marked by the struggle for existence in the politico-commercial sphere. European nations must close their ranks in order successfully to defend their existence."

Now what is this dread spectre with which the "transoceanic countries" are threatening Europe, and against which it is necessary to unite and arm? First, we are furnishing the consumers of Europe with the necessaries of life more cheaply than they can be obtained at home. Second, we offer hope to all who wish to improve their condition by acquiring homes in the fertile lands of this country and the British colonies. Third, the United States, by her Monroe Doctrine, by placing a veto on European territorial extension in the New World, simply guarantees the freedom of the markets of the New World to all countries on equal terms, and prevents European Powers from acquiring territories in this hemisphere and turning such acquisitions into closed preserves for their own exclusive benefit.

Great Britain is now contending for the same freedom of commerce in China and the Far East. Wherever the British flag is planted the commerce of the world is admitted on the same terms as the commerce of the mother-country. Here we have a sharp contrast between the two opposing forces. One represents the policy of closed ports, or monopoly and repression, the administration of colonial possessions for the exclusive benefit of the home government,—this is the policy which Count Goluchowski advises Europe to arm to enforce. The other represents the policy of open ports, or equality of commercial interchange, local self-government, the revenues of colonies to be expended only for the benefit of the colonies,—to prevent the extension of this policy Europe is arming and building warships. The German Emperor has proclaimed that henceforth Germany is to be a World-Power; and Germany's determination to be a colonial Power is well known. This can be accomplished only in one or more of three ways: (1) By acquiring possession of a portion of China or some other populous region in Asia;

(2) by acquiring Holland and the large and populous colonial possessions of the Netherlands; (3) by colonizing in Southern Brazil and Argentina, and acquiring possessions there. Germany has as yet no colonial possessions suited to the settlement of people from Northern Europe; nor has she succeeded in inducing any appreciable number of her people to find homes in the German colonies in Africa and the South Pacific. The bulk of the large emigration from Germany comes to the United States; and it is evident that the German Government is taking measures to divert this emigration to countries where Germany may hope to derive in the future some benefit from these intelligent and industrious people, and where their descendants will not cease to be Germans, as they do in this country. The United States Consul, writing from Santos this year about the German colonies in Brazil, says:

"Since the favorable report of Herr Krauel, following his visit to the German colonies in Southern Brazil last year, and the revocation of the Heydt law, enacted in 1859 to prevent German emigration to Brazil, an active propaganda has been initiated at Hamburg to turn emigration hither from the United States. It is said with truth that the German who emigrates to the United States is lost to Germany. . . . German colonization in Southern Brazil is no new, but in fact a very old, thing, notwithstanding the *policy of the German Government has recently effected a right-about-face in its attitude toward the subject.*"

The recent acquisitions of Germany in China are significant as pointing to the evident intention of that country to obtain control of populous countries in the Far East and to monopolize the trade, to the exclusion of commercial rivals. The present low customs rates of China—most honestly and impartially administered under Sir Robert Hart's superb customs service—admit on equal terms the products of all countries; and there can be no reason for the aggression of the European Powers on the coasts of China, other than the intention of carrying to that populous country the monopolistic exclusion which has always followed the colonial expansion of Continental European Powers. Prince Henry, on his departure from Kiel for China, assured the Emperor that his mission was to "declare in foreign lands the gospel of your Majesty's hallowed person"; and he was thus directed by the Emperor: "Should anyone attempt to affront us, or to infringe our good rights, then strike out with the mailed fist."

Germany has foreign possessions, but practically no colonies and but little sea-borne commerce under her to defend; she has only a limited coast-line to protect; yet her naval appropriation calls for an expenditure of \$118,000,000,—the last ship to be completed by the year 1904.

The new ships are not to be coast-defence vessels, but battleships and cruisers with large coal capacity, suitable for distant service. Russia has no colonies over the seas, and but little foreign commerce to protect; yet this year she adds to her already large yearly expenditure for naval construction over \$46,000,000 for ships to be completed within the next seven years. France, in spite of the fact that she has a navy more than ample to protect her commerce and her colonies, provided she has no aggressive designs, has recently appropriated \$160,000,000, to be expended on ships to be completed by 1904.

Notwithstanding the vast naval preparation of the three European Powers mentioned, it is fated that Anglo-American descendants of the mighty seamen whose glorious achievements are the common heritage of our race must ever hold dominion over the seas; provided there is mutual aid and coöperation. The insular position of the United States and the British possessions renders large standing armies unnecessary, so long as these two countries are on friendly terms and maintain command of the seas. Great Britain governs an Empire scattered all over the world, and aggregating a population of 400,000,000, with a standing army of only 220,000 men—an army less than that of some of the smaller Continental Powers with no colonial possessions to defend.

With just and wise administration, colonial possessions are a source of strength rather than of weakness. The designs of the Powers in the Far East, if successful, will deprive this country of an already large market, which must increase to enormous proportions in the near future, and, by depriving Great Britain of her best market, will lessen the ability of our best customer to purchase our products. Last year Great Britain purchased our products to the value of \$483,625,024; and she and her colonies took 60 per cent of the total value of our exports to all the world. The value of the trade of Great Britain and the United States with China amounts to six times that of the combined trade of Germany, France, and Russia with the Celestial Empire; consequently, England and the United States have a right to declare that their interests in China are paramount, and to act in concert in safeguarding those interests. China, the United States, and the British possessions have the largest extent of coast-line fronting on the Pacific, with a growing community of interests. Great Britain has secured the important naval stations of Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei for the protection of her large interests; and she has a large and efficient auxiliary force conveniently near in India.

Fortunately, we can have at Manila a most advantageous distribu-

ting-point for our commerce, as well as a naval base of great strategic importance. By good government and just administration, the natives of the Philippines can be made a prosperous people, and, under the discipline and leadership of American officers, an effective fighting-force, if necessary. What can be accomplished in this way has been effectively demonstrated in India and Egypt.

It would be folly to allow the coal deposits in the Philippines ever to pass from our control. With these islands in our possession, the English-speaking peoples and Japan will control all the coal easily accessible to the Pacific and Indian oceans. The superior steam coals of New South Wales extend to the shores of the great and impregnable harbor of Sydney. England will ere long have an important naval station at Sandakan in North Borneo; and coal extends to that great harbor. These, with the coals of Alaska, British Columbia, Vancouver, Washington, and Oregon, will furnish supplies for ships on the Pacific in times of war; and so long as Great Britain holds Gibraltar, Aden, Cape Town, and the Falkland Islands, and the United States controls Hawaii, the Philippines, and the canal route connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, these two Powers can dominate the Pacific and Indian oceans.

Our race has two important characteristics, as has been well shown by Mr. Kidd in his "Social Evolution": (1) the highly developed power of individual initiative, and (2) what he has well termed social efficiency. The Tropics are peopled with millions of low social efficiency; and it seems to be the fate of the black and yellow races to have their countries parcelled out and administered by efficient races from the Temperate Zone. If such administration be just, wise, and humane, like the administration of Lord Cromer in Egypt, it will be for the upbuilding and enlightenment of the peoples of the Tropics, and the advance of the blessings of civilization over the world.

The world's future depends largely on the decision which we are about to render as to the policy of this country in relation to the great problems now confronting us. If America is henceforth to be one of the determining factors in advancing and defending the principles of Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world, the dangers which threaten that civilization will disappear like the mists of the morning. Already some of the good effects of the abandonment of our policy of isolation are apparent, both at home and abroad. Introspection in nations, as in individuals, is frequently an evidence of disease; and it is questionable whether the political isolation of this country, and the consequent narrowing of our political horizon, may not have been a cause

of the unrest and internal dissensions which have been so notable during recent years, and which have brought to the front the purveyors of political quack cure-alls for imagined as well as apparent evils. Provincialism and parochial politics have in many localities foisted inferior men into places of public trust. Since we have, by recent events, been forced to face wider responsibilities and a broadening field of action, some of the evils with which the country was supposed to be afflicted have vanished.

In Great Britain there has been a marked improvement in the tone of public life, a broader statesmanship, even in the consideration of local affairs, and an improvement in the public service, both national and municipal, since the great colonial expansion of the Empire and the widening of the external activities of that country.

This country, by its Tariff restriction, which is but one of the evils resulting from our policy of isolation, is threatened with discrimination against our imports by Germany and other European countries. But a more serious danger was the growing popularity of an Imperial British Customs Union, which would have been most detrimental to our interests. The Ottawa Conference of the Representatives of the Self-Governing Colonies, held in 1894, with the approval of the Mother-Country, resolved:

"This Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies by which the trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favorable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries . . . that until the Mother-Country can see her way to enter into customs arrangements with her Colonies, it is desirable that, when empowered so to do, the Colonies of Great Britain . . . take steps to place each other's products . . . on a more favorable customs basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries."

Substantial progress has been made along the lines indicated above; the most important action being that of the Dominion of Canada last year. That country, provoked by our recent prohibitive Tariff Law, and anxious to give expression to Imperial patriotism resulting from the Queen's Jubilee, determined to give a preferential reduction of 25 per cent to such countries as admitted Canadian products practically free of duty. This reduction is, at present, applicable only to Great Britain, New South Wales, British India, and the British Crown colonies. As the German and Belgian treaties with Great Britain stood in the way of putting in force the Canadian concessions, these treaties were denounced. The Queen, in announcing this to Parliament, spoke of these treaties, "by which I am prevented from making with my Colonies such fiscal arrangements with my Empire as seem to be expedient." In Australia

this policy of preferential trade with the Empire is making substantial progress. This year the Premiers met at Melbourne, and adopted a resolution that any tariff framed by the proposed Australasian Federal Parliament should give a preference to articles the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom, and that in default of a Federal tariff the Premiers should recommend their respective Cabinets to alter the tariffs of the different colonies so as to give a substantial preference to the United Kingdom and to the British colonies; thus taking advantage of the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties to improve the trade relations of Australasia with the British Empire.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes proposes to inaugurate in Rhodesia, the latest acquisition to the British Empire, having an area of eight hundred thousand square miles, a plan for a customs union. It is proposed, first, that the duty to be charged on imports of British goods shall never exceed the duty at present levied by the Cape Colony, a duty for revenue only, averaging about 9 per cent; and second, the Colony surrenders the right to erect a tariff protection barrier between itself and the remainder of the British Empire. This will extend to any colonies which may hereafter come into a customs union with Rhodesia. Thus commercial union must become one of the fundamental conditions of federation in South Africa; and as this federation is assured by the inevitable law of progress, and will include the British colonies, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, it will have a tremendous effect in shaping the policy of Imperial federation.

Large as is our commerce with the British Empire, it is but in its infancy, as the British colonies must increase in population more rapidly than other parts of the world; and they are essentially a trading people. For example, less than four millions of Australians have a foreign commerce almost double the foreign commerce of the one hundred and thirty millions inhabiting the Russian Empire; and Canada, with less than one-sixth the population of South America, buys from us more than twice as much each year as do the South Americans. It is, therefore, greatly to our interests that no preferential customs arrangement should be made, as proposed by the colonial possessions of Great Britain. If we control Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, and throw them open to the commerce of the world, on equal terms, and put our own Tariff on a revenue basis, we shall be in a position to prevent foreign discrimination against our commerce. At last both of our great political parties realize how essential to our interests is the opening of markets to our increasing production. A communication from the Secre-

tary of State to the Secretary of the Treasury, and transmitted by the latter to Congress on June 14, 1898, asking for a commission to study the commercial conditions of China, contained the following significant statements:

"The export trade of the United States is undergoing a transformation which promises profoundly to influence the whole economic future of the country. As is well known, the United States has reached the foremost rank among the industrial nations. For a number of years its position as the greatest producer of manufactures as well as of raw products has been undisputed, but, absorbed with its own internal development, and satisfied, for the time being, with the enormous home market of 70,000,000 of people, it has, until recently, devoted but little concerted effort to the sale of its manufactures outside of its own borders. Recently, however, the fact has become more and more apparent that the output of the United States manufactures, developed by the remarkable inventive genius and industrial skill of our people with a rapidity which has excited attention throughout the great centres of manufacturing activity in Europe, has reached the point of large excess above the demands of home consumption. . . . The United States has unfolded to it, in vast regions as yet unopened to the full activity of commerce, possibilities of commercial expansion limited only by the use we make of them. . . .

Without reference to schemes of this character, it would seem to be obvious that the United States has important interests at stake in the partition of commercial facilities in regions which are likely to offer developing markets for its goods. Nowhere is this consideration of more interest than in its relation to the Chinese Empire. As is well known, three great European Powers have established themselves at points of vantage in that Empire, which will enable them to exercise a direct influence upon its commercial destiny."

In the interests of civilization and humanity, this country should retain the Philippines. Then the chain of islands extending along the entire eastern coast-line of Asia will be owned by Japan, the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands—all seafaring nations, and countries having like interests to guard. As the interests of Great Britain, Holland, and the United States are for peace and mutual coöperation, their possessions in the Far East can be held by a small military force. Should the United States, however, retain less than all of the Philippines, there would be a scramble among certain European Powers for the possession of the remainder; and this scramble might result in a disastrous war. The acquisition of any of these islands by any Power other than the three above named would introduce a disturbing element, and necessitate the keeping of a larger military force in the Far East. The interests of peace and progress demand that this country should accept the responsibilities thrust upon it by Dewey's glorious victory at Manila. Wherever our flag shall be planted, let it remain and carry freedom from oppression. But we should not forget that peoples who have for centuries been subjected to misrule and oppression have yet to learn the

principles of self-government. Let us avoid the criminal blunder made in the past, when we bestowed with unthinking liberality the highest privilege of Anglo-Saxon freedom upon an illiterate, alien race just emerging from bondage,—a priceless privilege which our fathers attained only through centuries of patient self-development,—and thus prevented the placing of the rights of suffrage upon an educational basis applicable to whites and blacks alike. Let us remember that Spain lost her vast colonial possessions because she failed to give wise and just government, and neglected to place her civil and military service upon the basis of merit, open alike to all upon ascertained fitness. As has been well said, “the corruption of her public service, civil and military, has cost Spain a world.”

Our administrators have now an opportunity to achieve the most momentous results in broad statesmanship ever vouchsafed to the rulers of any age or country. I submit that:

First. There should be a treaty of arbitration entered into between the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Japan, into which other nations should be invited to enter.

Second. These countries should unite in making coal as much a contraband of war as powder; coal being equally with powder essential to a modern warship. This would be a most potent conservator of peace.

Third. All countries acquired by the United States should be thrown open to the commerce of the world on equal terms.

Fourth. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan should proclaim a new Monroe Doctrine applicable to China; and coöperate with that country in preventing acquisition of territory there by European Powers.

Fifth. The United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands should proclaim and maintain a new Monroe Doctrine applicable to the vast islands of the Indian Archipelago. The possessions of these three countries and Japan encircle the Pacific Ocean with an unbroken chain from Cape San Lucas, California, to New Zealand, with this country in possession of the central point of strategic vantage, Hawaii; and ere long this country will control the entrance into the Pacific from the East, as Great Britain controls the short route from the West.

From the blood of our heroes, shed at Santiago and Manila, there shall arise a New Imperialism, replacing the waning Imperialism of Old Rome; an Imperialism destined to carry world-wide the principles of Anglo-Saxon peace and justice, liberty and law.

JOHN R. PROCTER.

LESSONS OF OUR WAR LOAN.

THE United States has floated a \$200,000,000 loan at the lowest rate of interest at which a nation ever disposed of its obligations in time of war. It has received subscriptions of \$7 for every \$1 of bonds offered the public, or, roundly, \$1,400,000,000 for the \$200,000,000 loan. Under the provisions of the law as passed by Congress, every subscription made by a syndicate, corporation, or association was rejected; Congress having taken the broad ground that individuals should have preference. Every subscriber asking for more than \$4,500 received no portion of his subscription, as the entire loan was absorbed by individual offers for smaller amounts; the allotment being made under the provisions of the law so that the humble investors had preference over the richer ones. Half of the loan, more than \$100,000,000, has gone to 230,000 people each of whom subscribed for \$500 or less. The number of persons who applied for the bonds reached 320,000; and if they were mustered into military ranks they would outnumber by almost 100,000 our army of regulars and volunteers enlisted for the Spanish-American war. Standing at dress, side by side, they would form a line one hundred and twenty miles long,—a line that would reach clear across Cuba at its broadest point and half-way back, or from Washington to Philadelphia. Had all these investors presented their subscriptions with the currency attached, it would have required three times the cash held in the vaults of the thirty-six hundred national banks of the country. Some idea of the enormous total of \$1,400,000,000 subscribed by these 320,000 persons may be gained by a comparison with the amount of money in circulation in the United States on August 1, 1898. On that date the money of all kinds in circulation aggregated \$1,809,198,000. If the United States had accepted in currency all the subscriptions made, the Treasury would have absorbed seven-ninths of all the money in circulation.

More than \$100,000,000 in cash was turned into the Treasury as the subscriptions were made, and before the delivery of bonds was begun. The remaining \$100,000,000 is being gathered in as fast as the augmented machinery of the Treasury can collect it. The handling of this

vast sum has been so careful, that rates of interest in the New York money market, after the books were closed and the bonds began to be issued, were as low as $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, *i.e.*, materially lower than before the loan was offered. The whole transaction was accomplished with scarcely a perceptible movement at the money centres, and absolutely without creating the smallest degree of stringency or congestion.

Such illustrations as these give some indication of the success of this first experiment of ours with a really popular loan. It has been a phenomenal success; and it presents a good many new features in financial affairs. It furnishes the only real test we have ever had of a popular subscription. It exhibits the credit of the United States in the most favorable light in which it has ever been seen. It shows the investing strength of the people to be greater than the most optimistic would have supposed, and our gain in financial *prestige* must be regarded as one of the foremost results of the war.

From the time when Congress, with hardly a word of debate, appropriated \$50,000,000 for the national defence to the actual beginning of hostilities, scarcely a day passed without some event which made it apparent that the Government revenues must be augmented by loan. The Bill to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures was a measure which showed far more courage than legislators are apt to evince when such a crisis comes. It was a measure that laid the tax-collector's hand on every business—in fact upon every citizen—and was designed to draw into the Treasury an enormous additional revenue. The operation of a revenue law is too slow, however, for such exigencies as war; and, with expenses reaching an average of \$1,250,000 a day, the necessity for an issue of bonds was plain. When it became known that Congress contemplated fixing the rate of interest at 3 per cent there was a quiet protest from some of the great financiers. Three per cent, they declared, was too low. They pointed to the rate at which former bond issues had been made in time of peace. They called attention to the fact that the 4-per-cent bonds of 1925 were selling as low as $117\frac{1}{4}$, a basis which would net the investor nearly $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. They asked why heavy subscriptions to a short-term bond at 3 per cent should be expected, when one could go into the market and buy a bond of exactly as good character, and with a far longer term to run, on a basis that would net $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Not a few of the financial leaders were sore in spirit over the criticism that had followed them after the last Government bond sale. They felt that they had come forward then at a time when the Treasury was in great peril, and had

furnished money that was badly needed, and, in addition to furnishing money, had undertaken a most expensive contract to prevent gold exports. Their profits had been but a fraction of what the public imagined them to be; and the execrations that had been heaped upon them had left little desire at this time to turn in and, from purely patriotic motives, aid the Treasury in its financiering.

The Secretary of the Treasury saw some of the leading financiers who held these views. He met their objections so completely that his suggestion, that the great financial interests should show to the country a broad-spirited patriotism such as would quiet the host of critics, was received with surprising good-will. His suggestion was one that might at first view seem almost Quixotic; considering the rate at which Government bonds were then selling. It was that some of the important financial interests should come together and guarantee, without profit to themselves, the absolute success of the loan,—that they should agree to take all or any part that should be unsubscribed by the people. This underwriting of \$200,000,000 of securities at a price substantially higher than that at which similar securities were selling in the market was to be done solely for the good that would follow such an exhibition of disinterested and patriotic financiering.

The result of Secretary Gage's suggestions was, that on the morning of the day the subscription opened two syndicate bids were received: one from the National City Bank, Vermilye & Co., and the Central Trust Company, and the other from a syndicate headed by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Each of these syndicates agreed to take all or any part of the issue not taken by the public. That guarantee put spirit into the loan from the first moment. People said: "If the New York bankers stand ready to take the whole loan twice over, it must be a good thing to have."

There were two reasons why the subscription should be an assured success, in spite of the fact that shortly before it opened Government bonds were selling on a $3\frac{1}{4}$ -per-cent basis. One was that, although there were market quotations for the 4-per-cent bonds on that basis, it could not be called a settled or fairly established market price. A few bonds could no doubt have been bought at that price. Any attempt to purchase a large block would have sharply advanced the quotation, although it is probably equally true that a large block thrown upon the market would have depressed the price. The reason why it was certain that a market could be found for the whole issue on a 3-per-cent basis was in the use which could be made of the bonds by national banks as a

basis for new circulation, or to replace the old 4's and 5's which banks had on deposit to secure their circulating notes.

The superiority from the standpoint of profit of the new 3-per-cents over the 4-per-cents of 1925 as a basis for national-bank circulation is shown by the following table:

TYPICAL ILLUSTRATION OF \$100,000 INVESTMENT.

	3's of 1908-18 at par.		4's of 1925 at 127 $\frac{1}{4}$ @ 128.	
Capital invested	\$100,000.00		\$100,000.00	
Par value of bonds purchased....	100,000.00		78,354.55	
Circulation.....	90,000.00		70,518.09	
Receipts:				
Interest on circulation (6%)...	5,400.00		4,231.08	
Interest on bonds deposited...	3,000.00		3,134.18	
Gross receipts.....		\$8,400.00		\$7,365.26
Deductions:				
Tax.....	900.00		900.00	
Expenses.....	62.50		62.50	
Sinking fund.....	....		337.66	
Total deductions.....		962.50		1,300.16
Net receipts.....		\$7,437.50		\$6,065.10
Interest on capital invested (6%)...		6,000.00		6,000.00
Profit on circulation:				
Amount.....		\$1,437.50		\$65.10
Per cent.....	1.437		0.065	
Advantage of 3's at par over 4's at 127 $\frac{1}{4}$ @ 128, August 1, 1898, 1.372 per cent.				

The Government Actuary, before the books of the loan were opened, had figured for the Secretary that the new 3-per-cent bonds at par would be equivalent, as a basis for national bank circulation, to the 4-per-cents of 1925, if the latter had been quoted at so low a figure as 111. At that time the actual quotations of the 4-per-cents of 1925 ranged from 120 to 123.

The 3-per-cents of 1908-18 purchased at par, August 1, 1898, as security for circulation of bank notes, will yield a profit of 1.437 per cent. The 4's of 1925, in order to yield the same profit, would need to be purchased at 110 $\frac{1}{6}$; whereas they were quoted August 1, 1898, at the high rate of 127 $\frac{1}{4}$ @ 128.

Congress introduced a novel element into Government financing when it provided that "in allotting said bonds the several subscriptions of individuals shall be first accepted, and the subscriptions for the lowest amounts shall be first allotted."

This latter provision brought a new element of chance into the loan, such as had never been in a bond issue before. No one could tell just where the line would be drawn below which all individual subscriptions would be filled in full, and above which no subscriptions would receive allotments. It was evident that the Treasury could not ask full payment to accompany the subscriptions, because of the impossibility of saying whether an allotment would be made to a subscriber. It was plain, too, that the plan under which the previous bond issue had been regulated, permitting bids to be made without any deposit of earnest money, would never do. A medium was struck. It was decided that by no chance could the *bona fide* subscriptions of \$500 and less absorb the total amount. Therefore announcement was made that all subscribers for \$500 or less should make full payment; and the Department promised that an allotment of bonds would be absolutely made on every such subscription. Those who subscribed for more than \$500 were required to deposit 2 per cent thereof to insure the good faith of the application. Allotments in this class were to be made inversely to the size of the subscription. The most sanguine friends of the popular loan idea hardly anticipated that the subscriptions for \$500 and less would reach an aggregate of over \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000; and many good judges placed the limit well below those figures. As a matter of fact, the subscriptions for \$500 and less reached an aggregate of a little over \$101,000,000.

It was evident soon after the books of the loan were opened that persons who wished blocks of the bonds were getting individuals to subscribe in their interest. The Treasury Department immediately interposed such obstacles as it could command in the way of such plans. In every case where blocks of subscriptions came in accompanied by powers of attorney authorizing banks or any person or interest other than the subscriber to receive the bonds, the subscription was held in suspense until the bank or person sending in such blocks of subscriptions made answer unequivocally as to whether or not the subscriptions were *bona fide* and solely in the interest of the persons signing the subscription blanks, and whether the bank or any person other than the subscriber had an ulterior interest in the subscription. More than \$40,000,000 of subscriptions were thus suspended, and the persons sending them were catechised as to their *bona fide* character. It was, of course, quite impossible for the Treasury to organize itself into a trial court and take evidence. The Department was forced to accept the statements made by the subscribers, although it used with good effect the machinery

of the Secret Service in verifying such statements. Subscriptions representing millions were returned to the senders, who frankly admitted that they had misunderstood the conditions and wished no improper advantage. It is not claimed that the subscription list was kept entirely clean from subscriptions received in the interest of persons other than the subscribers. Undoubtedly false statements were in some cases made, and blocks of bonds secured in a way not within the spirit of the law; but it is a fact that the most strenuous efforts were used at every stage to prevent persons having no real interest in the subscription from subscribing and immediately assigning their interests to some banking institution.

As the subscription advanced, quotations began to be made for the future delivery of the bonds. Trades were made at 102,—103,—and finally as high as $105\frac{1}{8}$. To get the new bonds looked like getting gold dollars at a discount. With standing offers of 3 or 4 per cent premium, it was small wonder that the last days of the subscription saw some phenomenal receipts. On each of the last two days the Department received 25,000 applications. It was not growing patriotism on the part of the humble investors that so increased the mail. It was market quotations showing a substantial premium for bonds that the Government was offering at par.

From the point of view of a popular subscription the loan was in every way an astounding success; but it must not be forgotten that there were elements of speculation as well as patriotism, that there was a market showing immediate profit for every person who could secure a bond.

The task of handling the loan has been one that few people have comprehended. The action of Congress in providing an issue of bonds of so low a denomination as \$20, in giving preference to individual bidders, and in providing that allotments should be made in an inverse order to the size of the subscriptions upon all individual offers, made an amount of detail such as had been unknown in the Department's previous experience. The provision for payment in five instalments, and the necessity for interest calculations on each one of these partial payments, added vastly to that detail. Indeed, the task at last was one that was clearly the greatest clerical undertaking in which the Government ever engaged in the same length of time.

Congress is always jealous of departmental preparations in advance of legislation; and no actual step could be taken by the Treasury Department to prepare for this issue of bonds until the war measure had passed both the House and the Senate. The final action was taken when

the House concurred in the Senate's amendment at noon, Saturday, June 11. At 3:30 that afternoon the copy for the preliminary circulars and instruction blanks was in the hands of the public printer. At nine o'clock Monday morning the public printer delivered to the Treasury Department the first instalment of 4,000,000 sheets of printed matter; and the rest followed as rapidly as they could be unloaded from the wagons.

A great force had been engaged in addressing envelopes to contain the subscription-papers and circulars of information. In a little over twenty-four hours after the receipt of the first printed copies the mails were carrying these circulars to every bank, national, State, and private, to every postmaster, and to every express-office in the country, while to 24,000 newspapers details were sent, so that they might give information to the people concerning the character of the Government bond, and how subscriptions would be received.

There was in the arrangements every element of popular success. The bonds were issued in a popular cause. They were issued at a time when money was easy and securities were high. They were issued at par; so that there was no calculation to discourage the most inexperienced investor. Any man with \$20 knew that he could invest it, and get a \$20 security back. There was no commission, no premium, no restriction as to the character of the remittance. Subscribers were permitted to send their money in any form in which credits could be forwarded; and the Treasury received any form of currency of the United States, any kind of bank-check or draft, as well as post-office money-orders, and express money-orders. Could there have been more perfect conditions for a successful popular loan?

The more enthusiastic advocates of a popular loan were particularly pleased with those regulations of the Department which provided for receiving subscriptions at post-offices and remittances by post-office money-orders. It is interesting to note that out of the total subscription only \$728,000 was received through this channel. Posters were hung up and subscription-blanks distributed to over 20,000 express-offices; for it was believed by some that many people who had not banking connections would avail themselves of this easy means of transmitting money. The total receipts in the shape of express money-orders were but \$60,000. There was received through the mails in currency over \$731,000. It was not a rare thing to receive a \$1,000 bill in an unregistered letter. It is a tribute to the excellence of the mail-service that there was no complaint from this vast army of subscribers of the loss of a currency remittance.

As a matter of fact the subscription illustrates wonderfully well how thoroughly educated are the people of the United States in the use of banking instruments. Over \$100,000,000 in checks, drafts, and certificates of deposit were received from subscribers for the \$500 and smaller bonds, while the 2-per-cent deposits on the subscriptions for the larger amounts were wholly in the shape of certified checks. About \$198,500,000 of the \$200,000,000 bonds issued will be paid for by means of bank-paper and certificates of deposit.

Some idea of the detailed work in connection with the issue can be had from some figures of the loan. Subscriptions were received from 320,000 persons. Among these there were 230,000 of individual subscriptions for \$500 or less. The subscription was made up roundly as follows:

Individual subscriptions for \$500 and less.....	\$101,000,000
“ “ “ amounts larger than \$500	358,350,000
Subscriptions of corporations, associations, etc	434,650,000
Syndicate subscriptions.....	500,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$1,394,000,000</u>

The loan closed at three o'clock of the afternoon of July 14. In less than three hours every corporation subscription was in the mail with a letter of rejection, and every individual subscription for amounts of \$50,000 and over was also on its return trip with a similar letter. Seven hours after the subscription closed the Department was able to announce quite accurately where the line would be drawn below which all subscriptions would be allotted. When it is remembered that the name of every subscriber had to be inscribed at least twelve times in the complex process of official book-keeping, the collection of remittances, the mailing of notifications of receipt and allotment, the addressing of envelopes, the making of card-indexes, and in the writing of small checks covering the interest from the receipt of the subscription to August 1 (the date when the bonds began carrying their own interest), some idea of the clerical labor involved may be had.

Allotments were made to practically 300,000 successful subscribers. Multiply that by 12, and recollect that every entry of a name had to have an independent verification, and it will be seen that this writing of 3,600,000 names and addresses was a task of no small proportions. But that takes no account of the work in connection with the \$1,200,000,000 subscriptions returned, nor of the vast correspondence resulting from errors in every conceivable form made by subscribers in filling out their blanks and sending their remittances. From the time the

envelopes were dumped from the mail-bags,—a force of twenty people was required to open them,—through all the complicated operations of listing, scheduling, collecting remittances, opening accounts, calculating interest, and, finally, putting up bond and interest-checks and sealing each envelope with five wax seals bearing the imprint of the seal of the Treasury, the work has been performed by a temporary force organized and drilled for this special purpose. The force was employed without regard to Civil-Service rules. Legibility of handwriting and good moral character were the tests imposed. A corps of five hundred clerks has been engaged on the work. For the expenses of the issue, the getting out of circulars, stationery, employing clerical help, engraving and printing bonds, and, finally, paying the express companies for transporting them, Congress has allowed $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent,—the smallest commission for expenses ever paid by the Government for the floating of any loan.

The sealing of the packages is alone a great task. Five seals are put on each package; and there will be about 300,000 packages; representing a total of about 1,500,000 wax seals. The bonds are delivered by express companies; the Government paying charges, and the companies being pecuniarily responsible for correct delivery.

The permanent work of the Treasury Department will be materially increased by this issue. The addition of such a great number to the total of outstanding bonds will add enormously to the work of making interest payments; the increase in number being far out of proportion to the increase in the outstanding funded debt, because of the small denominations and the widely scattered holdings. It is just as much clerical work to take care of a fifteen-cent coupon which matures every three months on a \$20 bond as it is to pay the interest on a \$10,000 bond.

The cost of handling a \$20 bond makes it a rather expensive security to the Government. But, when looked upon in the broader sense, these \$20 bonds are the best form of security the Government has ever issued. The great multiplication of bondholders, which has resulted from the manner in which this loan has been popularized, cannot but be an important factor in the national life. If it were a fact, that each of the 300,000 subscribers was a *bona fide* investor who would hold the Government's security as a permanent investment, the influence of such a distribution of Government obligations would certainly be marked and beneficial. It is altogether too much to say, that all the subscribers to this loan have purchased the bonds with the idea of holding them permanently in their strong-boxes. In any consideration of this phase of

the loan, the fact must not be lost sight of that the bonds were quoted at a marked premium during the whole time the loan was in progress, and that the Government was selling a security at par which the purchaser knew he could resell at an immediate profit. Speculation and not permanent investment, therefore, was to a great extent the moving factor. Undoubtedly the issue will be largely consolidated, and many of the bonds will find their way into the hands of the people who will pay the most for them.

As a general proposition, Government bonds are worth most to national banks, which can use them as a basis for circulation or as security for Government deposits; and that being the case, it naturally follows that a large number of these bonds will find their way into the assets of the national banks. This is no argument against the popular success of the loan, but is merely a factor to be considered in measuring that success.

After every allowance is made, after all the modifying conditions are considered, there still remains the fact that this loan has been a remarkable exhibition of financial strength, of faith in the Government's securities, and of the disposition of the Government to favor in its financial operations people of small means. In this latter respect the response has been everything that could have been expected. Small investors have shown their readiness to deal directly with the Government, and in great numbers have become purchasers of small amounts of bonds. The nation is stronger because of this distribution of its securities. The people are well satisfied, because of the opportunities that have been offered them. Critics of capital have been robbed of some of their much-used illustrations by the remarkably patriotic action of the great financial interests in guaranteeing the success of the loan; and the whole financial world has been enlightened as to the solidity of our institutions by the object-lesson of a 3-per-cent war loan selling in the market at 105 while hostilities were still in progress.

F. A. VANDERLIP.

OUR INTEREST IN THE NEXT CONGRESS OF THE POWERS.

SINCE it is now altogether probable that the Powers will insist upon the submission of certain results of the war to an international congress, a discussion as to what we should demand in such a congress, what power we have to enforce our demands, and whether or not such a congress at this juncture would be to our advantage, may not be untimely.

The enforcement of the one demand, that in future all civilized and semi-civilized countries, conquered or seized by any of the great Powers, remain open to the free trade of all the others, would now be the chief advantage we could derive from an international congress. This provision should include the present shadowy and generally inequitable claims to great portions of territory, called "spheres of influence."

We should seize the occasion to make such a provision a part of the Law of Nations. Our home market, great as it is, can no longer consume the supplies made possible by our enormous powers of production. Our export trade is extending itself by leaps and bounds. The completed figures of the Bureau of Statistics show an increase of \$180,300,000 over last year, which was our largest export year on record.

The Continental Powers are constantly restricting the markets for our rapidly developing commerce. Instead of holding conquered or occupied countries for the free trade of all other nations, as England does, these Powers at once surround all such countries with a protective ring-fence, and make it an exclusive market for themselves, regardless of the vested trade-rights of others and of the rights of the people of the conquered countries, who are thus forced to buy inferior articles in dearer markets. Indeed, the oppressive character of Protection is most clearly seen when it is imposed upon a people by external force. It was by such acts on the part of France that England lost valuable rights in Ton-King, and the United States her vested right to a great part of the trade of Madagascar,—a trade three times as large as that of France when the latter took possession of that island. These are international wrongs as yet without international remedies.

Our right to the trade in Madagascar—peacefully acquired, and mu-

tually beneficial to the people of that island and ourselves—was certainly greater than the right of France to the territory, violently taken by war. Russia and Germany, also following the exploded commercial policy of the last century, are shutting us off on the northern coast of Asia from territories which would soon become immense markets for our surplus products. It should be remembered further that the countries which they are closing to our trade are just those in which we should be able to compete most successfully. Countries about to be developed by the Powers of Europe or by ourselves do not require the wine and silks of France, but mining and agricultural implements, steel rails, etc.,—commodities in which we can undersell all our competitors.

It is monopoly of trade, not greed for territory, that in nearly all cases impels the Continental Powers to make these aggressions. Russian officials frankly state, as the reason for not annexing a large part of the interior of China, that those districts would not pay even the expense of government. Nine-tenths of the disturbing war talk and war feeling of late years has resulted from disputes concerning the boundaries of these new acquisitions. If the just and equitable principle of *open ports* and *free trade* were made a part of the Law of Nations, the desire to undertake the expense of governing these weaker countries would be materially lessened.

Of late many peace panaceas have been suggested, such as the disbanding of armies, the forming of grand alliances, and international arbitration; but the simple principle of *open trade* would be, during this fight for markets, a more effective measure for universal peace than any other. The general impression that Germany is quite capable of despoiling a European neighbor by the seizure of one of the Philippines, justifies Capt. Mahan's suspicion that, in the *fin de siècle* craze for expansion, South America might not be exempt from the aggression of stronger Powers.

Proximity now counts for little or nothing in trade. It is impossible to find a territory of equal area as far from the United States as Madagascar; yet our trade with the island, before the French occupation, was greater than that of any other country. Our trade with China and Japan is as great as that with Mexico; and in the last two years our Australian cousins have taken almost twice as much of our exports as all our Central American neighbors combined. Pan-Americanism, Bureaus of American Republics, etc., to foster trade in particular localities, are only part of the old Protection fallacy. What we need now is a uniform, world-encircling law of trade. If Free Trade were

a law, it would no longer be necessary for us to consign Spanish Americans to the awful fate of governing themselves; and we could be relieved (especially with our holdings of strategic points in the Caribbean Sea) of that "white elephant" of unknown dimensions, the Monroe Doctrine.

Perhaps there will never come a time when we shall be in a stronger position than now to enforce our demands in an international congress. Our naval strength has startled Europe. England's interests are identical with our own. She is preaching the doctrine of Open Ports, and has shown her willingness to fight for them.

Japan, with her efficient navy and important strategic position, has just been robbed of the fruits of victory by the three Powers who will most strongly oppose us. With Japan to aid the Anglo-Saxon Alliance in diverting a certain amount of naval strength, we could, with the assistance of the naval stations of England in the Mediterranean, bottle up the Black Sea and, perhaps, the Mediterranean itself. With our own western frontier resting on the shores of the Pacific, and with our Hawaiian and Philippine naval stations to coöperate with Japan and the fortunately situated British islands of Hong Kong and Singapore, we could effectually cut off the communications of Europe with the Far East. Indeed, it is a question whether an alliance having so many points of strategic advantage in all parts of the globe could not shut off the continent of Europe from every other part of the world. In either case, all their colonies would fall into our hands. As in the other general wars of modern times,—the War of the Spanish Succession, the Seven Years' War, and the wars of Napoleon,—the sea Power would in the end have the substantial gains.

While the Anglo-Saxon race is to-day the dominant race of the world, those who have seen the immense material development of Russia must admit that at the end of the next quarter-century the relative power and influence of the Anglo-Saxon race will be much diminished. The traveller who takes the Oriental Express at Paris for Constantinople runs down an inclined plane of civilization. On reaching Vienna he feels that he is out of the vein of material progress; at Belgrade he begins to see countries and cities taking on an Eastern look; on the third day he passes through Sophia, the semi-barbarous capital of Bulgaria; and on the fourth he arrives at the filthy capital of the "unspeakable Turk." Few realize that a further short sea voyage of thirty hours brings one into a zone of progress as vigorous as our own. Sebastopol, at the end of the Crimean War a squalid Tartar village, has now, with

its magnificent terraces and quays, the air of a great European seaport. The Crimea itself, known to us, through accounts of the Crimean War, as a mere trackless plain with an Arctic climate, is now fast becoming one of the greatest wine-producing countries in the world. Directly across the Crimean peninsula the plains of the Doneitz, which have slumbered for centuries in isolation and silence broken only by the march of Tartar hordes, have recently taken on an appearance similar to that of the environs of Pittsburg; twenty large factories for the manufacture of agricultural implements being now at work in that locality.

Across the Caucasus, beginning at the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, Russian engineering has built a railroad over the shifting sands of the Bokhara desert, and from the quagmires of the Oxus to the once mythical city of Samarcand, the capital of Tamerlane, but a few years ago on the limits of the known world, deep in the wilds of Tartary. Over this immense region the same activity of progress can be seen: huge barracks, which in those deserts seem to have risen in the night like a mist, are filled with soldiers, who are being educated in the arts of war with all the military science of Europe. Here the cotton acreage is extending so rapidly that railroads have not kept pace with it; and caravans, sometimes from ten to twenty miles long, are hurrying the crop from all directions to the railroad terminus.

Eastern Siberia also is progressing at almost American speed; and the great plains of Central Siberia, the most extensive on our planet, are only beginning to show the effects of railroad development.

With this immense material progress, with Constantinople a Russian port, with her frontiers resting on the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Ocean, Russia cannot fail to become in the course of twenty-five years a great sea Power which will greatly diminish the influence of the Anglo-Saxon.

Let us, therefore, have a congress now, and demand in it nothing but justice and equality in trade. In such a conference we should be even stronger than in the field.

Nothing has remained further behind in the march of civilization than international law; and as long as the Anglo-Saxon maintains his lead, it is his duty, as well as his interest, to enact the new laws necessary to bring it up to present requirements.

Before the leadership of nations passes from the Anglo-Saxon race, let us impress upon the world those laws so necessary for its progress, and, above all, the one of supreme importance, the law of *free exchange*.

TRUXTUN BEALE.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OREGON ELECTION.

ON June 6, 1898, the people of Oregon held a general election for the purpose of choosing State officers, two Congressmen, and a Legislature which will elect a United States Senator. The election resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory. In November, 1896, Mr. McKinley carried the State by a majority of 2,050. This year the Republicans elected their Governor by a majority of 10,574. Mr. Bryan carried sixteen of the thirty-two counties of Oregon; King, the Fusion candidate for Governor this year, carried but seven; the majority in every case being a meagre one. Three of these seven counties lie in the southeastern corner of the State, along the Idaho and Nevada lines.

The Legislature consists of sixty-six Republicans and twenty-four Opposition. Of the twenty-four three are hold-over Senators; and of the remainder ten were elected in districts carried by the Republican candidate for Governor. In these ten cases the Fusion candidates were elected because of personal considerations or factional differences in the Republican party.

Two years ago in both of Oregon's congressional districts, the Populists and Democrats made separate nominations for Congressmen. In these three-cornered fights the Republican candidates were elected by a plurality of 63 in the First District and of 378 in the Second. This year, against a combined opposition, the Republicans carried the First District by 2,022, and the second by 6,660.

Two years ago, owing to divisions in the Republican party, Sylvester Pennoyer, Ex-Governor of Oregon, and a pronounced Free Silverite, was elected Mayor of Portland. This year, although the same divisions continue and Ex-Senator Mitchell's followers voted and worked with Pennoyer, his candidate for Mayor was defeated by a plurality of 2,897 by W. S. Mason, an original Gold-Standard man, and president of the Portland Chamber of Commerce.

The Republicans have won this victory with practically no campaign fund, and without any assistance from outside the State, except three speakers sent from the East, two of whom reached Oregon when the campaign was almost over. The Republicans were demoralized also by the

manner in which Federal patronage had been distributed. The offices had almost all been parcelled out to the Mitchell, or Silver, faction,—a faction miserably small in number, and thoroughly discredited throughout the State. Many of these office-holders joined with the partisans of Ex-Senator Mitchell and openly antagonized the Republican ticket. The newly appointed Postmaster of Portland, for example, was the manager of a bolting faction of Republicans, who labored persistently to defeat the Republican candidate for Congress in the Second Congressional District, four of the seven candidates on the Republican State ticket (including the Governor), and the ten Republican legislative candidates in Multnomah County.

Opposed to the Republicans was a fusion of the Populist, Democratic, and Silver-Republican parties. It had a considerable campaign fund at its disposal, and was assisted by a large corps of speakers from a distance.

If this were a mere partisan triumph, I would not ask for space in THE FORUM to discuss it. The national significance of the election, however, appears from an examination of the platforms of the contending parties. The three most important planks in each platform were as follows :

FUSION PLATFORM.

We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations ; and we are unalterably opposed to the policy of the present Republican Administration in demanding the retirement of greenbacks, and the turning over of the money-making power of the Government to the national banks, as presented by the Bill drawn by the Republican Secretary of the Treasury and endorsed by President McKinley ; and we especially denounce the avowed attempt by said Bill to fasten the country irrevocably and forever to the single gold standard.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

We are in favor of the maintenance of the present gold standard ; we are unqualifiedly opposed to the free coinage of silver and to all other schemes looking to the debasement of the currency and the repudiation of the debt. We believe that the best money in the world is none too good to be assured by the Government to the laborer as the fruit of his toil and to the farmer as the price of his crop. We condemn the continued agitation for free silver, as calculated to jeopardize the prosperity of the country, and to shake the confidence of the people in the maintenance of a wise financial policy ; we particularly condemn, as unpatriotic, the efforts of the Free-Silver agitators to array class against class and section against section ; we declare that the interests of all classes and of all sections of our country alike demand a sound and stable financial system.

FUSION PLATFORM.

We demand that there shall be no further issue of United States interest-bearing bonds.

We demand the initiative and referendum system of lawmaking in its optional form, local, State, and national, and the submission by Congress of all important national questions for an advisory vote of the people, until such time as the national Constitution shall have been so amended as to provide for direct legislation.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

While we deplore the imminence of war, we recognize that the country is on the eve of a war undertaken for the vindication of the national honor and the performance of a work dictated by every instinct of humanity; we declare that the Administration is entitled in this conflict to the confidence and support of the entire people.

We are firmly attached to the principles of the Federal Constitution; we recognize that representative government is one of these principles; and we are opposed to any change in law or Constitution which will abrogate this time-honored principle.

The Money Question was undoubtedly the paramount issue of the campaign. It was discussed in nearly every political speech, and emphasized by the press of the entire State. The speaking campaign was not confined to the large towns, but, on the contrary, embraced the hamlets and school-houses, and the country remote from the railway lines. Mr. Geer, the Republican candidate for Governor, traversed the so-called "cow" counties of Southern Oregon and Eastern Oregon; travelling more than a thousand miles by stage and private conveyance. Wherever he went he expounded the Money Question from a Republican standpoint—always to large audiences. Prosperity had visited the State, especially in the farming and grazing districts; and the people were ready to examine the Money Question dispassionately. The result of the election is an overwhelming condemnation of free silver. Silver will never again be an issue to win on in Oregon.

Second only to the Money Question in importance was the duty which the voters felt of upholding the Administration in the Spanish War. The Fusion platform was an endorsement of the United States Senators who refused to give the Administration the power to borrow money. The people understood that without this power the war could not be successfully prosecuted; and their vote is an overwhelming condemnation of the Copperheadism of 1898.

The issue joined with the Fusionists on their declaration for the initiative and referendum was not much discussed during the campaign.

It was important chiefly as indicating that the Republicans of Oregon had finished their efforts to beat Populism by crowding it off its own platform. The day of deception and cowardice had passed: the day of honesty and courage had come.

Two years ago such a declaration was not made and could not have been made. Two years ago the Republican State Convention defeated a resolution to incorporate in the platform a declaration condemning free silver, although then, as now, the Republicans of Oregon were nearly unanimous in their support of the gold standard. The consequence was that in 1896 the party narrowly escaped defeat. This year, on a pronounced Gold-Standard platform, the most decisive Republican victory in the history of the State has been won. It is a demonstration of the fact that in politics the manly, honest, courageous course is also the politic course. The demonstration is commended to the consideration of the Republicans of Ohio and Illinois, who have contented themselves with platforms of platitudes on the Money Question; merely affirming the platform of the last Republican National Convention. In Ohio, indeed, they did not even quote the 1896 platform, but contented themselves with a reference to it. Oregon, be it remembered, is a mining State in the silver-belt.

The Oregon campaign illustrates the folly of trying to fuse the Democratic and Populist parties on the Silver Question. The principles of government, for the maintenance of which these parties were formed, are diametrically opposed to each other. Until the Presidential campaign of 1896 Democrats and Populists were engaged in bitter denunciation of each other. Until that time Free Silver had never been a portion of the creed of the National Democratic party, and it had been only an incident in the Populist creed.

These facts were fresh in the minds of the Oregon voters; and they were vigorously emphasized on the stump. They served to show that the fusion was an alliance for office and revenue only. Many conscientious men in both these parties revolted. An independent Populist candidate for Governor polled 2,866 votes; many more Populists refused to vote at all; and some Populists and many Democrats voted the Republican ticket. It is safe to say that these two parties will never again fuse in Oregon on a State ticket.

In a word, the Oregon election is an emphatic endorsement of sound money and honesty,—an emphatic condemnation of Copperheadism and of the sacrifice of principle for the sake of office.

WALLACE McCAMANT.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE KLONDYKE AND ITS OUTCOME.

HAVING recently returned from Dawson, I have been asked by the Editor of THE FORUM to state my unbiassed opinion with respect to the conditions existing in the Klondyke, and as to the probable outcome of the rush to the gold-fields of that district.

In order to appreciate fully the situation in the Yukon district last winter, and upon the arrival in May and June of this year of the great pilgrimage of gold-seekers, it is necessary to be familiar with the main points of the history of placer mining in Alaska and in British Northwest Territory.

The occupants of the old, widely separated trading-posts of the Yukon had long known of the existence of gold in small quantities in the Yukon Valley; and through them came the information which, in the evolution of events, led to the discovery of the rich fields in the Klondyke mining district. As far as I can ascertain, it was about eighteen years ago that the first actual prospectors packed their supplies over the coast range of Southeastern Alaska, built boats on Lake Linderman or Lake Bennett, and, armed with "faith and a gold-pan," crossed the unexplored Lewes lakes, and floated down the Lewes and Yukon rivers. They prospected the bars of the rivers, and found—on the bars of Stewart, principally—"diggings," where from \$5 to \$20 could be washed out of the gravel in a day. In September, arduously poling their boats back up-stream, they returned with the product of two or three months' labor. Later, they ceased to return in the same season, and built cabins for their protection during the winter. A trading company, whose river steamers connected at the island of St. Michael in the Bering Sea with ocean steamers from San Francisco, undertook to supply them with outfits of food, utensils, and clothing. Usually, they could earn the price of an outfit and a little more in two or three months' work in summer; and when they could not, the trading companies gave them credit until they should have better luck.

After working the bars, the next progressive step was the more prof-

itable working of the frozen ground in the valleys of the tributaries of Forty Mile Creek. This was done by alternately removing a few inches of thawed dirt and then allowing the sun to thaw a few inches more. But this process was feasible only in summer, and when the pay-dirt was near the surface and the contour of the ground favorable. In going to any depth the hole was sure to fill with water from the seepage of the thawing mud.

About five years ago fires were for the first time used in winter to sink holes to pay-dirt. Then the pay-dirt was drifted out by means of fire—the freezing temperature removing the danger of water running in—and drawn by a windlass to the surface, where it was piled, to be thawed again by the sun in summer and to be sluiced with the spring freshet. There is some dispute as to the author of this important innovation, which enabled the miners of the Yukon to work during twelve instead of only three months in the year. It is certain, however, that the idea was first suggested by the successful experiment of using fires to thaw the dirt of summer diggings which the rays of the sun did not reach. And, fortunately, firewood is as plentiful in the valley of the Yukon as mosquitoes in summer or ice in winter.

Gradually the number of miners increased. The new-comers came, as a rule, on the advice of friends who had gone before them. In the winter of 1895-96 there were probably two thousand white men in the valley who lived by placer mining. Up to this time the largest amount taken out of a single claim had been \$75,000. Circle City, three hundred miles below the then site of Dawson, and in American territory, had become a more populous camp than Forty Mile. Here, as a result of the finds on the tributaries of Birch Creek, were some three hundred cabins, a United States post-office, and a United States Commissioner.

It was in 1896 that the Yukoners learned through George Cormack—nicknamed, on account of his tastes, "Siawash George"—of the discovery which was to make the Klondyke so famous. Cormack was something of a trader and something of a prospector,—a product of the country. He had an Indian wife, and associated with the Indians by preference. In August, 1896, while he was fishing in the Klondyke, his brother-in-law brought him some small nuggets of gold that he had found on a bench ten miles up Bonanza Creek, which flows into the Klondyke about three miles from its mouth. On making a personal investigation, Cormack was so well satisfied with what he saw that both he and his brother-in-law staked claims.

The miners of Forty Mile and Circle City, except those who had

the ill luck to be sceptical, or out prospecting, hastened to the scene of the new "strike." When Bonanza was completely staked out, they staked Eldorado, a small creek emptying into Bonanza half a mile above the discovery claim. Of Eldorado before it was prospected, however, everybody had had a poor opinion. Holes sunk early in the winter showed Bonanza, from the discovery claim to its source, to be far richer than any creek of the old "diggings," and that for its length Eldorado was the richest creek that the world had ever known.

Before this, a well-known character had staked out the town-site of Dawson on the flat at the junction of the Klondyke and the Yukon. He received \$5 for lots that sold last spring for \$15,000. Circle City and Forty Mile were deserted; and practically the whole white population of the valley spent the winter in Dawson. In the first winter, something over \$2,000,000 was taken out of Bonanza and Eldorado. The output of one Eldorado claim alone was \$250,000.

This, then, was the crowning result of the years of labor of the pioneers. If the discovery of Eldorado and Bonanza was an accident, it was none the less an accident whose fruitful results were due wholly to the presence of miners in the country. Cormack had told his friends to let him know if they ever found any gold. All prospectors courted the favor of the Indians, with this same end in view. Unless the discoverers had known of the process of thawing, and its possibilities, they would never have reached bed-rock, where the wealth of the creeks lies, at a depth of from twenty-eight to thirty-five feet. Paying dirt at the point of discovery happened to be on a bench and only a few square feet in extent. Having worked this out, the miner of an early stage of the country's development might have tried in vain at other places on the bench and have given up the pursuit. But, knowing the process of thawing the ground, Cormack was wise in the interest of his own claims to have as many holes sunk to bed-rock as possible, and thus to ascertain the richness and extent of the pay-streak. So he did not hesitate to spread the news.

Never before had the prospector worked under such fierce and exacting surroundings. In the "land of magnificent distances" he had to move forward at a snail's pace under the most adverse climatic conditions. Of the extremes of temperature in the Yukon Valley I may say that ten days before the ice went out of the River I found the mercury to stand at 15° below zero at 3 A.M., when we started out on our day's journey, and by noon to be at 80°. For five months in winter the cold ranges from 20° to 50° below zero. Prospecting with a pack

on one's back is done only in September. In midsummer, except on a beaten trail, one sinks deep into the mud; the mosquitoes are uncomfortable, to say the least; there is no darkness; and, at midday, when the heat makes travel unadvisable, and sleep difficult, the mercury often rises to 100°.

I should not call these first prospectors soldiers of fortune, but rather the generals of their own little fortunes. They did not go to the Yukon expecting to make a fortune by enduring the cold of one Arctic winter, but only to make a living and to follow their bent. By nature they were recluses from civilization, who were happy in being in the company of other recluses in a country quite shut out from the world for eight months in the year. They had the patience necessary to the time-consuming business of prospecting for placer mines in Alaska.

Passengers on the steamers leaving Dawson in the spring following the great discovery had with them material proof of their good fortune. When, on July 15, the first ocean steamer connecting with the river steamers at St. Michael arrived at Seattle, men who had been penniless a year before went down the gangplank with sacks of gold so heavy that they needed assistance to carry them. The details of the successes of the most fortunate were borne to all parts of the Anglo-Saxon world by telegraph. Newspaperdom was quick to see the interest which must be excited by the announcement that near the Arctic Circle, in a region inaccessible for eight months in the year, were creeks where a poor man, if he could but reach them, might stake out a fortune for himself.

The prevalence of commercial depression heightened the fever. Men of all occupations from the cities, towns, and villages of the Eastern and the Middle States began to make preparations for departure. All were confident; some so confident that they borrowed money, took their savings, or mortgaged their homes, to secure the necessary funds. In many instances they left families behind. Reliable men from the Klondyke again and again expatiated on the difficulties of locating paying ground and of working it. The pilgrims were convinced that the difficulties before them were only the difficulties of the trail. These seemed to exert the fascination that adventure and danger always do over a certain class; being an invitation to a test of physical prowess and endurance which each pilgrim felt himself to possess in a larger degree than the average person. Prospectuses of the Pacific Coast steamship companies, of transcontinental railway companies, and of the towns on the Pacific Coast whose merchants had Yukon outfits to sell, abounded with alluring pictures.

There are two practicable routes to the Klondyke. One is by ocean steamer to the island of St. Michael in Norton Sound, and thence by a river steamer. The other is by ocean steamer to Dyea or Skaguay on the southeastern coast, and thence over the Chilkoot or the White Pass to Lake Linderman, where a small boat may sail across the lakes and float down the Yukon River until drawn up on the bank in front of Dawson. Between the middle of October and the first of November the River becomes impassable on account of the running ice. This rises from the bottom, which freezes before the surface.

Perhaps fifteen thousand men, who were able to leave home at once, decided to make the attempt to reach Dawson before the winter of 1897-98 should set in. This would have been easy enough, but for the transportation of supplies of food, clothing, and utensils sufficient for at least eight months, which had to go with the pilgrim. The passes were soon the scene of a tumult of energy. Either the pilgrim must carry his own outfit thirty-four miles and up an ascent of 3,400 feet, or else hire someone to do it for him. The price of transportation over this distance became as high as \$1.50 a pound. There sprang up at the mouths of the Dyea and the Skaguay rivers, which empty into either arm of the Lynn Canal, crude, lawless, mushroom towns, whose inhabitants had failed to get over the passes, or belonged to that shifting, disorderly element which is ever seeking new pastures, and had not the force of character necessary to attempt the journey to Dawson at that time of year. Of the two or three thousand men who succeeded in going through, only a few had food enough to last them until spring. But Dawson had other residents who were in the same plight. The two commercial companies were unprepared to deal with the rush of orders for outfits. Their flotilla was no larger than when they had to feed smaller camps; and Dawson was three hundred miles,—or, four or five days' journey for the steamers against the strong current up the River—farther from St. Michael than Circle City. Moreover, toward the close of navigation in the autumn of 1897 the water was unusually low. Much in the way of supplies to relieve the situation was expected from the last steamer to come up the river, the "Bella." When the "Bella" arrived with scarcely any provisions, the outlook was threatening. On the part of more than a thousand of the lawless and improvident ones who had no food there was talk of raiding the company stores; in fact, of making those who had yield up to those who had not.

Fortunately, there was then in Dawson a courageous and sensible

man, Capt. Charles Constantine, of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police. In the work of preserving order, at least, he was not hampered by the time-serving civil officers which the Government sent to Dawson,—for the purpose, it would seem, of individual aggrandizement. He had only twenty men with him; but so ably did he deal with the situation that the would-be rioters were cowed without any bloodshed. Then he let it be known, in a manner which admitted of little argument, that those who had no food must go down the River to Circle City, where there was food. Capt. Hansen, of the Alaska Commercial Company, gave free passage on the “Bella” to Circle City; and between two and three hundred were persuaded to take advantage of the offer. But those with ample funds began to hoard food as gold is hoarded in a financial panic. A sack of flour was known to sell as high as \$100; and \$1.50 a pound was the prevailing price for all staples. The newcomers who had only part of an outfit saw that they would not have enough money to complete their outfit later in the winter, even if food were purchasable. In December, January, February, and March some nine hundred men left Dawson for the outside. In the depth of winter they walked six hundred miles over the ice of the River and the lakes to the coast; their provisions for the journey being drawn by dogs or by hand.

Thus Dawson was saved from famine from within, which was possible; not from without, which was impracticable. Our Government’s Relief Expedition was not needed; and it could not have achieved its object with reindeer, nor, above all, with the snow- and ice-locomotives, which were the hobby of our Secretary of War. The supplies, with the officers and troops in charge of them, were two months at Dyea waiting for the snow-locomotives and the reindeer. The snow-locomotives never came; and the reindeer arrived when the season was too far advanced for travel, even with dog-teams.

It is now estimated in all that at least a hundred thousand men started for the Klondyke during the eleven months following the public announcement of the discovery on Bonanza Creek. Of these, thirty thousand actually reached Dawson. The remainder gave up the battle, either at Seattle, Dyea, or Skaguay, or even after they had freighted and packed their outfits with such trying labor to the head of the lakes.

I spent two weeks at Seattle in February and March of the present year. Then, with a dog-team to carry my provisions, I tramped five hundred and seventy-five miles over the ice of the Lewes lakes and the Yukon River (by the route the Government Expedition was to have

taken); reaching Dawson on May 4, four days before the ice went out of the River, and nine days before the first boat arrived from the foot of the lakes. Thus I was enabled to be with the pilgrims during the height of the rush over the land trail, and to be in Dawson at the beginning of the "clean-up" and before the thirty thousand arrived. In March there were five thousand people at Dyea, ten thousand at Skaguay, and twenty thousand encamped between these towns and the lakes. Most of them had no dogs, and drew their own outfits on sleds as far as the summit of the pass. This alone, if he had the required eleven hundred pounds of food, occupied the pilgrim four weeks. Seven days, perhaps two weeks, were spent in packing the outfit on his back over the summit of the pass, and from two to four weeks more in drawing it on his sled to Lake Bennett. At Bennett he had to fell timber, saw it into boards, out of which—by the aid of oakum and pitch and the simple tools for the purpose, which were a part of his outfit—he built his boat.

Such was the experience of those who started with the minimum amount of capital, \$500. The labor was that of stevedores. It was performed in a trying climate, and sometimes in the terrible storms which rage on the mountain summits of Southeastern Alaska in the winter. Two-thirds of the \$500 were expended for the supplies needful for a year's stay in the Yukon Valley, and the rest, after reserving \$50 for emergencies, in railway and steamer fares. One hundred thousand men expending \$500 apiece represent a total outlay of \$50,000,000 in the chase of gold by the pilgrimage. But many had more capital than this, and could afford to buy dogs and to have their outfits packed over the worst parts of the trail.

Such of the pilgrims as had the time, and were either ambitious to precede the mass of the pilgrimage into Dawson or had a stock of goods to sell to the miners, transported their *impedimenta* to the foot of Lake Le Barge, the last of the Lewes chain. By building their boats there they could launch them in the River; saving a difference in time of some two or three weeks between the opening of the River and the lakes.

By July 1 all the pilgrims, except a few stragglers, had reached their destination. To their lately acquired trades of cook and boat-builder they had now added that of the navigator. With them came tales of mosquitoes, delays on sand-bars, and of more than one craft with outfits on board which had been sunk by the rocks of White Horse Rapids and Thirty Mile River. Their unprecedented flotilla lined the banks of the Yukon and the Klondyke for several miles. They put up their tents as near as possible to the cluster of log cabins which is

called a "town" throughout the region, until the log cabins were surrounded and the mountain-side was dotted with tents. In the main street booths sprang up for the sale of the goods which came down in the early boats; and those pilgrims who brought merchandise, almost without exception, found their enterprise profitable. The early boats did not find Dawson starving; but they found Dawson with few luxuries in the way of food, and in want of many articles of clothing needful for the summer season. The miners were willing to pay from \$12 to \$18 a dozen for eggs of doubtful age, \$1.25 a pound for sugar, \$2.50 a pound for butter, \$1.50 a can for condensed milk, \$1 a pound for canned goods, \$8.00 a pound for tobacco, \$15 for a pair of boots or shoes selling for \$2 outside, and \$25 for a broad-brimmed felt hat. These prices were not maintained long after the boats began to arrive in any numbers. Later, when the pilgrims, with a view to departure, began to sell their outfits freely, flour sold for \$5 a sack,—the lowest price ever known in the Yukon Valley. But luxuries sold for relatively a great deal more.

In February Major J. M. Walsh, the Commissioner for the Yukon district, issued an order that no one should be allowed to enter the district with less than 1,095 pounds of food,—enough to last him for a year. Otherwise a great portion of the pilgrims would have reached Dawson without food enough to last them six months. In order to bring their outfits up to the required weight they bought mostly flour; while originally, when purchasing their outfits, they had contented themselves with only a few articles of luxury, because the staples were cheaper and more portable. But in Alaska dried fruits, sugar, evaporated vegetables, and canned goods of all kinds are absolutely necessary. Every man of my own party, while undergoing the extreme labor of the trail, consumed two-thirds of a pound of chocolate and sugar a day. Such knowledge which the prospector had gained by practical experience made him recall with some bitterness that he had himself encouraged the merchants to vie with each other in offering cheap outfits of the statutory weight for a "lump sum." Accordingly, in the stocks of provisions piled in the boats which came down the River there were few luxuries remaining. Many pilgrims had eaten all their sugar and smoked all their tobacco, though they were supposed, officially, to have enough sugar and tobacco left to last them for eight months longer.

The thirty thousand walked up and down the main street slowly, as a crowd moves, or lay in their tents, or cooked their meals. They were feeling the full debilitating effect of the brief, hot summer of the Yukon

Valley—the unhealthiest season of the year. The muck of the town-site was reeking with bad odors; and the hospital was full. There was not one hour of darkness in the twenty-four.

At the time of the arrival of the pilgrimage great depression existed in Dawson. For one thing, there was doubt as to the outcome of the many enterprises which, with more or less capital, were bustling one another. In the main, the depression was due to the failure of a great part of Bonanza Creek to come up to expectations when the dumps were washed; to the collection by the Canadian Government of a royalty of 10 per cent on the output of all claims; and to the natural reaction from the inflation of values during the winter. In January a conservative estimate of the output of the season was \$15,000,000. Then it was thought that the royalty would not be collected; and claim-owners were inclined to exaggerate, rather than to minimize, the amount which they expected to “clean up.” In early June, when the “clean-up” was well under way, the Government estimated the output for the season at \$6,000,000. But claim-owners, it is suspected, did not always make a full return of their output; and, moreover, it seemed to be an open secret that the civil officials were open to bargains. The amount of the actual output will never be known; but my belief is that it was not more than \$10,000,000,—probably less.

There is a mountain which stands alone at the summit of the watershed between the Klondyke and the Indian rivers: the miners refer to it as “The Dome.” Of the five creeks in this district which have been proved rich, four—Bonanza, Sulphur, Dominion, and Hunker—have their origin in rivulets flowing down the sides of this mountain; and the fifth, Eldorado, the richest of all, which is only five miles long, is a tributary of Bonanza. Sulphur and Dominion belong to the Indian River, and Bonanza and Hunker to the Klondyke watershed. Not more than a score of claims were worked to any extent on Hunker, Sulphur, and Dominion during the winter of 1897–98; but this was enough to demonstrate that Sulphur and Dominion, hitherto little prospected, nevertheless possessed “good pay,” if not as rich pay as Eldorado or Upper Bonanza. All the claims were staked by men who were either in the region or had started for the region before the treasure-ship, whose wealth and whose story startled the world, arrived at Seattle. Of the rush that followed this event, and of the fortunate few that reached Dawson in the autumn of 1897, I learned up to the time of my departure from Dawson (June 24) of no one who had staked a claim of a speculative value of more, or who had made more, than a Klondyke

laborer's winter's wages, unless he had had capital for speculation or had turned his attention to trade. The owners of the best claims on all of the five creeks had been in the country from two to five years. Five years in all will be required to work out most of these claims. There are on Eldorado probably five claims which will yield \$800,000 or \$900,000 each; probably ten claims which will yield as much as \$750,000 each; and on Eldorado and Bonanza probably forty claims which will yield as much as \$500,000 each. Such is the concrete glory of the Klondyke! But from this glory must be subtracted—expenses! Labor cost \$1.50 an hour last winter. For the sawn lumber for flumes and sluice-boxes the claim-owners paid from \$200 to \$450 a thousand feet. The cost of working the best claims on Eldorado, inclusive of royalty, varied from one-fourth to one-third of the output.

Up to June 15, 1898, eight thousand five hundred claims had been recorded in the Klondyke and the Indian River mining districts, or two claims for every white inhabitant of these districts during the winter of 1897-98. (The law allows a person to stake one creek-claim and one bench-claim in each mining district.) Of these eight thousand five hundred claims not more than eight hundred had yet been proved, by the actual prospecting of the claim itself or of the creek on which the claim is located, to be worth the recording fee of \$15. All might be Eldorados and—all might not. Proximity of a creek to a rich creek does not mean that the former also is rich. All the creeks within fifteen to forty miles of "The Dome" have been staked in stampedes started on haphazard rumors of someone having found "color" in them. These claims must have three months' work done on them this winter; else they will revert to the Government. Some of them will no doubt be forfeited; but enough will be prospected to inform us of the value of most of the numerous new creeks.

It having been found that there were small patches of good pay on the hillsides above Eldorado and Bonanza, the hillsides of the five rich creeks have been staked as benches. A bench-claim is one hundred feet square. The richest bench is French Gulch on Eldorado. Here, on a score of claims, two men with a rocker can take out from \$50 to \$500 a day. Just beyond the rim of the little basin, which seems to have caught the gold when it was in movement, there is no pay whatsoever. But the hillside was staked for a quarter of a mile beyond the rim before this was known.

If the pilgrim would have a good claim, he must discover it. He must choose some tributary of the Yukon in September, carry his pro-

visions up to the mouth of one of its branches, and spend the winter thawing holes in search of "pay," which, the chances are, he will not find. If he finds pay—or if he does not, but rumor says that he has found it—all the creeks in the neighborhood will be staked in a stampede from Dawson. Or the pilgrim can become one of the loiterers in Dawson who wait for opportunities to go on a stampede. Or he may go to work for wages. Up to July of the present year only a few had sought employment; but these were enough to bring wages down to \$1 an hour. Should any number of the pilgrims follow this example, wages are likely to fall to 50 or 60 cents an hour.

Roughly, but surely and swiftly, the lesson was forced home to the pilgrim that the Klondyke is no place in which to make a fortune in a great hurry. However easily one may learn to pan "color" out of gravel, one cannot acquire in a day the characteristics of patience and nonchalance and success in dealing with obstacles which, with the veteran prospector, are as much a matter of experience as of natural fitness. Therefore, most of the pilgrims have started for home, sadder and wiser men, to seek their old vocations. They have done Dawson the favor of preventing a food famine this winter. The hardy few who remain behind will, no doubt, discover new "diggings"; and some of them will secure the fortunes to which their efforts surely entitle them. A part of those who will spend the winter in actual prospecting will go up the tributaries of the Stewart River in Northwest Territory. The remainder—the greater part—will go into American territory. The future of Alaska as a great gold-producing country seems assured, if the finding of "color" at the mouths of the tributaries of the Yukon means, as in the case of Forty Mile, the Klondyke, and Birch Creek, coarser gold in greater quantity on the smaller creeks.

The new trading companies promise cheaper food and cheaper transportation; and the railroad being built from Skaguay to Lake Bennett will make such freight rates from the coast to the lakes as will render the struggles of the packers of the winter of 1897-98 a memory. Capital, skill, and machinery will soon combine to work with profit ground which, under present conditions, does not receive more than passing notice.

FREDERICK PALMER.

THE COURSE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

DEFINITE knowledge began with mineral substances, passed to vegetal and animal bodies, and is now extending to mankind. With each advance, recognition of the uniformity of nature has grown clearer, appreciation of force and sequence has grown stronger. In every stage knowledge is summarized in classifications; and, with growing recognition of uniform action and sequence, the classifications of science express more and more fully what things *do* rather than what they merely *are*. The extension of these kinetic classifications to mankind is one of the latest advances of science.

Modern instances in human development raise the question as to the superiority of the Caucasian race. Yea more, they raise a doubt as to the utility of race classification for purposes of statecraft and scientific study, a doubt only strengthened when ethnology is compared with other branches of knowledge in which, as I have said, things are classified by what they do rather than by what they merely are.

For example, judged by successful administration, Porfirio Diaz, President of the Republic of Mexico, is one of the ablest leaders of our time, if not of history. Diaz is half Indian, half Spanish; two-fifths of his people are pure Indians; and nearly one-half are Mestizos. Next to Mexico, the nation of most rapid progress during the last quarter-century is Japan, an island empire peopled and ruled by a Mongol race. Again, a minor nation among the Powers, though highly significant in its advance above ancestral standards, is the "Black Republic" of Haiti, whose people are of nearly pure African blood.

The question thus raised is only emphasized by the relative, if not absolute, decadence during recent years of certain Southern European nations.

There are numerous other instances, all of like tenor; and within two decades the question and doubt raised by each have grown into the certainty that mankind is worthy of a classification better than that borrowed from the beasts, namely, a classification in terms of essentially human attributes. This certainty has given form to a new ethnology, in

which men are arranged, not by color, form of skull, and type of hair, but by their activities and capabilities as intelligent beings.

The scientific study of mankind begins with the observations and half-conscious generalizations of the average man. As these are refined and extended, and compared with the simpler facts of the animal, vegetal, and mineral realms, the student gradually gains fixed conceptions concerning individual birth and growth and death, and comes to realize that these facts, like those of the lower realms, are controlled by the law of the uniformity of nature. The realization may be slow: but it is sure; and it matures in conviction no less steadfast than that of the astronomer who predicts eclipses out of his established knowledge that this is a universe of law, and not of chance.

A second stage of the study begins where historiography ends: the student observes not merely that tribes and cities and nations arise and pass, but that every episode in the procession of events is shaped by definite factors, one (and the most variable) of which is human conduct. Regarding the feelings and actions of men toward their fellows as causes and conditions, he realizes that the fate of nations is subject to the law of the uniformity of nature,—that given cause is invariably followed by commensurate effect, and that the movements of peoples may be prevised with a degree of certainty varying inversely with the complexity of the causes and conditions involved. Guided by the invariable sequence of cause and effect in human affairs, he next perceives that conduct itself is a product of natural conditions coupled with an intelligence which seems to move in accord with invariable law; and thus he grows into realization of the fact that conduct and its consequences—whether reward or penalty—pursue a course no less definite than the revolution of planets and satellites in their orbits as they follow the sun in his dizzying race toward Alpha Lyrae.

There is a third stage in the scientific study of humanity, which arises when the view is extended from individual men, through the social groups, to the races and peoples of the world. Regarding mankind in the light of experience and organized knowledge, the student perceives certain tendencies and laws of development which, virtually immutable, are measurably susceptible of modification by human agency for human weal. The interrelations between man and man, between each social group and its neighbors, between race and race, and between all of these and their subhuman environment, are numberless and so infinitely varied as to challenge prevision; yet, when it is once recognized that every relation is controlled by the law of the uniformity of

nature, and that every movement forms part of a definite sequence, the chaos can be reduced to at least partial order. This reduction is the business of the anthropologist. Tracing the course of human development through the study of many peoples, he is able to lay down the lines of progress; he sees the bustling body of humanity no longer as a wind-tossed lake, but as a strong river flowing steadily in a single direction; and, by projecting the generalizations of experience under the guidance of the formula of science, he is able to prolong a little way into the future the lines coming out of the past into the present.

The study of human progress is of great and growing interest. As his view grows clear, and his horizon expands, the modern student is forced to the conviction that, with far deeper meaning than Pope e'er dreamed of,

"The proper study of mankind is man"

—that the course of human development is the worthiest subject of contemplation our universe affords.

As the interest is profound, so the problems presented are vast in magnitude and practical importance. In round figures the population of the globe is 1,500,000,000. About three-fifths of this aggregate are civilized or enlightened, and limited in permanent habitation to perhaps one-fifth of the area of the continents and islands; about three-tenths of the whole are barbarians, occupying some two-fifths of the lands of the globe; while about one-tenth of mankind are savages, wandering over the remaining two-fifths of the land. These values may be varied by differences in definition; but it is impossible to vary them so widely as to change the broad fact that only a fraction of the earth is completely controlled by civilized and enlightened men for the benefit of their kind.

Partly because of inherent interest, partly to prepare the way for prevision of future progress, it is worth while to define the primary classes of mankind and the stages of human development.

Man differs fundamentally from the lower animals in that he is essentially a social being, and in that his kind are organized in persistent groups (families, tribes, confederacies, states, nations, alliances), developed and perpetuated for the common good. The unit of zoölogy is the individual organism, and the collectives are species and genera, or faunas; while the unit of anthropology (or demonomy) is the group, and the collectives are larger groups and races, or mankind in general. This distinction cannot be too strongly impressed. Between mankind

and the lower animals there are many resemblances and many differences; but the essential difference is found in the social organization of mankind—an organization toward which the highest intelligence of every generation is bent.

Among the races and peoples of the earth two primary types of social organization are found. The lower peoples are organized in tribes and confederacies based on kinship; while the higher are organized in states and nations largely on a territorial basis. These types have been distinguished—notably by Powell—as *tribal society* and *national society*.

When the primary types of social organization are studied critically among the known races and peoples, it is found that they comprise four well-defined social phases, conveniently distinguished as savagery, barbarism, civilization, and enlightenment. The first two phases represent tribal society; the others, national society. All are represented among living peoples, and may be defined with considerable accuracy.

In *savagery* men are united in clans and tribes, usually small, and commonly inimical to neighboring tribes; and, under the cruel teaching of strife and precarious livelihood, low value is placed on human life. The arts are rudimentary; the industries are simple and crude, the implements being chiefly of tooth, shell, bone, wood, and stone; the costumes are scanty and either of skins or of coarse textiles twisted and netted; and the habitations are either temporary bowers or portable tents of bark or skin. Each tribe is dominated by a leader distinguished for prowess or shrewdness. Language is commonly peculiar to the tribe, or to a small group of tribes separate in time of peace, but united in war; while the mythology, or religion, is but a vague reverence for uncanny or mysterious powers, imputed chiefly to animate, but partly to inanimate, things. These characteristics vary slightly from race to race, and some of them extend into higher stages; but there is one feature which is fundamental, and serves to define the stage of savagery, viz., descent is reckoned in the female line, and the control over the family and larger groups inheres not in the fathers, but in the uncles. This stage of society is called maternal from the mode of reckoning kinship, or matronymic from the mode of applying names; or it may be called avuncular from the form of family government. Some of the customs of this stage are closely akin to those found among gorillas and other animals living in family groups, though the essential characteristics are distinctively human.

In *barbarism* men are combined in tribes, usually occupying definite localities if sedentary, or traversing definite lines if nomadic.

Taught by the exigencies of tribal history, a higher value is placed on human life than among savages; and intertribal rights are recognized more or less clearly. The æsthetic arts are inchoate and connected with symbolism. The industries remain crude; unstudied agriculture and the domestication of animals are practised; metal is sometimes forged, but seldom smelted; the costumes subserve growing pudency as well as comfort, and are largely of woollen and cotton or other vegetal fabrics, spun and knit or woven; the habitations are tents among the nomads, and rude castles of stone or sun-dried earth, or logs, among the sedentary tribes; and usually the tents or more permanent structures are so arranged as to express the tribal organization. Each group is controlled by a leader of at least partial hereditary right, usually the tribal patriarch (though the consanguinity and age may be assumed rather than actual), who may be a monarch of unlimited powers. The language is composite and common to a number of tribes; while the mythology resides in a hierarchy of beast-gods and deified objects and powers of nature, sometimes symbolized in dragons and chimeras, or in anthropomorphic monstrosities; the forms of worship are ceremonial, and usually conducted in temples or sacred plazas. The essential and characteristic features of the stage are the reckoning of descent in the male line and the patriarchal control. The society is commonly called paternal or patronymic. It is also called patriarchal, and carries a complementary matriarchal element,—seldom recognized hitherto,—when the spouse of the leader acts as vice-regent.

In *civilization* men are combined in cities and states or nations controlled by laws for the protection of life and property. In this stage the fine arts are divorced from mythic symbolism; the industries are differentiated; division of labor is established; and commerce is developed. The masses are governed by kings and emperors, whose powers, at first limited only by might, are gradually regulated by legislative and judicative tribunals. The languages are blends of those of numerous ancestral tribes, and are crystallized by writing and printing; the beliefs are blent and spiritualized, and monotheism prevails. The characteristics of civilization are many; but the essential feature is social organization on the basis of property right, especially in lands.

The rise of *enlightenment* is current history. The rights of man and the value of life are more and more fully recognized; war is deprecated, and the nations are forming alliances; the remaining feudal lords, kings, and emperors ruling by hereditary right are passing under the dominion of the same humanitarian law as that of the multitude; monarchism is

being limited or transformed into republicanism; and subjects are becoming citizens. Under the protection of beneficent laws population is increasing, and new industries and enterprises are arising to sustain it; the fine arts are cultivated and brought within reach of all; language is unified to a few convergent branches; ideas are diffused and perpetuated by the press; the nations and alliances are moved by charity and controlled by justice; and human life is lengthened. With the multiplication of interests, property right is recognized not only in lands and their produce, but in the waters, in the air above, in the rocks beneath, and, above all, in ideas and opinions. The characteristics of enlightenment are innumerable; but the essential feature is recognition of individual rights, especially of those intellectual rights whereby invention is encouraged and genius fostered, and of the concomitant political rights maturing in government by the people for the people.

To these four phases belong mankind, whether their skins be black, red, yellow, or white; their hair kinked, straight, or wavy. Most of the black and red belong to the first and second phases in about equal proportions; most of the yellow to the second and third; and nearly all of the white to the third and fourth. Yet it cannot be affirmed too emphatically or too often that the individual characteristics are determined less by racial affinity than by social phase, less by color than by culture, less by blood than by brain. Race distinctions are of use to the student; but still more important to the scientist and the statesman are the distinctions in social phase,—distinctions that at once express intellectual development, and control the character and capacity of the individuals who shape the fate of nations.

The four culture phases exhibited by the races and peoples of the earth fall into stages so related as to show that one has grown out of another in a definite order. This order of development is indicated by the observations recorded in current history, by the natural law of growth, and by the conditions of human progress.

The transformation from the maternal phase to the paternal phase in tribal society has been repeatedly noted, especially in America, where ethnologic studies are conducted by experts. The features of change are protean and often puzzling; appearing sometimes in symbolic or linguistic or fiducial guise,¹ though always traceable to increased knowledge,

¹ *E.g.*, the Muskwaki tribesman, who has just passed the critical point, says: "The father has the right to name the first child; but if it dies we know the Ancients wish to give the right to the mother."

—including the conception of paternity,—always connected with industrial conditions, and always expressed in social organization. Yet, on careful synthesis, the changes are found to run practically in a single direction; the regressions being rare and small as the shoreward eddies of a rapid river.

So, too, the transformation from civilization to enlightenment is progressing slowly, but surely, in several countries; and here again the movement is essentially in one direction, the regressions few and short. These transformations are prevalently peaceful, though sometimes accompanied by strife and bloodshed. Each recent decade sees also several cases of the replacement of tribal organization by national organization, usually through conquest; for special difficulties accompany this transition, the most revolutionary in the course of human progress. The history of the world, however, reveals no fair example of even temporary regression from national society to tribal society. Thus the evidence of developmental order derived from current history is practically decisive—no less decisive indeed than the indications of individual growth and decline on which practical men rest their firmest convictions.

The records of current history are supplemented by the long back-sight and clear foresight of scientific principles. On juxtaposing the culture phases in historical order, it is found that each comprises all the characteristics of the next earlier, plus certain added features. The ocular kinship of savagery is equally characteristic of barbarism, and also of civilization and enlightenment, in which the family group is recognized in common law and statute as well as in affection's ties; while the unwitnessable paternity and the patriarchal-matriarchal rule are superadded in barbarism, to persist as features of family life in both of the higher stages. With the increasing population of the third stage reciprocal domiciliary and territorial rights grow dominant, and are superadded to the consanguinity which previously served to regulate social relations; while in the next stage intellectual and political rights arise, and gradually come to dominate national institutions which continue to recognize territorial rights.

This development by successive increments conforms to the law of growth displayed in every realm of nature: the crystal grows into definite shape by increments of its own substance; the plant grows by increments of various substances transmitted in the crucible of vitality; the animal grows by increments of organic substance coupled with the elimination of effete matter; the demos grows by increments in the form of devices for strengthening mankind and subjugating lower nature.

It conforms also to the cosmic growth displayed in the transition from realm to realm: for, just as the properties of the mineral realm form a common basis to which are added the new properties of vitality in the vegetal realm, motility in the animal realm, and mentality in the human realm, so the maternal kinship of savagery forms the basis of social organization, to which paternity is added in barbarism, a broader fraternity in civilization, and civil equality in enlightenment. Indeed, the development but expresses that growth from simplicity to complexity exemplified by all things terrestrial,—a growth reversible only by catastrophe. So the scientific extension of history and the chronicles alike show that the way of human progress is from savagery, through barbarism, up to civilization, and thence into enlightenment. The knowledge that this is so is no shadowy figment, but a living realization, definite as the knowledge of the average man that his sire was once an infant and will sometime die. The four culture stages are invariable as the Shakspearian Seven Ages of Man; and their course can no more be inverted than can the river be led up-stream, or the graybeard turned back to callow youth and puling infancy.

Both the chronicles and the principles are sustained and explained by analysis of the conditions attending the culture stages. In savagery the groups are small, the problems of life simple, the consequences of good or ill fortune slight and fleeting. The savage is largely a creature of chance, unable to deal with problems in economics or civics, and, in case of overgrowth in population, is compelled to starve and slay until the balance between supply and demand is restored.

In barbarism the groups are larger, the needs more diverse, the industrial and social problems more complex: but the barbarian adds thought to chance, and rises into primitive agriculture and zoöculture whereby the productions of nature are augmented; and, as he develops ability to balance supply and demand without starvation or slaughter, his kind grow into humanitarian habits and institutions.

In civilization the population is multiplied in density, the economic problems are multiplied in complexity, the social problems raised to a higher power; yet civilized man pits forethought against chance, and meets the growing demands by increasing products, meanwhile eschewing warfare save over matters of faith and inherited antipathies, and developing philanthropic motives in connection with elaborate civic institutions fitted to the complex economic conditions.

In enlightenment intellectual needs arise, the demand for education presses, and luxuries become necessities; then man casts off the chains

of chance, and makes invention multiply the sources of supply to meet the multiplied needs; he improves the useful and exterminates the useless among animals and plants through cultivation, and thereby converts the earth and the fulness thereof to the benefit of his kind; he finds new resources in the waters and in the air above and in the rocks beneath, and purifies the foods his kind eat, the liquids his kind drink; and he forswears warfare save for liberty or for sweet charity's sake, and depends on diplomacy for the maintenance of civic relations so complex as to transcend the imagining of primitive men.

Now in every stage the problems are connected with comfort and well-being, *i.e.*, they are economic. Merely vital in lower savagery as among the higher animals, the problems become mainly industrial in barbarism, chiefly social in civilization, and largely intellectual in enlightenment; though the vital and industrial and social elements persist in each higher grade. In every stage the problems are met by coördination, *i.e.*, by adjustment between human power and material things. In lower savagery organs are coördinated through exercise, and the coördination is perpetuated through heredity; with advancing culture, manual devices are coördinated through discovery and imitation, and the coördination is maintained and strengthened through habit and memory. Then peoples and their possessions are coördinated through design born of growing experience, and the arrangement is crystallized through persistent custom and more persistent law; and, finally, ideas are coördinated through invention and immortalized through diffusion. Stated in another way, the problems are met by education—discipline of muscle and nerve, training of hand and eye, nurture of memory and sympathy, cultivation of the inventive and creative faculties. In short, the problems of human life arise with growth of population; and they are solved by means of growing knowledge.

It follows that the order of the four stages is a normal and necessary one, and, also, that the succession can proceed only at a normal rate. The river flows at a rate determined by declivity and cross-section; and the rate cannot be changed without altering these factors. The glacier creeps forward at a rate determined by its longitudinal and transverse sections and a thermal factor; and, while the rate may be changed by modifying the factors, the flow cannot otherwise be materially hastened or slackened without disruption of the gelid mass. In like manner human population normally increases at a rate determined by conditions, which can be varied only by modifying those conditions. So, also, the knowledge required in diversified arts and industries, in

liberalized society, in richer language and literature, and, most of all, in enlightened philosophy, can increase only at a rate determined by intellectual faculties definite as the animal faculty of procreation—a rate measurably accelerated by education or slackened by repression, but otherwise maintaining spontaneously a steady rhythmic swing, persistent as that of planetary revolution.

The four culture stages intergrade in some degree, yet remain so distinct that the representative of one never comprehends the features of those higher, seldom understands the characters of those lower. The black-skinned savage easily affiliates with red or brown indigenes of corresponding grade; for they are similar in handiwork and family organization, and worship similar pantheons with similar rites: but the savage looks askance at the family customs of the barbarian, and can no more grasp the society based on property right than he can solve problems in conic sections or build engines. Indeed, his mind is only paralyzed by contact with the commonplaces of higher culture.

In time the savage, or barbarian, learns to tolerate the devices of enlightenment, just as the lion learns to breed in captivity, and then slowly assimilates the ideas behind the devices; but when the assimilation is complete he is enlightened, whether his skin be yellow or red or black. And in every stage devices—artistic, industrial, social, linguistic, philosophic—are the fruit of thought, the seed of larger knowledge: and fruit and seed follow duly in season; spreading from man to man and from land to land wherever the cerebral soil is found fertile, conveyed by imitation, enriched by cultivation, never lost but by birth of better knowledge, never destroyed unless by annihilation of peoples, ever spreading and blending as a flora, ever burgeoning and blossoming into a veritable mantle of mind investing the mindless world.

A lesson may be drawn from the normal succession of stages in human development. On both hemispheres a contest is raging, the issue of which might seem doubtful if the order of progress were unknown. With recognition of this order, it is seen to be a contest between two culture grades, between higher humanity and lower, between intellectual freedom and mental slavery; and, whatsoever the temporary hazard of battle, there can be but one final outcome. The enlightenment warmed in Albion and kindled in Columbia is the manifest destiny of nations: its rays must reach the remotest isle of Occident and Orient, and shine back in time on the Fatherland of Discoverers.

W J MCGEE.

DEMOCRATIC ART.

THE advent of the people, which is commonly regarded as the most signal phenomenon of recent centuries, has worked revolutions in the forms and themes of art no less marked than the popular innovations in the processes and institutions of society. Democracy, it would seem, is not a political term alone: it is a universal idea, whose entertainment determines conduct in every one of the spheres of human activity. Democracy cannot prove itself established until its principles have permeated society in every part, and displaced all that has been produced under the influence of monarchic and aristocratic ideas. Its function is to grow out of the social soil strictly autochthonic education, religion, philosophy, and arts, which shall be uniform with progress; corroborating in the fullest degree the immediate land and contemporary life.

The process of transformation and adjustment which the fine arts are undergoing, in passing from an aristocratic to a democratic basis, is one of the most important and significant, though generally unrecognized, movements of the modern world. Although the subject is beset with difficulties, I propose to examine with some care the nature and extent of the specific changes compelled in art by the Time-Spirit in the midst of the general results flowing from universal emancipation. The movement is, of course, incomplete in its operation. The present period is one of transition. An adequately representative art does not exist to-day in any democratic community, not even in any portion of America, which is still the most perfect and consistent embodiment of the democratic idea, and in whose bounds, therefore, we should expect the evidences of artistic freedom.

If a reason be sought for the insufficiency of American art, two facts will be found to have bearing upon the question. One is the commonly recognized truth that the actual scenery of the American land and the events of its population are themselves transcendent in their poetic quality. As the French Revolution, by transferring the drama of life from the stage to the streets, ruined the theatres of Paris, so the very variety and intensity of our own dramatic life make us content to forego the simulation of the play and the poem. Our "Iliad" is still in the making.

Another fact connects the foregoing with the discussion of this paper, namely, that our art, however potential in its subject-quality, is still formed, to a considerable degree, under the guidance of the traditions of feudal Europe. To this day Paris is the Mecca of painters. The foreign melodrama, false to our notions of heroism, remains the accepted model of playwrights, rather than native plays of the type of Herne's "Shore Acres" or Thomas's "In Mizzoura." Dvorák's American symphony contains nothing distinctively Western: Damrosch's "Scarlet Letter" is Germanic in everything but title. And not only is our creative art formed under direction, but the accepted principles of criticism are traditional; and we look at even the art that is modern through the eyes of foreign courts. Emerson's "American Scholar" was called "the scholar's Declaration of Independence": that revolution is completed. But the declaration of artistic and critical independence has yet to be formulated and written. It must be understood, therefore, that any conclusion respecting either the descriptive or the speculative phases of democratic art and criticism is but tentative. The event awaits the completion of the democratic movement. Enough, however, has been accomplished, and tendencies are clearly enough defined, to enable us to understand, in part by speculation, in part by observation, the characteristics of democratic art, and through these the forms of democratic criticism.

These characteristics may first be formulated by drawing a contrast between aristocracy and democracy in their political and social aspects. Such preliminary scrutiny and definition of political distinctions will be found to be valuable to our purpose because of the æsthetic ingredient that all social ideas contain, inasmuch as this or that idea is generally entertained on account of its appeal to the imagination as well as to the reason; and a final selection of any idea is made as much on the grounds of its propriety as of its service. When the members of any society prize the political form they have achieved as having value in itself, as somewhat intrinsically and eternally right and beautiful,—when, that is, the subjects of a king consecrate the law and order of their society as something inherently beautiful, and the citizens of a republic are pleased to contemplate their structureless, but practical, democracy as something divinely just and righteous,—the social imagination receives a coloring that may be called æsthetic; and the artistic product, in its turn, is consciously or unconsciously made to conform to the general principle. It is historically, as philosophically, true that the fine arts correspond, in general aspects at least, often in the minutest detail, to the modes of thought and feeling that characterize social conditions.

Socially an aristocratic society exhibits three special features; viz., conventionality as to form, exclusiveness as to content, conservatism in matters of idealism. A democracy, on the other hand, is unconventional, almost structureless in its forms, inclusive in its content, progressive in its ideals.

An examination of artistic production with respect to form, content, and general attitude toward life and thought, will give the definition of the two classes of art in question.

In its forms aristocratic art will first be dignified: it must wear the dress prescribed by custom, and defer to the proprieties that hedge the throne. Composition is determined by the standard of "good form," which has been established by the critical class, and is maintained in force by tradition. Aristocratic art is largely external, but perfect within the limits of the "grand manner," and fixed in its "classic" perfection by authoritative conventions.

As a patrician class shuns the vulgar phrase in the interest of culture, so it seeks to preserve its refinement by avoiding the vulgar person. Its art, accordingly, is exclusive in its subject-matter; only those characters and themes having admission which, by their nobility and dignity, are thought to be susceptible of artistic treatment. The passions that run from lord to lady inspire the lyric song; while "knights' and ladies' gentle deeds" constitute the scope of epic or dramatic action. In pastorals shepherds and shepherdesses of the field appear: but the dainty *Corydons* and *Chloes* that play at keeping sheep never see a pasture; and the sheep that play at being kept never enter a fold. A really common person may enter upon the stage to play buffoonery or point a biting satire, but never to maintain an independent interest or destiny.

Toward life aristocracy ever maintains the conservative attitude. It exists by gifts of the past. Its powers and privileges, private and public, are derived by inheritance. The will of the father governs the career of the child: the experience of age restrains the creative impulses of youth. An aristocracy resists the encroachment of new ideas: it doubts nothing, desires nothing, holds permanently to beliefs, is content with metes and bounds. Its art pictures in the past the Golden Age. The virtues it extols are those that belong to feudalism, loyalty to the king, obedience to inherited authority.

The popularization of art results in forms that are fluid and varied, in subjects fully comprehensive in their scope, in ideals that freely enlarge and advance. The one word comprehending these features, the word

which justifies the use of the term "democratic" in characterizing them, is "freedom"—the freedom to choose without restraint forms and subjects, making possible a sincere expression of personality, which is the fundamental content of all true art; the freedom to experiment and prophesy, rendering easy a progression to higher and sincerer modes of expression.

As the leading principle of a democracy is individualism, the art that arises from among the people has for its chief characteristic infinite variety of form. The one effort of democratic art being to exploit individuals, diverse each from the other, the modes of utterance change to correspond to the nature of the man. Every artist becomes a law unto himself, and learns to follow an impressionistic method to the full license of egotism. The acceptance of all the facts of life involves a primitive directness of method in exhibiting such facts. All true realism contains the personal quality, the individualization of sight and interpretation. Styles, therefore, in realistic art, are simple, fluid, and various. Instead of a single standard of established "good form," a hundred plebeian modes of significance arise. The canon of order in variety is supplanted by that of significance in variety. The symmetrical unity of aristocratic art gives place to multiple meaning,—an inner for an outer. Irregularity of form is the very genius of an art that is controlled by an inner principle. Ruskin said of a Gothic building: "If one part always answers to another part, it is sure to be a bad building; and the greater and more conspicuous the irregularities, the greater the chances are that it is a good one." Imperfections of form in painting, discordant notes in music, vulgar phrases in poetry, are artistically permissible so long as these are significant of character. Individual sincerity governs manner, rather than the conventions of a dictatorial artistic class.

A second great principle of democracy is equality. Equality opposes comprehensiveness to exclusiveness. Democratic philosophy asserts that the most common objects of nature, and the most common events of life, are instinct with latent principles which, when detected, approve themselves divine. So long as the all-inclusive light falls round the objects of the universe, so long will love and sympathy comprehend the divinity that appears universally in objects. Nothing in man or in nature is unpoetical, if treated sincerely by a poet who has the largeness and the insight to penetrate below externals to the heart and essence of things. There is nothing profane save profane eyes and minds. The acceptance of the universal and unseen is rendered imperative; for only by the transcendent idea can each fact and person

be given place and significance in the scheme of the world. The democratic principle springs from faith—a faith becoming more and more absolute as man rises in the scale of being. In every individual the prophetic eye perceives the revelation in outlines, however dim, of gods and heroes. By virtue of faith the note of popular art is inclusiveness. Love casts out scorn and denial. High life and low life contribute their characteristic themes.

Goethe defined good society as that which furnished no materials for poetry; and Mr. Symonds says: "How hardly shall they who wear evening clothes and ball dresses enter into the kingdom of art." But democratic art does not exclude good society. Society, bending and gliding at the dance, has a specific note of grace no less to be admired and cherished than that attending the superb poise of the reaper as he swings his sickle, or the strong flex of the blacksmith's muscles as he strikes the glowing iron. The older themes of aristocracy are not to be neglected. Why should they be? Heroism remains heroic still. The youth of a Western village may hearken to the shout of *Achilles* as it rings out on the plains of Troy; he may shudder at the heroic suffering of *Prometheus* undergoing chastening like a god; he may spring up at the sound of *Roland's* or *Oliver's* trumpet to recover a lost field; but, while not failing to recognize the noble heroisms of god-like action, he is, as a member of the common mass, more concerned about the lovely qualities that attach to all human life. The hero at the plough or the forge, the heroine at the loom or in the kitchen, may be dignified beyond our means of expressing by patiently enduring the edicts of fate, and by suffering with hardihood all tragic woe. "Lads a-hold of fire-engines and hook-and-ladder ropes no less to me," said the bard of democracy, "than the gods of the antique wars." "We owe to genius," says Emerson, "always the same debt of lifting the curtain of the common, and showing us that divinities are sitting in the seeming gang of gypsies and peddlers."

It is a feature of democracy that it looks to the future for its justification. As yet the social ideal of democracy is unrealized. The New World is destined to vast growths and unparalleled achievements. Whitman announces for America "splendors and majesties to make all previous politics of the earth insignificant." He apostrophizes the New World in his most optimistic strain:

"Thou mental, moral orb—thou New, indeed new, Spiritual World!
The Present holds thee not—for such vast growth as thine,
For such unparallel'd flight as thine, such brood as thine,
The *Future* only holds thee and can hold thee."

Bold in this promise, the pioneer of progress, accepting what accrues to him from the past not as an obligation, but as a free inheritance, moves gladly forward toward an ideal goal; believing he is marching toward something great and fortunate. The Golden Age lies somewhere in the twentieth century—always beyond, a "Flying Perfect." The poet is given to celebrate not the advance that has been made, but the progress that shall be; and if he look to the past at all, it is to gain ground for prophecy. Shelley, despairing over the past, restless in the present, constructing an ideal world in a far-distant future, fully incarnated the democratic spirit. William Morris, though he dreamt of the past, yet had eyes ever fixed on ideal landscapes, ideal social systems, ideal fellowships. With characteristic optimism, Whitman announced: "All that the past was not the future will be"; and to that future the poet trusted his ideas, never doubting that an audience would be raised up to justify him. Such usage is significant of democratic procedure. "Nothing conceivable," said De Tocqueville, "is so petty, so insipid, so crowded with petty interests, in one word so unpoetic, as the life of a man in the United States; but amongst the thoughts it suggests there is always one which is full of poetry, and this is the hidden nerve which gives vigor to the whole frame." This thought, so vital and poetic, De Tocqueville goes on to say, is the perfectibility of human nature. To each in some degree comes the splendid vision of the not distant future, when personal independence, good-will, charity, comradeship, shall be the rule and practice, the joy and independence of the race. The attitude of hope and expectancy encourages the formulation of new ideals, and experimentation with respect to new art-forms.

Aristocratic art is typical: it lays aside the common attributes, and seeks the type-forms. Democratic art is individual and real: it accepts the personal view, and invests common attributes with meaning. The one gives unity to the beautiful: the other expands and diversifies it. The one, being reminiscent, is static; the other, being prospective, is dynamic. The one harmonizes what is given: the other suggests what is to be. The note of the one is despair: that of the other is triumph and joy. The one is bound: the other is free.

All the fine arts, with the exception perhaps of sculpture, which has never undergone romantic revival, might be drawn upon to illustrate the various effects of the democratization of art. Architecture was the first of the arts to be popularized. We should expect such an event, inasmuch as architecture is the most intimate of the arts, the most closely related to our daily life; for, though we may not be able to write

a poem, or to paint, we are most of us called upon at some time to build something, a home at least. As a matter of fact, architecture, up to the time of the invention of printing, was the chief register of human thought; and its forms corresponded most closely with the dominant ideas of history. The whole series of structural changes which freedom accomplishes is exhibited in the history of architecture from the time of the Hindu and Egyptian temples, the forms of which answered to the conditions of a theocracy, to the period of the Middle Ages, when the Gothic cathedral took shape under conditions of greater freedom.

The general character of ancient architecture is immobility. Conventionality covered the temples like another petrification. Primitive types were consecrated to the embodiment of a fixed and most rigorous dogma. Traditional lines were retained from century to century without variation. As the stone embodied an obscure symbolism, the interpretation of a special priestly class was required, the directive functions of whom have been performed by the critics of culture and good taste in every aristocratic age. Victor Hugo, in the Fifth Book of his "Notre Dame," relates the story of the escape of the mediæval cathedral from the authoritative absolutism of the priest, and how, for the first time since the Greek, the religious temple fell into the hands of the artist, and became the property of the imagination, of poetry, of the people. Thought, it appears, was free in the Middle Ages in the one direction of architecture. The modern freedom of the press is scarcely greater. The creative genius of the people, repressed from political and social activity by feudalism, and from religious constructiveness by ecclesiastical absolutism, emerged in the one way left open—the way of architecture. The cathedral of Roman and Byzantine traditions furnished the conventional ground; but, when the mobility and spiritual expressiveness of stone were once discovered, forms tractable to thought and capable of infinite variation were rapidly developed. If a poet was born he became a builder. The other arts, being more restricted in their expressiveness, were subordinated to this one achievement. Architecture became a coöperative art, the art of the arts, the art of the whole people. The sculptor must fill the niches and cap the pinnacles with appropriate figures; the painter must decorate the walls with scenic frescoes, and design forms and select colors for the windows; the musician must raise the lofty organ to complete the mystery of vaulted roof with vanishing sound; the poet must exercise his genius in the composition of canticle and responsions. A sublime unity of the arts was thus accomplished to enhance the glory of the one free art.

The effect of the popularization of architecture may be seen in the very enthusiasm for structure that was engendered in the free cities of Europe. During the period of the emancipatory process so many cathedrals arose in every part of Christendom, that we can hardly believe the report of their number. With invention unhindered, rapid and innumerable changes took place in styles. In three centuries the aspect of the standard cathedral was completely transformed. Upon the nature of the changes William Morris, in his essay on "Gothic Architecture," makes the following comment:

"If some abbot or monk of the eleventh century could have been brought back to his rebuilt church of the thirteenth, he might almost have thought some miracle had taken place: the huge cylindrical or square piers transformed into clusters of slim, elegant shafts; the narrow, round-headed windows supplanted by tall, wide lancets, elegantly glazed with pattern and subject; the bold vault spanning the wide nave instead of the flat wooden ceiling of past days; the extreme richness of the mouldings with which every member is treated; the elegance and order of the floral sculpture, the grace and good drawing of the imagery." (Pp. 38, 39.)

Free creation thus resulted in every improvement. Though a logical style was finally developed, there was not at any time a fixity of form. Throughout the period of growth the use was granted of material of any kind, arches of any span or altitude, pillars of any degree of strength or tenuity, windows of any size or shape, and details of any amount of elaboration. Says Morris:

"Slim elegance the Gothic could produce, or sturdy solidity, as its moods went. Material was not its master, but its servant; marble was not necessary to its beauty; stone would do, or brick, or timber. In default of carving, it would set together cubes of glass or whatsoever was shining and fair-hued, and cover every portion of its interiors with a fairy coat of splendor; or would mould mere plaster into intricacy of work scarce to be followed, but never wearying the eyes with its delicacy and expressiveness of line. Smoothness it loves, the utmost finish that the hand can give; but if material or skill fail, the rougher work shall so be wrought that it also shall please us with its inventive suggestion. For the iron rule of the classical period, the acknowledged slavery of everyone but the great man, was gone, and freedom had taken its place." (*Id.*, pp. 32, 33.)

With increasing license the priestly symbolism was modified; and a meaning foreign to religion would be embodied in a door, or a façade, sometimes in an entire church. As Victor Hugo remarks in "Notre Dame":

"No idea can be given of the liberties taken by architects. We find capitals interwoven with monks and nuns in shameful attitudes, as in the Salle des Cheminées of the Palace of Justice at Paris; we find Noah's adventures carved at full length, as under the great porch at Bourges; or we find a tipsy monk, with the ears of an ass

and a glass in his hand, laughing in the face of an entire community, as in the lavatory of the Abbey of Bochart. Sometimes a doorway, a façade, an entire church, offers a symbolic meaning hostile to the Church. Guillaume de Paris in the thirteenth century, Nicholas Flamel in the fifteenth, wrote such seditious pages. Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie was a church of opposition throughout." (English trans., Sterling edit., pp. 213, 214.)

With the restriction of dogma removed, the interests of beauty or significance alone determined the artist's plan.

The secret of the evolution is found in the freedom of the workmen. Each builder and mason was at liberty to leave some evidence of his own individuality upon the materials, some mark of his pleasure in service. The chief architect was only the master-workman; and the masons and carvers were architects in their turn; mingling fancy and imagination with their technical skill, and giving to each object the vitality of spontaneous design and execution. Freedom, in short, was the essential quality of Gothic architecture.

For full three hundred years the development of an individualized architecture continued—a bright, creative, golden period. When the printing-press was invented "the book," as Victor Hugo puts it, "destroyed the building." Mind had found other channels for its activity. But the Gothic cathedrals accomplished their purpose; and they stand to witness forever to the advantages of freedom—a promise of democratic art.

The freedom, originality, variety, and progress that marked the making of Gothic architecture are the characteristics that distinguish the modern structures being produced on American and democratic soil. The waves of classical renaissance that swept across Europe in ages subsequent to the Gothic, leaving in its recession such masses of formal, pedantic structures as St. Paul's in London and its group of parish churches,—just meant to be the homes of cultivated, unenthusiastic ecclesiasticism,—had but little effect upon the architectural movement of the New World. Architecture in America, especially during the last fifty years, is conspicuous by the quantity, variety, and originality of native forms, and by the freedom with which the traditional models are employed. The leading characteristic is a readiness to strike out new paths under the requirement of changing conditions and of practical considerations. The principle of individuality, especially in the newer cities of the West, controls domestic structure, to the end of multiplying designs almost infinitely, many of which, it is true, are painful and monstrous to classic good taste (the penalty democracy pays for its freedom); but many more are full of artistic beauty and promise.

Conspicuous secular architecture may be said to constitute America's contribution to the modern. The epochs of popes and kings have passed; and this is no age in which to build churches or palaces. Secularism and industrial democracy are keys to the present. The commercial temple, largely the product of the American mind, is the exact equivalent of the modern business ideal. The daring, strength, Titanic energy, intelligence, and majesty evidenced in many of the modern business temples indicate precisely one, and perhaps the dominant, feature of American character. These buildings are significant in their principles of structure, rather than formal. They observe the logic of function. They are not built, that is, primarily, to display artistic proportions, but to serve a purpose and fulfil a need. The Time-Spirit was their architect; necessity was their craftsman. In them a new group of social conditions has found a habitation.

The growth of population in cities, the centralization of business in a "down-town" district, the coöperation of men necessitated by economy and despatch, the abundance and cheapness of iron and steel, the convenience and serviceability of steam heat and the electric light, the quick transportation made possible by the elevator—these economic forces and mechanical devices have combined to make such structures as the Masonic Temple in Chicago masterpieces of modernity, admirably answering to new conditions; and structures as full of meaning and ideal content as any that architectural history records. In display of simplicity, in the use of broad surfaces, in control of the lines of height, and in the artistic handling of mass, the Chicago group of office-buildings is unique among the architecture of the world. These are proud structures, defiant in their altitude, every story a soaring and exulting fact. In their pride and altitude their artistic feeling lies. I admire the daring, wisdom, and genius of the men who designed and erected them without reference—in the jargon of politics—to any other nation on earth. When to the strength of a general ideal are added the delicacy and refinement of a personal conception, when the strictly artistic sentiment is perceived and accentuated, democracy may point to its commercial structures with the pride of a great achievement. They spring from freedom: in the lines of freedom they are elaborated.

In his essay, "Objective and Subjective," Mr. Sullivan, the architect of the Transportation Building at the Fair, the Auditorium and the Schiller Theatre at Chicago, the Union Trust Building at St. Louis, the Guarantee Building at Buffalo, and the Mercantile Building in New York, thus explains his theory:

"I hold that the architectural art, thus far, has failed to reach its highest development, its fullest capability of imagination, of thought and expression, because it has not yet found a way to become truly *plastic*; it does not yet respond to the poet's touch. That it is to-day the only art for which the multitudinous rhythms of outward nature, the manifold fluctuations of man's inner being, have no significance, no place.

That the Greek architecture, unerring as far as it went—and it went very far indeed in one direction—was but one radius within the field of a possible circle of expression. That, though perfect in its eyesight, definite in its desires, clear in its purpose, it was not resourceful in forms; that it lacked the flexibility and the humanity to respond to the varied and constantly shifting desires of the heart.

It was a pure, it was a noble art; wherefore we call it classic: but, after all, it was an apologetic art; for, while possessing serenity, it lacked the divinely human element of mobility. The Greeks never caught the secret of the changing of the seasons, the orderly and complete sequence of their rhythms within the calmly moving year. Nor did this self-same Greek know what we now know of Nature's bounty: for music in those days had not been born; this lovely friend, approaching man to man, had not yet begun to bloom as a rose, to exhale its wondrous perfume.

That the Gothic architecture, with sombre, ecstatic eye, with its thought far above with Christ in the heavens, seeing but little here below, feverish and overwrought, taking comfort in gardening and plant-life, sympathizing deeply with Nature's visible forms, evolved a copious and rich variety of incidental expressions, but lacked the unitary comprehension, the absolute consciousness and mastery of pure form that can come alone of unclouded and serene contemplation of perfect repose and peace of mind.

I believe, in other words, that the Greek knew the statics, the Goth the dynamics of the art, but that neither of them suspected the mobile equilibrium of it—neither of them divined the movement and stability of Nature. Failing in this, both have forever fallen short, and must pass away when the true, the Poetic Architecture shall arise,—that architecture which shall speak with clearness, with eloquence, and with warmth of the fulness, the completeness of Man's intercourse with Nature and with his fellow-men." (Pp. 12, 13.)

The completion of a personalized rhythmic architecture, the attainment in structure of what Wagner has done in music and Whitman in poetry, Mr. Sullivan reserves for the builders of his native land.

The same freedom characterizes the American use of traditional forms. By means of association democracy must realize its connection with a historic past. Innumerable memories cling to and linger around a Grecian column, a Roman arch, a Gothic spire. These forms serve as organs of recollection; reminding democracy of its historical attachments. In buildings designed in part for display,—capitols, churches, libraries, museums, and other edifices of a public character,—artistic and purely architectural conditions meet the maker; and the forms and proportions sanctioned by historical experience may be properly employed.

When traditions are used as servants and not as masters, when they are permitted to suggest and not allowed to command, the architecture resulting from such combination of tradition and free creation may still

be classed as democratic. In cases where a style was adopted arbitrarily, and rigidly applied, as often by Bullfinch and the earlier architects, the freedom of creation had no part in it; a dead past had been continued into the living present; the artist was a slave to tradition and not a freeman. But the Italianism of the Boston Public Library, the Romanesque features of Trinity Church, Boston, the Florentine traditions in the Capitol at Washington, the Gothicism of the halls of the University of Chicago, the classicism of the World's Fair buildings, serve their proper and proportionate function by perpetuating historic experience and by displaying cultural association, while they leave the buildings free to modern and American uses.

I have used the history of architecture to illustrate the variety of form that follows the popularization of art. The other arts may be briefly referred to, in order to give examples of the comprehensiveness of subject-matter resulting from the deification of nature and man. The history of music, from Bach to Wagner, presents the features of emancipation with respect to form, and also the extension of the scope of music to the inclusion of poetical concepts. The significance of Wagner, who may be taken as the representative democrat in music, consists in his effort to restore the relations between life and art—first, by forming a drama which should be all-inclusive, expressing the vast issues and complex relations of modern life; and, second, by composing music which is indifferent to the rules of the symphony, but which is dramatic and realistic in motive and fully apprehensible by personality and the poetic judgment.

Painting has had a similar development; its history being marked by a growing individualization of form and an increasing inclusiveness of theme. The "Men of 1830" stood against the Academy for sincerity and the personal view in confronting nature. Jean François Millet carried forward the movement of 1830 by adding to the interest of landscape the inspiration of humanity, and avowed that a peasant was as worthy as a king for portraiture. He broke from the slavery of conventional art, and put freely upon canvas the actual earth-born man and woman, rude in their outline, but vigorous in their action, and who face courageously their destiny on the laborious earth. "Beauty," said Millet, "is the fit, the appropriate, the serviceable character well rendered, an idea well wrought out with largeness and simplicity."

Literature again displays the whole series of emancipatory phenomena. Its history is especially serviceable in illustrating the extension of content from an Olympian apotheosis to an apotheosis of the actual.

One of the most significant lines in modern literature is Whitman's welcome to the outcast: "Not till the sun excludes you do I exclude you."

As the stream of tendency toward democracy cannot be turned back nor permanently checked, it must be concluded that along the lines of freedom art will continue to advance until every subject shall be included, and every thought shall find its appropriate form.

It is likely that there are those who are not in sympathy with these tendencies, who resent the destruction of ancient idols, and who maintain that these innovations indicate the decline and decay of art. The fear of timid souls is well expressed by Lowell in "The Cathedral."¹

The lament is to be expected. The heading of one of the chapters of "The Dream of John Ball" is the commonplace truth: "Hard it is for the Old World to see the New." But the changes I have described cannot well be avoided. Metamorphosis is the law of all living things. This is not a matter of what we, as an artistic or academic class, want. It is what the people can be prevailed upon to give. I do not want an art of scholars, but one of men. Art must descend from academic technicalities and become commonplace: in the words of Prof. Schreiber, "it must be reinstated as a natural exponent of our common culture." William Morris came to a profound conclusion when, announcing his faith in the common blood, he said: "If I can't be the laureate of reading men, I'll be the laureate of sweating men." Art must be reclaimed for men, the masses. Otherwise it will become abnormal, degenerate into pettiness, and forsake the walks of common truth. Shame to us that stigma should attach to work that is close to the universal heart and mind, and praise be accorded to what is rare and exotic and refined. Beauty is wherever light is—the most common thing in the universe. Ruskin declined to interest himself in America because there were no castles here, nor ruins—is beauty limited to where castles are? Castles, methinks, were built by men. Time, that wrought the present ruin of past buildings, will make future ruins of present buildings. But who wants an art based upon ruins? Who will consent to be ruled by a dead hand? Is it not better to free the creative energies in the present? "Faith and wonder and the primal earth," said Lowell, "are born into the world with every child."

To my mind, the popularization of art—the rendering of form and color and theme characteristic and commonplace—marks a real advance.

¹ "The Poetical Works of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL." Household Edition (1885), pp. 400, 401.

I will not admit for a moment that the triumph of democracy means the wane of art. Indeed, before the modern artist lies a more arduous task than any yet attempted. In approaching the people with sympathetic knowledge the danger is not that the artist's standards will be abased, but rather that his thought and skill will not be sufficient to express the real dignity of the people. It is not so easy to

"Give to barrows, trays, and pans
Grace and glitter of romance."

My feeling is that the opportunities of modern and American art are great and beyond compare. Almost for the first time in history the artist is a freeman. Obsolete obstructions are fully cleared. He is independent of any ecclesiastical or aristocratic authority. He is delivered from a scholastic tradition regarding style and subject. He shares in the emancipation of the individual brought about by social movements, and in the freedom of the intellect caused by modern science. He may face the whole of nature and the whole of humanity. It is his privilege to create the styles adequate to a great people and land. It is his opportunity to begin the epic of the modern world,—the world as modernly known,—the world of Titanic forces taking birth. It is his mission to open for the imagination the universe as scientifically disclosed. It is his fortune to be able to set forth in all its nobility and grandeur the democratic idea,—the idea of self-sovereignty and of sovereign association, the idea of a life self-poised and sole as stars, yet one as light. If art falls short of its present possibilities, the fault is not with the materials: it does not lie in any want of freedom, but rests rather with the artist who lacks the eyes to see, the mind to think, the skill to compose.

Yet again the fault shall not be alone with the artist, but with the people: art is the answer to a need felt in the popular heart. The people create: they furnish life for art's impulse, freedom for its atmosphere, patronage for its support. From them alone can come the impulse that shall hasten the production of a genuine democratic art.

OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND THE CONSULTING PSYCHOLOGIST.

THERE have been recently a number of discussions by very competent authorities concerning the present situation and prospects of the various studies and investigations that constitute what is often called the New Psychology. It is, perhaps, presumptuous for me to undertake to add to the contributions to this topic. But as a student of general philosophy, and also as one interested in certain aspects of the New Psychology itself, I have taken such interest in the recent controversies as to lead me to attempt in the present paper both a brief review of the general nature of our present problem and a practical suggestion as to a way in which the New Psychology may be aided in obtaining a more satisfactory relation to the profession of the teacher.

No one familiar with the literature of any of the recent types of psychological investigation can doubt that much, both of novelty and of value, is constantly coming to light in the course of the newer studies of the mental aspects of human nature. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who have practically to deal with the management of human nature, above all, the teaching profession, should be encouraged to cherish very high hopes as to the service which may be derived from these investigations. On the other hand, as has been lately pointed out by various authorities, a good many of these hopes concerning what psychology in the present state of its development can do to settle fundamental questions as to educational methods and ideals have been over-sanguine. The psychologist, whatever his speciality, has his own scientific tasks. The teacher, whatever his training, has his own plans, and must pursue in the end methods determined by these plans and by numerous social interests with which the study of psychology may have little or nothing to do. The teacher hopes too much, if he ventures to anticipate that the scientific study of human nature can of itself alone predetermine even the most fundamental part of what the teacher himself has to seek as an ideal, or of what he has to use as means for attaining that ideal.

Over-sanguine hopes, however, may easily lead to correspondingly bitter disappointments. This incongruity between the purposes of a sci-

ence and the undertakings of an art is in other branches of human endeavor a familiar fact. The theoretical study of electricity went on for a long time before modern electrical engineering was in existence, or was even a very near and reasonable hope. Yet, in many such cases, patient waiting has been rewarded; and, just as truly, over-hasty hopefulness has been often disappointed. Anyone duly acquainted with the present undertakings of modern psychology ought to agree that these undertakings must in the end prove as important for our dealing with human nature as physical and physiological researches have proved in other modern arts. But, on the other hand, it is perfectly true that the psychologists themselves have a right to pursue these lines of research without being continually interrupted by over-hasty demands for practical results. It is equally true that no immediate and fundamental revolution in educational methods and ideals can be said to be warranted by what is at present known through the newer psychological researches. One who discusses the relation between psychology and education at the present time has no right, therefore, to attempt to settle anything as a finality; for the psychological science of to-day is simply no finality whatever. The true practical interest of such a discussion lies in attempting to consider how at the present time, and under the present temporary and rapidly changing conditions, the teacher and the psychologist can best be brought into coöperation.

I.

A closer approach to this question may first be made through an attempt at a plain statement as to the general situation in psychology at the present day. Every discussion of the New Psychology and of its place in education seems to presuppose the thesis that there *is* a New Psychology. This thesis is undoubtedly, in some sense, correct. None the less is the whole matter subject to a good deal of misunderstanding; and we may, therefore, ask at once: "In precisely what sense is there a New Psychology at all? In what sense was there an Old Psychology, which is now abandoned or superseded?" To these questions I find at present answers, current and frequently repeated, which I think to be nevertheless wrong answers. I refer particularly to two statements, both of which are not unknown in the recent literature of the subject. I shall consider these two statements in order.

The first of these statements runs: There was once something in existence and in favor which is henceforth to be known as the Old or

Rational Psychology. This psychology, so the statement in question continues, was concerned with the nature, the origin, the destiny of the human soul, of the ego, of man as he is in himself. But, the same statement adds, modern thought has somehow changed all this. We now no longer study that Old or Rational Psychology. We have given up trying to find out the true nature of man or of the soul, or the true destiny and meaning of our life. We now study nerve-cells and reflexes, the knee-jerk, and the scatter-wittedness of children's minds. We take reaction times, and make tables of the statistics of fears, bad dreams, and color-hearing. And this is the New Psychology. This, in sum, is the first of the two statements to which I have just referred. I summarize this statement in a somewhat crude form; but what I mean is that the statement in question, in any form, sets forth an essentially false antithesis. As a fact, no such change in the objects and interests of human thought has taken place as this false antithesis implies.

It is true that once questions about the origin and destiny of the human ego, in other words, questions about man's place in the universe, were current and favorite questions,—current and favorite amongst believers in any form of religious faith, amongst theologians of every school, amongst philosophers of every seriously reflective and thorough-going group of philosophical investigators. It is also true that precisely such questions are current to-day amongst precisely the same types of persons. If you have any form of religious faith, you believe something about man's nature and destiny and place in the universe. If you study a technical theology, you are interested in the statement and defence of some such faith. If you have time to study philosophy, the principal part of your work as a student of metaphysical issues will properly be devoted to precisely these questions. These questions, then, are in no sense antiquated. They are not superseded. They are as modern, as human, as intensely fascinating, as rational as ever they were. The human mind has precisely the same right to face ultimate issues that ever it had. And, in facing these ultimate issues, if it seeks new light, it also respects, uses, and depends upon types of insight that are very ancient. No new psychology, no other form of current doctrine, has in the least changed this essential situation. So long as man is interested in his own destiny, he will either believe or philosophize about ultimate questions. And when he has time and spirit for the undertaking, he will have a right to philosophize; and neither neurology nor child-study will ever interfere with rational attempts at a philosophy of mind. If such a philosophy of mind be what is meant by the Old Psychology, I reply that such Old

Psychology is precisely as new and as interesting to philosophers to-day as ever it was.

But, meanwhile, I myself should maintain that no such philosophical study of ultimate questions has any very direct bearing upon the technical problems of educational methods. Philosophy notoriously bakes no bread. It is true, therefore, that the sort of psychology of direct interest to the teacher must, in general, be Empirical Psychology. Empirical Psychology is an effort to understand, in as scientific a way as possible, the natural history, the facts, and laws of the behavior of man's mind as they exist for our daily experience. And the study of the natural history of the human mind is itself in no wise dependent upon any particular philosophical or theological theory. The philosophical study of man's nature and destiny is itself very distinct from the study of Empirical Psychology proper. But this distinction is in no wise a novel one. Nor is the recognition of this distinction in any sense peculiarly modern. Aristotle already clearly distinguished the study of the natural history of man, in his physical, in his mental, and in his social aspects, from the inquiry into metaphysical or ultimate philosophical and theological problems. Empirical Psychology, viewed as such, never has undertaken to solve ultimate philosophical issues. So far, then, there is a true antithesis between the philosophy of mind and the empirical study of the contents and behavior of man's mind. But this antithesis is simply not one between the Old and the New. It is, *mutatis mutandis*, very much the kind of distinction of office which exists between mathematics and the special physical sciences. A man who talked of mathematics in general as something to be called "old," and who opposed what he called the Old Mathematics to what he called the New Theory of Electricity, and who said that one of these pursuits was destined to supersede the other, would be as ignorant of the business of science as are those who narrowly and absurdly oppose something said to be superseded, which they call the Old or Rational Psychology (and which was and is nothing but the philosophical study of man's life), to something which they call the New Psychology, which is merely our best present effort to make out what we can about the natural history of the human mind. So much, then, for the first of our two statements of the antithesis between the old and the new in psychology.

II.

The second false statement which I wish to set aside defines the antithesis between the Old and the New as follows: Once, it says, there

existed a study of human nature which was exclusively introspective. The psychologist studied merely his own individual mind. That was the psychology of the arm-chair. That was the Old Psychology. It was pursued, says this statement, until very recently; say until Fechner, or until Herbert Spencer. The New Psychology is not thus exclusively introspective. It is experimental, or social, or physiological, or comparative. It forsakes the arm-chair, and makes use of the laboratory, of the dissecting-room, and of a wide observation of many beings with minds. Now of course the Old Psychology, being, according to this view, introspective, interested merely the individual psychologist, who edified himself and not his brethren. As the teacher has not amongst his own pupils that particular Old Psychologist whose book used to be a classic, the teacher can be but little helped by that respectable person's study of his own states of mind. Therefore the teacher must be exclusively interested in the New Psychology, since that psychology is not concerned with any one man's states of mind, but with facts capable of a more universal verification.

Once more I have stated somewhat crudely the view that I oppose; but what I mean is, that, in any form, this statement is hopelessly un-historical. It gives us a false antithesis. There has never been any notable study of human nature in its empirical aspects that was satisfied to be mainly introspective. Aristotle's psychology, as it appears in his treatise on that subject, the first of all European treatises belonging to the field, is fundamentally a psycho-physical doctrine. Aristotle very carefully states the psycho-physical programme, and pursues it according to his light. He uses introspection very much as a modern experimental psychologist would do. His sources of psychological knowledge are on occasion medical. They are very frequently, in the more general sense, biological. They include an effort toward a study of comparative psychology. They make especially prominent observations upon mankind in general. In the ethical and political treatises of Aristotle, such observation was pursued far into the social realm.

Nor is the later psychology of the ancients, nor is mediæval psychology, at all exclusively introspective. To take a notable instance, the famous doctrine of the Faculties of the Mind was obviously derived from nobody's study of his own mind, but rather from the common social traditions about human nature embodied in the current psychological vocabulary. These common social traditions are the precipitate, so to speak, of generations of comments passed upon men by other men. In brief, one may simply defy students of psychology to point out where, in

the whole past history of man's efforts to understand the human mind, an exclusively or even mainly introspective empirical psychology has ever existed or even been attempted. The common gossip of social intercourse, the more precise observation of the forms of social and political life, the obviously psycho-physical doctrine of the temperaments,—a doctrine absolutely inaccessible to pure introspection,—these are typical cases illustrating the methods by which the study of the natural history of mind has always been pursued. To quote one more special case, consider Locke's doctrine about the intellect. The first book of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" is devoted to the famous onslaught on the doctrine of innate ideas. As Locke pursues this argument, what are his sources of psychological information? I reply, apart from their necessary crudity when criticised from our present point of view, Locke's sources have to be defined as anthropology and child-study. Locke uses, as empirical arguments, travellers' reports about savages, and anybody's observations of childhood. Is this an exclusively introspective psychology? Is this an especially antiquated method of work? To be sure, in the Scottish philosophers you very frequently find, side by side with psychology, a great many investigations which depend upon what some people call introspection, and upon what nobody should call Empirical Psychology. But this other something in the works of such thinkers is Philosophical Reflection. In such works Empirical Psychology and metaphysics are frequently very confusingly blended; but in any case Philosophical Reflection is something very different from the introspective observation of the contents of one's own mind for purposes of natural history. Introspection, in the psychological sense of that word, the relatively exclusive study of the contents of one's own mind for the sake of finding out the laws of this mind, is a process that you find deliberately pursued in a very few of the older works belonging to the literature of our subject. But these works are not text-books of psychology, or independent investigations into the science as such. They are psychological autobiographies, of greater or less value as documents. But in precisely this same sense introspection is present as a notable factor in the literature of to-day. In fact, there is much more autobiographical confession in modern literature than ever there was before. The introspection of St. Augustine has its representatives in the older literature, say, by tens. The introspection of Marie Bashkirtseff has in the newer time slain its thousands. And so much for the Old and the New as regards this aspect of introspection. But if you ask whether the truly scientific psychologist of the present time has wholly abandoned introspection, then every

respectable text-book of recent psychology would show you how little this is the case. In general, modern Experimental Psychology constantly involves the scientific pursuit of introspection under artificial conditions, accompanied indeed by a wide comparison of the reports of various observers.

In brief, then, the second statement often current as to our antithesis is false. The Old Psychology was not exclusively nor even mainly introspective. It was always, according to its light, psycho-physical, social, and comparative. It studied mind and body together, and observed indirectly as many minds as could be got under some sort of scrutiny. On the other hand, the New Psychology does not neglect a proper introspection; but gives to a due comparison of introspectively obtained results an even more prominent place than the introspective ever obtained in the older psychologies.

I have thus dealt with two false statements of the antithesis between the Old and the New psychological methods. Having set aside the false antithesis, it is easier to state in more practically valuable terms the nature of the true answer to our question, What is the New Psychology? Recent psychological study is separated by no chasm from the psychology of the past. It is a pursuit, with vastly improved instruments, and with vastly increased numbers of observers, and with greatly intensified technical training, of the old study of the natural history of mind upon methods and with ideals every one of which the past, according to its light, already in a very genuine sense anticipated. It is the fruit, therefore, of the past, just as it is a stage on the way to a higher future insight into how man's mind behaves, and into what we can best do to manage and to cultivate minds. Very imperfect is our knowledge about all these matters at present. Perfectly worthless would be our knowledge, however, if we had not the whole tradition of our older acquaintance with human nature to draw upon. And every sensible psychologist constantly uses that older tradition, constantly attempts to add to it, and is a New Psychologist merely in so far as he is at present able to use certain special instruments of research which were until recently inaccessible. In the novelty of these special instruments and their use lies what makes our psychology a new psychology.

So much for the situation of the moment. The New Psychology is no mystery, no miracle, no wonder of recent invention. The newer researches have indeed been as fascinating in their details as they have thus far been incomplete as regards their theoretical results. Our em-

pirical knowledge of human nature is still in its infancy. It has always been in its infancy. And so far the Old and the New may indeed lie down together. Our knowledge of human nature is unquestionably growing; but our scientific theories as to the natural history of the human mind have not recently been in any thoroughgoing sense revolutionized. We know a great deal more than Aristotle knew about the psycho-physical problems that Aristotle already began to study; but our theoretical insight into the fundamental laws of mind is still small. Nevertheless, if one considers the worth of special researches, there is indeed a complex, and, in view of the great mass of details which the new instruments of research have recently added, a relatively new empirical psychology. The power of this psychology to give final guidance to the teacher, or to any other practical manager of the mind, is very imperfectly developed. Nevertheless, just because practical workers have constantly to do with details, rather than with theories, this vast collection of manifold details concerning the behavior of mind is full of suggestions that from time to time can prove of very considerable practical importance to the teacher.

III.

This being the general situation, our problem reduces to this: There is a great deal in the newer study of mind which can be, and which ought to be, of practical service to the teacher. But the new science is pursued for its own sake, just as the teacher's art is carried on with reference to the teacher's own interest. The problem is to bring about a wholesome coöperation between pursuits related, but just now too much kept apart. What the teacher constantly desires is to get at the New Psychology, to learn what it means and what it has found out. If the New Psychology were in some perfectly clear and glaring contrast to the Old, some striking revolution of practical methods might be expected to follow from it, and to be capable of definition. But since neither theoretical development nor novelty is as marked a feature of the New Psychology as some hopeful accounts would imply, the teacher in general no sooner approaches the new science than he is baffled by its wealth and by its puzzles; while the New Psychologist no sooner endeavors to guide the teacher than he is obliged to show, by his mysterious manner or by his wonderfully constructed sentences, that what he most desires to impart is still in the main simply unspeakable.

As a fact, I feel that at present the relation between the students of the newer psychology and the teachers of our country is not yet a very

healthy relation. I myself have been for two or three years temporarily the chairman of a "Philosophical Department" in my University. As such I have had to consider the hopes and difficulties of a number of young men entering upon the profession of psychology. I have felt very much concerned about the harassing and painful situation in which some of them are at present put. I have feared sometimes lest the public misunderstandings as to what their profession may do or ought to do for teachers, might in the end result in injury to the success of these ardent investigators. I believe profoundly in the study of that psychology which, in the sense just pointed out, is indeed new, since, without breaking with the past, it is constantly renewing its youth. But one of the missions of the public, whenever it feels a strong need for a good thing, seems to be to do all sorts of deeds to hinder the fulfilment of its own ends, and to confuse those who are trying to help it. I feel, then, disposed to refer to what at the moment is too often the situation in which the young psychologist innocently and painfully finds himself.

The psychological investigators, and especially the younger psychological investigators in our laboratories, are, for one thing, just now in the position common to men who are forced to win a hearing by somewhat magnifying their own office. If Empirical Psychology is not new, the laboratories are new; and they are unquestionably very valuable and admirable means for the advance of the science. Attention, however, has to be attracted to these laboratories. The attention and support of such practical people as the teachers are very valuable for the young psychologist. He, in his turn, is sanguine. He is devoted to his calling. He hopes that whatever interests him can be made to interest everybody; and so he is disposed, if not to make very large promises to teachers, at least to make very considerable calls upon their time and patience. In consequence, the teachers who are under his influence are frequently led to hope that whatever happens in his laboratory may in some way pretty directly contribute to the establishment of sound methods in education, to the saving of souls, or to the answering of all those countless practical questions that seem so frequently, in the average teacher's mind, to demand an immediate solution. Hence the teachers look more or less wonderingly toward the laboratory. And the man in the laboratory is more or less stimulated, and, I fear, sometimes more or less confused, by these calls from another profession. Thus stimulated and thus hopeful, he of course longs to help everybody. Distracted by the external calls for aid upon matters which perhaps do not directly concern him at all, he tends to undertake the solution, not indeed of

everything, but of most of the things that the teachers desire him to solve.

Meanwhile the young psychologist feels that the teachers have countless facts which they might furnish to aid him in his researches. These facts are occurring in the school-room or elsewhere, but so far not in the laboratory. Perhaps the psychologist thinks that these facts can be got indirectly into the laboratory by means of the now well-known syllabus. The syllabus asks questions and furnishes a blank, which the teachers, according to their lights, are to fill out in such wise as to indicate the contents of the minds of their children. But the psychologist in the laboratory cannot well control the scientific use of the syllabus by persons outside of the laboratory. Lacking himself the time for an adequate personal study of children in school-rooms, the laboratory psychologist is consequently too often left dependent on the observations of unskilled persons for far too many of his data. Meanwhile the syllabus, often inexpertly used and filled out, through the busy teacher's aid, may have led to much waste of time in the school-room. It may also tend to produce in the end a feeling of disappointment in the teacher's own mind. Countless so-called facts go on record; but the results are still to wait for. The syllabus comes; but wisdom lingers. The teacher, too, lingers on the shore of psychology; and somehow or other the entire situation begins to get a painfulness of which we have recently heard many echoes.

Or, perhaps, the young psychologist does not use the syllabus. He rather plans to bring his instruments to the school-room, or, on occasion, the school-children to his laboratory. Both undertakings are frequently thoroughly justified. But, in any case, experiments pursued under such conditions are subject to a double criticism. The laboratory psychologist properly desires these experiments for theoretical purposes. The teacher desires them to be of immediate practical significance. It is true that the combination of these two interests has been in some cases notably very easy. But in other cases it may be very difficult. And the psychologist in his laboratory may find it hard to acquire sufficient experience of the school-room and its problems to adjust these conflicts when they arise. He is led to making vast promises. The teachers remain promise-crammed. So far, that is for the time being too often all. As a fact, the young psychologist ought not to be distracted by this demand for immediate practical application. On the other hand, the teachers ought not to be asked to give extra time to contribute to the advance of purely scientific interests. They need to get direct practical benefits. And yet at present these two bodies, whose interests, if related,

are so diverse, ought to be made to coöperate; while the coöperation is still left to the ingenuity and social adroitness of a busy young laboratory man, who has recently obtained his Doctor's degree, who has the whole problem of his career before him, who has to teach college-classes, to interest the public in his science, to contribute papers to the psychological journals, and perhaps to keep up polemic relations with his metaphysical colleagues, at the very moment when the teachers desire him to give them infallible advice, and when he himself is longing to find out something about what goes on in the school-room, as well as in any other place where human nature displays itself.

Now I say that this situation involves altogether too great a demand upon the young psychologist. If he frequently fails wholly to satisfy the demand, if his polemical essays have a somewhat hectic tone, if his promises to the public have a somewhat crude vagueness, the fault is very frequently not his, but the result of the unfortunate situation in which his profession and the public still place him. Now if we do not better this situation, we shall all suffer. And the remedy lies not in trying to ignore the New Psychology, nor merely in telling the teachers that they have nothing to hope from its work. The remedy lies precisely where experience has so often shown that in similar cases the difficulties of too complicated a situation are to be met, namely, in a new division of labor.

IV.

One who attempts to define a relatively new practical office is subject at the present day to the easy criticism that we already have too many officials. It seems indeed unnecessary to create an office until you already have a man for the office. But, in the case of the recommendation that I now propose to make, it seems to me that we already have both the men and the practical need for the office. The situation of the students of the New Psychology is one which needs to obtain relief. The situation of the teachers who desire to get at the New Psychology is one which needs to receive assistance. From both sides comes the call for the official whose office I shall now try to define. Already, in a number of cases, young laboratory psychologists of sufficient skill and energy have actually made the task which I have in mind their principal business. Already, in the case of certain special public institutions, as in schools for defective children, an office substantially identical with the one that I propose has been recognized. What I wish to suggest is, that the recognition and definition of the proposed office should be made systematic,

and that its importance as a means of bringing about a true relation between modern psychology and modern education should be recognized.

I think, then, that the time is ripe for the recognition of a new kind of intermediate scholar and official, whose business it shall be to mediate between the teaching profession and the work of the laboratory psychologist. My practical proposal is that in our large cities, and later in other places, there should appear in the office of the Superintendent of Instruction, a person whom I shall venture to call a Consulting Psychologist. He should be a well-equipped, modern, experimental psychologist, with a thorough University training, with skill as a laboratory investigator, but, after he once accepts his office, with the responsibilities and duties of a decidedly practical man. He should be well versed in what our better institutions have to offer in the way of the general study of the art of education. He should also, if possible, have had some experience as a practical teacher. But he should not, on the other hand, be a professor of pedagogy. He shall not be responsible for teaching psychology to college classes, or to anybody else, excepting so far as the spirit moves him to discuss his science with the teachers of his city. He shall indeed consult, but he shall not be regarded as anybody's final and authoritative official adviser, infallible or otherwise. If possible, he shall never be called "Professor." He shall have no authority over the organization of schools or the determination of school methods. But this shall be his office and his responsibility, namely: To find out, so far as may be, and with a minimum of interference with the ordinary work of any school, whatever it is worth while for the teacher and the trained psychologist together to know concerning the mental states and processes present in the children of the schools of his city. In other words, his official task shall be simply to investigate and report upon those facts concerning the school-children of his city which are at once of psychological character and of practical interest.

Space would of course fail me in this connection to attempt to set forth, with any sort of fulness, what classes of facts answering to this definition may be regarded as already accessible in the school-room, in case the trained psychologist is from time to time present to direct their collection. The recent literature in praise of the virtues and the hopes of the New Psychology has already had a great deal to say about these classes of facts. For instance, at the moment a great deal of discussion is going on concerning the phenomena of fatigue in the school-room, and concerning the influence of fatigue upon the intellectual work of children. The difficulty with all these later investigations of fatigue is, that

they are at present in a stage which forbids the inexpert person to form any independent judgment about the worth of the methods of investigating fatigue, or about the practical results of such investigation. The whole subject is in a transition state. Yet there can be little doubt that work by experts, when practically controlled by the presence and the plans of practical teachers, would rapidly tend to reach results that would be more or less tentatively applicable to educational purposes. The development of the study of fatigue in its practical relation will never be rapid and wholesome unless theoretical students and practical workers coöperate. Nor can one hope for sufficient attention to be given to these investigations on the part of the possible medical inspectors of our schools. The phenomena in question are largely, and in some cases very subtly, psychological. A thorough investigation of them can be hoped for only from those who are primarily interested in mental life as such. One need entertain no exaggerated hopes concerning the revolutionary effect of such study, if one believes, as a matter of plain sense, that much will be gained if the psychologist and the teacher have the opportunity to consult together concerning the accessible facts, and concerning the methods of work as they from time to time develop. Yet no one but a psychologist whose life is principally devoted to consultation with teachers can have at his disposal time sufficient for such useful investigation.

If the phenomena of fatigue thus form one of the general fields of possible investigation, there are other fields that even more obviously and directly both interest the teacher and puzzle the psychologist. Good and bad spelling; the countless sorts of good and bad memory; the mental effects of physical exercise; the psychological relation of manual training to other parts of the school-work; the increase of skill with the use of this or of that method of training in arithmetic or in some other branch of school-work; the phenomena of school excitements, rumors, occasional mutinies, and the like; the psychological relations of various methods of school discipline; the presence and the variety of the psychologically interesting temperamental differences among the school-children,—all these are instances of classes of facts already accessible to expert psychological observation. None of these classes of phenomena is exclusively related to the study of exceptional or morbid children. The matters thus far on our list may be studied more or less statistically and in relation to large numbers of children at once. The interest of all these classes of phenomena, both for the psychologist and the teacher, is easily recognized. Yet there is nobody at present whose

official business it is to study them at once with professional expertness and with a strongly practical interest. Neither by the use of the syllabus, nor through occasional invasions of the school-room by the over-worked college teacher of psychology, nor by the equally sporadic visits of medical inspectors, will such facts come to get the sort of examination they need. To interest teachers in such classes of facts, by lecturing about them, is indeed useful in its own place and time. But the teachers are not sufficiently expert in psychology to make successful study of these facts for themselves. In consequence, we are left at present to crude observation or to loose generalization by the practical teachers, on the one hand, and to laboratory investigations or to statistical collections of far too theoretical an interest, on the other. The Consulting Psychologist, working from time to time in the school-room, and engaged along with the teacher in investigating such facts, is the person needed at present to bridge over the gulf which separates the two professions, whose coöperation is now so desirable, but often apparently so hopeless, an ideal.

The term "Consulting Psychologist" at once suggests, however, to many minds the thought of a person specially interested in the more pathological problems of the school-room. And of course I should be disposed to expect that our Consulting Psychologist would indeed be much interested in precisely these problems also. I should merely be unwilling to confine his work, or the prospects of his success, to the field of the study of exceptional phenomena. The psychology of the healthy is in itself more practically important than the psychology of the morbid; and I do not wish my Consulting Psychologist to be conceived merely as a student of the defective and disordered school-children. Nevertheless, it is true that the study of defect and disorder of any grade could be carried on in a useful way by our Consulting Psychologist in connection with the rest of his task. And here he could coöperate with and supplement the work of the medical inspector. Defects of sense-organs might easily attract his attention, when they had escaped the attention of others. Extraordinary forms of naughtiness or of stupidity might yield their secret to him, when the medical man had not had enough time or interest to advise the teacher concerning the nature of the defect. The various sorts of liars who appear at different ages in many schools would frequently be proper persons for the study of the Consulting Psychologist. Obstinacy, eccentricity, or precocity, where they occur, would interest him, and would be a topic for useful consultation between him and the teacher. As our theoretical knowledge of the meaning of such phenomena increases, the Consulting Psychologist would

be responsible for knowing the progress of his science, and for applying it to the schools with which he had to do.

But most important it is, for my present purpose, to insist upon the fact that, at all events in the present state of the science, my Consulting Psychologist, as I conceive him, would be a searcher for facts much more than a director of other people's methods. He would not be an authoritative adviser in any such sense as that in which the medical inspector may be an adviser. The decision as to what has to be done in a given case involves as much the practical experience of the teacher as the scientific wisdom of the psychologist.

The investigations conducted by the Consulting Psychologist would always be subject to the direct criticism of his superintendent, of his School Board, and of the teachers whom he both serves and, within the range of his own skill, enlightens. The false impression now existing, that, if psychology means anything, the psychologist can infallibly direct the teacher, would tend to pass away at the very moment when an intimate relation between the two made each serviceable to the other. My Consulting Psychologist will not say: "Great is Science; and we the prophets of science are verifying this or that theory, and you, the teachers, must wait until we have some day shown you the value of it all." The Consulting Psychologist will cultivate modesty along with his efficiency, and will avoid mystery the more he becomes useful. His daily speech will be plain; and in his "Pedagogical Seminaries," if ever they come to exist, the sentences used will be as straightforward as those now customary among practical workers. He will be directly responsible for pointing out to the practical people with whom he is associated verifiable facts present in their school-rooms, and facts capable of being advantageously used by them and in their art. Such a Consulting Psychologist, relieved from the heavy duty of expounding his science as college teacher, of contributing to its theoretical advances, of converting the public, and of dealing with the theologians all at once—relieved, I say, of these heavy burdens, will be able, by reason of the very limitations of his task, to contribute in the end to what may often prove to be the most general as well as the most practical interests of both teachers and psychologists.

In fine, my Consulting Psychologist will occupy a place that will grow progressively more important, when once progressive young men are given a start in the calling. Collector and reporter of facts about the minds of school-children, he will tend to be a discreet and cautious investigator, because he will work constantly under fire. Expert in his work, and limited as to the field of its application, he will be able to pre-

vent the waste of time now frequently involved in the pursuit of child-study by psychologically inexpert teachers. He will be near enough to control the sort of child-study that it is worth while to pursue in the schools. He can be constantly consulted as to how to make this or that child-study investigation exact. He will venture upon distributing no syllabus, unless he can pretty clearly show to his own superintendent and teachers why their practical needs are furthered by just such an inquiry. On the other hand, he can distinctly represent to the teacher the interests and the dignity of the truly scientific study of psychology.

As to his practical influence, such a student, if he were once appointed, would obtain that in proportion to his strength. But he would lack that infallibility which sometimes seems to hedge the college professor, yes, to hedge him in, until somebody detects that it is only a false infallibility, and until people then, with false reaction, forsake altogether the studies that have disappointed them. As for the actual daily usefulness of the Consulting Psychologist as a person present in the Superintendent's Office, I have been told by a prominent city superintendent of this country, that in his own office a great part of the actual work is, as he expressed it, psychological, since so many of the problems that come to his office are psychological. Once get such a good Consulting Psychologist into the schools of the city, and the superintendent would prize him, the school-children would love his visits, and the teachers, I may say, would constantly, even eagerly, surround him.

Meanwhile he would be in no sense priest or prophet. He would be investigator—investigator of what was practically worth knowing about the minds of children in that city. In his turn, he would constantly be able to pass over contributions to the professional college psychologist in the laboratory. The latter, for his part, would be relieved of the arduous duty of constantly providing milk for all the psychological babes of his community, whatever their calling; while from the work of the Consulting Psychologist the theoretical psychologist would in the end derive numerous and fruitful scientific contributions. The new calling would thus contribute both to the organization of psychological research and to the practical application of such research to the work of the teacher.

While no immediate revolution of methods would follow from the services of the new official, the daily value of properly adapting psychological research to practical needs would be shown to teachers through the person and work of the Consulting Psychologist. And then we should no longer hear this unhappy question concerning the Old or Rational and

the New Psychology, since all, from the least unto the greatest in the teaching profession, would know that the only psychology worthy of the distinctive name of Empirical Psychology is neither old nor new exclusively, and is always both old and new, and is best called Sensible Psychology. It is destined to be as useful to the teacher as his practical skill and tact can make its results.

If one asks whether good young consulting psychologists could even now be obtained, I answer unhesitatingly, Yes. There are, in this country, more than half a dozen universities already well equipped to train such men. If one asks whether the useful Consulting Psychologist would be a very expensive luxury, I answer that he could be obtained easily, according to his age and experience, at from \$1,500 a year upward. If one asks whether such a man would have to be a great genius in order to be serviceable, I answer at once, No.

In the present condition of psychology, any really well-trained young man of sense, a graduate of a first-class university-course in his subject, when once at work in the city schools, could show the teachers in six months more about the practical relations of Empirical Psychology and teaching than these teachers will get out of years of those dreary general courses of public lectures on Pedagogical Psychology which they nowadays so pathetically crowd, and so self-sacrificingly support. I speak advisedly, and as a lecturer, when I say this. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased, and of making many lectures there will doubtless be no end. But in this field, as in any other, it is, after all, as everybody knows, work that counts, and not talk. And the work that teachers want done by psychology for them is practical work, from time to time in the school-room, by a trained psychologist, who knows what is doing in his science, and who wants to help the teachers see in their school-room facts worth seeing.

And that is what, as a poor metaphysician, whose practical wits are of course dull, I may venture at the moment to say about a way to bring our rich and progressive educational life into a closer and truer relation to what in a proper sense is to be called the New Study of Psychology.

JOSIAH ROYCE.

GOLD AND OTHER RESOURCES OF THE FAR WEST.

THE Klondyke gold craze strongly reminds us of the tendency of man to rush upon evils that he knows not of, in the consuming desire to secure that which from time immemorial has symbolized prosperity and power. From the day of the search for the Golden Fleece man has been willing to encounter any danger and endure any privation to possess the yellow metal. The stories of '49 even to-day have bewitching charms for the most unromantic, if heard among the wild cañons of the Golden State. The same glamour sheds a warmth upon the scenes of the hopes and fears, the struggles and privations, of the pioneers of Pike's Peak. But, tragic as was the history of the early days of California and Colorado, the tales now told of the wild and reckless rush to the bleak and frozen Northwest after the World's Desire will for many years stir the hearts of Americans.

The fascination of the unknown largely impels men to rush to the desert and to the ice-locked gorges of the Arctic North after gold, while manifesting little or no interest in the treasures at their feet. Americans, in a general way, know that rich deposits of the most precious of all metals are scattered in profusion within the limits of our States; but few have any distinct knowledge as to where those deposits are, nor of their value to us as a nation. A description of these fields of wealth will here be attempted; but, necessarily, it cannot be exhaustive within the limits of a magazine article.

For a century gold has been found and mined at a moderate profit in the primary geological formations of the Appalachian Mountains in North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. Many of the mines of Georgia are especially profitable. But the rich gold finds in the Far-Western States, following the discovery of gold in California in 1849, practically began the era of the Golden Age within the limits of the United States. In the north are the rich deposits of the Black Hills of Wyoming and Dakota, and the probably still richer deposits of Helena and other gold-camps of Montana. Upon the extreme northwestern boundaries of the United States lie the regions of the Kootenai and Mt.

Baker, from which come tales of fabulous riches; and, unquestionably, millions of gold will be mined there within the next generation.

In the extreme southwest rich gold-fields are now being developed in Arizona, from Callville on the Colorado River southeasterly to the Mongollon and the White Mountains at the headwaters of the Salt River. In California gold deposits have been found; and thousands of mines are now profitably operated from the Mojave Desert to Mt. Shasta. The so-called Mother Lode, extending from Kern River northward to Feather River, is famous throughout the world as the scene of the labors of the Argonauts of '49, a period never paralleled in the history of gold-mining. That territory produced perhaps more nugget gold than any other portion of the globe; and yet the rich placer mines of California were practically exhausted within ten years after the first gold was discovered by Marshall at Sutter. Nevertheless, the steady production of gold from the deep quartz-mines on the Mother Lode furnishes to-day a large percentage of the metal for the world's supply.

The disasters and disappointments suffered by the pioneers of Pike's Peak are of comparatively recent date; and the scenes where gold was vainly sought are well known and held in romantic remembrance by the thousands of tourists to Colorado Springs and Manitou. The history of the fitful fever of the gold-hunters of Pike's Peak is in many respects one of the most remarkable in the annals of the craze for gold. Thousands of men dug and delved, revelled and starved, with barren results, on the eastern slope of Pike's Peak, while deposits of fabulous wealth rested, unsuspected and unsought, in the ribs of the earth less than fifteen miles away, on the western slope of that grand and beautiful mountain. This wealth remained undisturbed for a quarter of a century, until discovered by accident, after the swarms of miners at Pike's Peak had sought other fields. The new field, Cripple Creek, is now known throughout the world.

While the locations of some of the rich deposits of gold in this country have been only briefly noted, the regions most remarkable in some respects will be described more in detail.

Central City, a few miles northwest of Denver, has been steadily producing gold for twenty-five years; averaging a production of about \$500,000 annually. The collapse of silver values at Leadville resulted in the search for gold at that city; and mines of remarkable richness have been found. These mines produce hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of gold annually, and promise to continue to be rich producers for many years to come. The unparalleled gold discoveries at Cripple Creek fol-

lowed closely upon the finds at Leadville. And since the discoveries at Cripple Creek gold has been found, and many mines are being worked, near Telluride and at other points in Southwestern Colorado.

The stimulus given to gold-prospecting by the discovery of the remarkable deposits in Colorado resulted in finding rich gold and silver deposits at Marysvale, near the centre of Utah, to which point the Rio Grande Western Railroad was speedily extended. The mines at Deep Creek in Utah, near the intersection of the fortieth parallel of latitude and the Nevada State line, were discovered a few years ago. Repeated, but vain, efforts have been made to secure the building of a railroad to that mineral region. Almost due south of Deep Creek, near the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude and immediately west of the Utah State line, is the gold-camp of Osceola, Nevada. Osceola had one of the few exhibits of gold-mining operations at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Although food and other supplies must be hauled by wagon to Osceola,—a distance of nearly one hundred miles,—and the product of the mines must be returned by the same conveyance to the railroad, yet the mines are so rich that they have been able to bear that excessive charge, and have for years been profitably operated. Only recently a mineral deposit rich in gold was discovered at Detroit, a point almost directly east of Osceola, and distant therefrom about fifty miles. Since the opening of the mines at Detroit, valuable finds have been made within a radius of thirty miles of that camp.

Pioche, in Southeastern Nevada, nearly on the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude and about thirty miles west of the Utah line, is one of the pioneer mining-camps of Nevada. Like the famous Comstock Lode of Virginia City, Pioche has produced gold and silver in almost equal proportions; but the gold alone would pay for operating that old and reliable mine. For more than twenty years a steady stream of gold and silver has poured out of that camp. The richness of its deposit is proved by the single fact that all supplies for the mines have been carried over wagon-roads from the railroad, a distance of about one hundred and twenty-five miles.

From Pioche to Bodie, California, lies one of the most interesting and valuable mineral fields in the world, and yet, strange to say, until four or five years ago, one of the most neglected.

The marvellous wealth of the Bonanza mines of the Comstock Lode at Virginia City has become a household word. But the wealth of the Comstock Lode was not known when the Washoe mania seized men,—a mania probably as marked as any ever known to the mining-world;—

and the memory of the hardships and orgies of those mad days is almost as sacred to old miners as is that of '49. Eureka, a later find, about sixty miles east of Washoe,—or Austin, as it is now called,—has developed better staying qualities than Washoe, owing to the large percentage of gold mixed with the silver. For the same reason many of the mines near Eureka continue to be paying properties.

The overflow of hardy and reckless miners from Washoe spread over every mountain, cañon, and plain of Nevada from Washoe to Pioche. Numerous mines rich in gold and silver were found, and for a time were profitably worked; but unfortunately the gold was so combined with base metals that it could not be separated by the methods known and practised fifteen or twenty years ago. In mining parlance, almost all those ores are "refractory." As a result of the lack of knowledge by the miners of the arts of reducing ores, abandoned shafts and smelters are now to be seen throughout that vast territory,—at Grant Camp, near Freiburg, at Kawich Valley, at Reveille, at San Antonio, at Hot Springs, at Gold Peak, at Marietta, at Columbus, and at Candelara. At all these points, and at many others, were mines assaying from \$20 to \$50 per ton in gold. As that metal, however, could not be separated from the base ores, all that country was given over for twenty years to desolation and anathemas.

No gold or silver has been found in the valley of the Humboldt; but far north of the Central Pacific Railway some rich deposits have been found during the last few years. The rich ore deposits of Nevada lie almost on a direct line from Pioche to Bodie. It is evident from the facts stated, that a great mother-lode actually exists in Nevada almost similar to the one so famous in California. The former rests upon the slopes of the divide extending from near Sevier Lake in Utah to Mono Lake in California. The waters of that divide run north to the Humboldt Valley and south to the Colorado River, Death Valley, and Owen's Lake. The demolition and denudation of that divide, due to the attrition of water through the ages, have exposed the metal deposits described. The continuous chain of deposits of gold and silver on that great Nevada divide has never, to the knowledge of the writer, been noted. If a systematic exploration of that great east-and-west divide should be made, surprising results would follow.

Both Austin and Eureka are on branch railroads over one hundred miles south of the Central Pacific Railway; and these towns barely touch the boundary of the great metal-belt of Southern Nevada.

Since the discovery of the gold deposits of Leadville and of Cripple

Creek, and with the possession of new methods of treating refractory ores, old miners have renewed operations on the condemned and abandoned Golconda of Nevada, with remarkable results. The ores at Leadville and Cripple Creek are mostly of the same character as those of the abandoned mines in Nevada. But, with the cyanide process now employed, mines assaying from \$15 to \$25 per ton in gold ore are worked at a profit in the Colorado camps. The discovery of the cyanide process will revolutionize the mining situation in Nevada. The fabulously rich gold deposits at Ferguson, or the Monkey Wrench district, in Southern Nevada, have been found during the last six years. Equally valuable finds have been made within the last four years at a point about one hundred miles west of Hyko. These ores assay from \$50 to \$40,000 per ton in gold; and every dollar can be easily extracted by the cyanide process.

It will doubtless be asked why those rich mines are not boomed and why the people are not crazed over them. There are several good reasons for this. In the first place free nuggets of gold are not found; second, the average man lacks faith in a territory abandoned fifteen to twenty years ago: he is slow to grasp the fact that "circumstances alter cases." "Once condemned, always condemned," is the dogma of most men in business, as in morals. The third reason is that the fuel for working the mines and the smelters in Southern Nevada is such that Eastern men generally would spurn the idea of investing money in the properties. Fagots of sage- and other brush constitute the bulk of the fuel used at many of those mines. Even that unsatisfactory fuel costs from \$5 to \$10 per cord. One cord of good wood, such as is used in the East, would make more steam than four cords of the Nevada fuel; and one ton of bituminous coal would perform as much work as two cords of wood.

These facts make it clear that the cost of working mines in Nevada is a serious matter. In brief, it costs, at many mines in Nevada, for such fuel as is within reach, the equivalent of from \$50 to \$75 per ton for bituminous coal; rating the latter at the average cost of such coal in Utah and Colorado. Most of these mines are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty miles from any railroad. The cost of transportation for food and supplies would appear appalling to the Eastern coal- and iron-miner. Yet, notwithstanding these facts, many of the mines are worked at enormous profits. With a railroad traversing that territory, however, results would ensue in the output of gold which would startle the world.

The mining territory from Pioche to Candelara thus described is

wholly in Nevada. Just across the Nevada line, west of Aurora, is Bodie. This California town has been one of the most remarkable gold-camps that the world has ever known. It is on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, at an elevation of 9,000 feet, and has, perhaps, produced as much gold as any one mine in California. Northwest of Bodie, also on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas, are Markleville and other mines, which contain gold and silver in almost equal proportions; but the cost of supplies has, heretofore, prevented any great development of their deposits. On the western slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and almost directly west of Bodie, the heart of the Mother Lode of California is tapped; one of the richest sections of the great lode being in Calaveras County. This county has been and now is one of the greatest producers of gold in California; and the famous Utica mine in the Angel District of that county is, next to the Stanton mine in Cripple Creek, probably the richest single gold-mine in the world.

If a pin be placed at Denver, Colorado, on the map, and another at Stockton, California, and a string be drawn from one to the other, an air line will be marked, passing through the heart of the gold territory described. Slightly to the north of Denver is Central City; and southwest of that city is Cripple Creek; about thirty miles to the north of the string Leadville will be found; in the southwest corner of Colorado will appear Telluride, Rico, and other points where gold is mined; Marysville in Utah, almost due south of Salt Lake City, will appear to the south of the string; fifty miles to to the north of it, near the line between Utah and Nevada, will appear Osceola; Deep Creek lies north of Osceola and on the southern edge of the great desert west of Salt Lake; Detroit and several other rich gold-camps are almost due east of Osceola; Pioche lies one hundred miles south of the string; and the wonderfully rich gold territory of the Monkey Wrench district lies southwest of Pioche.

Now, north and south of the string will appear dotted on the map of Nevada the gold-camps of Grant, Freiburg, Reveille, Kawich Valley, San Antonio, Gold Peak, Hot Springs, Belleville, Candelara, and numerous others. Almost under the string, in California, we find Bodie, and to the north of it Markleville and other points,—all on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. On the western slope of the great Sierras the string will be almost on the Utica mine, which is located between San Andreas and Sonora. North and south of the Utica mine are hundreds of rich gold-mines in profitable operation.

The distance from Denver to Stockton is about twelve hundred miles. On no portion of the habitable globe is there a region so continuously and

enormously rich in gold as the territory described; and yet, notwithstanding this fact, the progressive Yankee has scarcely made a start in opening and developing these riches which have been entombed for millions of years, and which will remain so sepulchred until we awaken to an appreciation of the fact that the States of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California bear within their bosoms more wealth than ever was dreamed of by Cræsus.

But the mineral wealth of these States is not confined to gold. Ignoring silver, which will continue to be largely mined as a by-product, they contain riches beyond belief. Colorado and Utah have as fine anthracite coal as Pennsylvania can boast of. They have bituminous coal of first quality for coking and other purposes, exhaustless in quantity. They have iron in immense deposits; Utah, especially in the southwest corner, having mountains of almost pure iron, the like of which, for richness and extent of deposit, exists nowhere else. In Nevada, north of Hyko, is Coal Valley,—so named by United States engineers,—where coal of fine quality is said to underlie an extensive territory. Should coal be mined along the line of a railroad traversing that territory, it would be more valuable than the richest gold-mine.

Upon coal and iron all modern industry rests. However rich may be the State of Pennsylvania, owing to its coal and iron, the day will come—and at no distant time—when Colorado, Utah and Nevada, with their gold, silver, coal, and iron, will be the richest territory in the world. But such a wonderful transformation will be possible only when our people shall bend their energies toward opening and developing the resources of these States.

But Colorado, Utah, and Nevada have boundless possibilities of development in addition to their mineral resources. Thirty years ago the writer traversed Southern California; finding it a sage-brush waste, with lands worth, if marketable at all, not more than 50 cents per acre. Los Angeles, the metropolis of Southern California, then contained about 4,000 souls. Seven years ago, a second visit was made to the Land of the Sun; and a third, three years ago. A grand transformation had taken place in the appearance and wealth of California. The utilization of water from the mountain streams had made that waste region the home of the rose, the lily, and luscious fruits. Los Angeles had swelled to 65,000 population by 1890. To-day it has over 80,000; while flourishing villages, towns, and cities dot the valleys where a quarter of a century ago the jack-rabbit reigned supreme.

The development of Colorado and of Utah began years ago; but the

greatest growth has been in the last eight years, owing to the opening up of those States by railroads. Abundance of water exists in Colorado; and of many portions of Utah the same is true. In those States irrigation has produced marvellous results. Vegetables are grown there superior to those produced in almost any other portion of the United States. Corn, equal to the best cultivated in Iowa or Kansas, can be grown in the irrigated valleys. Within a few years past, the annual Apple Festival of Cañon City has become famous throughout the Rocky Mountain regions. In very few portions of California can a good peach be grown; but that fruit, equalling the best grown in Delaware, is produced in abundance in Grand River Valley and in other portions of Colorado: and Utah produces just as good. Southern Utah, too, can produce fine grapes, prunes, other fruits, and cotton.

Nevada is not so well supplied with water as are Utah and Colorado; but the high mountain ranges of the southern portion of that State offer ample encouragement to the seeker of the fruits of the soil. Those mountains are the birthplace of streams, the waters of which, if carefully stored, would irrigate thousands of acres; insuring the production of cotton, grapes, prunes, peaches, apples, pears, and other fruits, as well as grains such as are now grown in Utah and Colorado. All these products would find ready market in the mines, and at high prices.

It will doubtless appear incredible to most readers that a belt of country averaging one hundred miles in width exists in Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, where more of the bounties of nature could be enjoyed, if the country were properly cultivated, than perhaps in any like area on the face of the earth. Yet such is the fact.

Thirty years ago sterile mesas and plains covered Southern California. Railroad transportation and irrigation transformed the sage-brush plains and valleys of California from barren wastes into beautiful and fruitful gardens. The same agencies can produce the same results in Colorado, Utah, and Nevada.

While it is incontestibly true that modern industry rests upon coal and iron, it is equally true that modern commerce, in civilized nations, rests upon cheap inland railroad transportation. For generations the boast of the mighty British Empire has been, "Britannia rules the waves." Until this generation that boast has been a poetic and practical truth of potent meaning to the world. To-day, however, it matters little to the people of America whether Britannia rules the waves or not. The carrier may come, the carrier may go, but the tiller of the soil is to-day the wealth-creator, as he has been from the beginning.

As thirty years ago the Pacific railways reclaimed the boundless wastes west of Omaha and Kansas City from the buffalo and the Indians, so to-day there are regions in Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, as well as in other of our Far-Western States, where railroads would cause almost as startling changes in the advancement of civilization. The truth of this would be apparent, should a railroad be built through Southern Nevada; furnishing coal for mining and other purposes at a cost of from \$5 to \$6 per ton, as against present expenditures for fuel practically equaling \$50 to \$75 per ton, as heretofore explained. Such a railroad would reduce the cost of transacting all business throughout that territory to an extent utterly impossible for Eastern people to comprehend.

If prosperity is to return permanently to the people of the United States, we must ever remember that the wonderful growth of our country in material wealth followed closely upon the creation of our great railroad system west of the Missouri River, and that the continued growth of that railroad system is absolutely essential in regions now waste, but rich in coal, iron, copper, silver, and gold, and capable of enormous agricultural development by the introduction of irrigation.

I shall briefly show where one such railroad could be built, insuring the results named. There are two railroads in operation through Colorado from Denver and Colorado Springs, passing through Cripple Creek and Leadville to Grand Junction. The western divisions of these railroads have been completed only a few years; but in that time wonders have been accomplished in the cultivation of the soil, and in opening and working mineral deposits in that section. An extension of our railroad system should be made from Grand Junction to Salina Pass, and thence to the town of Salina; thence to Marysvale; thence to near Cedar City, passing not far from the great iron deposits of Southern Utah; thence to a point south of Pioche; thence to near Hyko, passing Coal Valley; thence south of Reveille; thence to Candelara; thence to the northern shore of Lake Mono; thence westward to within about ten miles of Bodie; thence to Mono Pass; thence down the valley of the Tuolumne River to near the Angel gold regions of Calaveras County, passing the famous Utica mine; and thence to Stockton and San Francisco.

Such a railroad would be about nine hundred miles long. It would cut through immense deposits of bituminous coal east of Salina Pass, would tap the Marysvale gold and silver regions, open the greatest iron deposit on our continent, and would traverse the heart of a territory extending from Pioche to Bodie, known for a quarter of a century to be rich in gold, every ounce of which could be reclaimed by the cyanide

process. That road would traverse the finest scenery in America, *via* Mono Pass. It would swing around the mountains encircling Mono Lake,—one of the most remarkable sheets of water on the globe;—it would present to view the craters of extinct volcanoes unequalled in North America; it would pass within ten miles of Yosemite Valley, which could be reached by tourists with ease over good wagon-roads; it would traverse Hetchy-Ketchy Valley which is almost, if not equally, as grand as the famous Yosemite; and from it would be seen Mt. Dana and Mt. Lyell, two of the grandest snow-capped peaks of the American continent, each summit being over 13,500 feet in altitude.

The Great Northern Railroad is now building a tunnel two and one-half miles long through the Cascade Mountains, to Seattle, to secure light grades. If such a tunnel were built at Mono Pass, it would enable a railroad to cross the great Sierra Nevada divide to the Pacific Slope with less grade than any other railroad reaching the coast. That tunnel would cross the Sierra Nevadas nearly at the elevation of the gold-mines at Bodie; it would cut the gold-bearing rock its entire length in a direct line from Bodie to the Mother Lode; and it would, without doubt, reveal rich gold deposits in its course.

The free gold of the Klondyke region will soon be exhausted, as was the nugget gold of California and Australia. But the exhaustless golden riches in the quartz formation of California, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado can be enjoyed by us for generations after the Klondyke craze shall have become a terrible memory. The boasted South African gold deposits cannot compare with the enormous areas containing gold in our States; extending, as our deposits do, for six hundred miles continuously north and south in California, and for over twelve hundred miles east and west from Stockton, California, to Denver, Colorado. We can work these mines every day in the year, with every necessary and many of the luxuries of life springing from the soil adjacent to the mines. On no portion of the globe can such bounties be enjoyed as in the territory described. But these boundless resources can be made available to the world only by cheap railroad transportation. This is the primal and underlying factor of modern development.

America contains resources capable of supporting hundreds of millions of people. Happy homes can be assured to generations yet unborn where now are desert wastes, if the cultivation of our fields shall have precedence over all our other efforts at development. Then we can open our mines, and control the seas.

It must be clear from the above-mentioned facts, that the enormous

resources of our country can be made susceptible of occupancy only by judicious building of railroads. We must gather the waters from our mountain streams and spread them upon the thirsty and grateful soil of our virgin West; enabling the husbandman to repeat in Colorado, Utah, and Nevada the work begun in California. Wealth will flow from every furrow. When our deposits of precious metals are opened throughout those States, great industrial works will cluster around our coal- and iron-mines; supporting thousands by honest toil.

Capital is timid in enlisting in such enterprises. It is of absolute importance that interdependence and confidence should exist between capital and labor, if our nation is to advance in material growth. It should be the aim of Americans not only to seize and hold a front place in material progress, but to emulate every good work and every high and noble effort of the leading civilized nations. If we adopt this rule of action, labor and capital will meet upon mutually helpful levels; and the capital necessary to enable the people to open and enjoy the riches now buried and useless throughout the great West, will be easily secured. Then the development of our resources will be the most phenomenal in the history of the world; the balance of trade in our favor as against Europe will be unprecedented; our foreign debts will flow home for cancellation; the millions now annually exported for interest will remain with us; in less than two decades our nation will be the overshadowing creditor of the world; and the finances of all the earth will be controlled within the square mile of New York city overlooked by old Trinity.

J. A. LATCHA.

OUR PUBLIC GRAZING-LANDS.

THE "Rocky Mountain News," the well-known daily newspaper of Denver, Colorado, in its issue of September 12, 1894, contained the following "special":

"PARACHUTE, COLO., Sept. 11.—Nearly 4,000 sheep were stampeded by masked cowboys yesterday, and killed by being driven over the perpendicular wall of the Book Cliffs, 1,000 feet, in the canyon of Parachute Creek. Nearly all the sheep-men had left the camp to attend the Peach-Day festival at Grand Junction; and, taking advantage of their absence, the cowboys organized and invaded the camps, driving out the remaining herders at the point of Winchester rifles. Carl Brown, one of the employees, attempted to defend his flock, and was shot in the hip. As soon as the news was brought to Parachute a strong posse, armed with Winchesters, started for the scene. When the posse reached the foot of the cliffs it came upon the carcasses of 3,800 sheep. The sight was most sickening, as the frightful fall had burst them open, and bloody entrails, brains, and shattered bones were scattered in every direction. One of the party remarked grimly, "This is a bigger drop in wool than that caused by the Wilson Bill." The party made its way to the mesa up a steep trail. Here they found Brown, the wounded sheep-man. He was sent to town on a mattress. From lack of proper medical and surgical aid, it is thought that he will die. After resting, the party started out on the trail of the cowboys. A desperate struggle will take place if they are overtaken; for every man on each side is a dead shot, and is not afraid of whizzing bullets. The feeling in Parachute is in favor of the sheep-men, who are residents of the town and have a [moral] claim to the ranges. The loss involved in the killing of the sheep is \$10,000; John Miller losing 1,700, and Charlie Brown, an uncle of the man who was shot, 2,100 head. The sheep-men had been forewarned by the cowboys to leave, but had determined to stand their ground. Charlie Brown is the section boss of the Joint Rio Grande and Midland Railroad, and has many friends who swear that before this feud is ended more blood will be shed."

Occurrences similar to the one just described, though familiar to the citizens of the United States who live west of the one hundredth meridian, are apt to cause surprise to a man who has never been west of the Mississippi River, and perhaps to shock one who has never been west of the Hudson. To him such an occurrence appears to be only another illustration of the Western man's reputed disregard for law and the constituted authorities. In reality, it is the inevitable result of a lack of law, for which the Eastern man is fully as responsible as the Western. "Incidents" such as the one above described happen on the public lands,

and are the outcome of the present public-land laws, which Congress has made and which Congress alone can unmake.

Ever since the Homestead Act was passed, in 1862, the agricultural settlement of the public lands has extended rapidly westward; and, as a result, there now remains scarcely any vacant public land east of the one hundredth meridian. West of that line, in the arid and subarid regions, the Homestead Act has proved only a limited success; the extent of its success coinciding with the extent of well-watered land in the vicinity of springs, streams, and lakes. The settler could not support himself on one hundred and sixty acres of arid land; and, in consequence, these lands have remained unsettled. Under the common law, and in the absence of special enactments to the contrary, public lands are commons; and the settlers along the streams at once availed themselves of their commons rights by turning their stock out to graze on the lands in question. So profitable was the result, particularly with cattle, that it was not long before large companies were formed and millions of cattle occupied the vacant lands of the arid regions. The natural grass crop that had previously gone to waste was now transformed into national wealth.

Finally, however, the cattle became so numerous that there was not enough grass to support them properly; and the overgrazing of the arid region began. Then followed a pushing and crowding for grazing-lands, or ranges; the large cattle companies so handling their stock as to destroy the grazing up to the very fences of the small settler, whose milch cow and farm horses were constantly left without pasturage. The settlers, on the other hand, fenced in the springs and streams, so that the cattle belonging to the large companies would die from thirst on the range; while the sheep-owners crowded the cattle-owners by running their sheep on the best range, and grazing an area so closely that cattle had to be removed from the country or starve. The result of all this has been bad feeling, lawlessness, and the destruction of life and property. The history of this period of Western development has not yet been written, because the period itself is not yet closed; but some day we shall have a chapter about it,—a chapter interesting to all, shocking to many, and certainly unique.

In this connection the accompanying table, extracted from the reports of the Division of Statistics, Department of Agriculture, is both interesting and significant.

The table shows that the number of beef cattle in Wyoming attained its maximum in 1886; the total then being 1,280,916. This number

had decreased in 1898 to 688,092,—only a little more than one-half of the maximum. During the same period the number of sheep increased from 520,000 to 1,940,021. To one who is familiar with the condition of the free range these statistics merely show in mathematical form the facts already well known to him from experience; viz., first, that the range has been so overgrazed as seriously to reduce its cattle-supporting capacity; and, second, that sheep—which can find sustenance much more readily than cattle on a closely grazed area, so that they are always successful when competing with cattle on the same ground—are gradually replacing the cattle upon the grazing-lands of Wyoming.

NUMBER AND VALUE OF CATTLE AND SHEEP IN WYOMING, 1883-1898.

YEAR.	CATTLE OTHER THAN MILCH COWS.		SHEEP.	
	Number.	Value.	Number.	Value.
1883	780,000	\$18,298,800	520,000	\$1,591,200
1884	897,000	23,456,550	598,000	1,303,640
1885	914,940	23,065,637	609,960	1,268,717
1886	1,280,916	32,022,900	518,466	1,072,188
1887	1,255,298	28,815,365	534,020	1,047,480
1888	1,230,192	23,504,663	523,340	1,089,855
1889	1,107,173	21,684,642	565,207	1,187,217
1890	1,217,890	18,240,947	1,017,373	2,249,921
1891	1,096,101	14,766,681	1,119,110	2,521,914
1892	1,107,062	15,910,696	1,141,492	2,808,070
1893	774,943	11,934,118	1,198,567	3,300,255
1894	852,437	11,923,042	1,198,567	2,606,284
1895	767,193	10,562,332	1,222,538	2,004,107
1896	751,849	12,389,717	1,393,693	2,513,944
1897	781,923	13,347,431	1,672,432	3,005,862
1898	688,092	16,390,696	1,940,021	5,714,332

The net loss to the State between 1886 and 1898 in capital invested in beef cattle and sheep is about \$11,000,000. If the numerical gains in the sheep industry were to compensate the numerical losses in the cattle industry, on the customary basis of the grazing equivalence of one steer to ten sheep, Wyoming should have at the present time 6,500,000 instead of about 2,000,000 sheep; and should cattle-grazing be entirely wiped out, more than 13,000,000 sheep would be required as an equivalent for the whole grazing industry of 1886. Thirteen million sheep would transform Wyoming into a cloud of dust. Here and there throughout the West are large areas of once fine grazing-land which to-day will not support one steer; for not merely have the grasses been eaten to the ground year after year, but they have been actually killed out and supplanted by other vegetation that stock will not eat. The writer has

traversed mile after mile of such country along the Lower Des Chutes in Oregon. From every part of the arid West rumors of such denudation are heard; and from many sections the reports are reliable and precise. For obvious reasons the local newspapers say little or nothing about the matter; but the fact, that such and such a range is "played out," is a matter of common knowledge in Western communities.

I do not wish, for the mere purpose of supporting an argument, to draw too black a picture of the decadence of Western grazing-lands; but I do wish to assert as strongly as possible my belief, that *if the laws governing our arid lands remain unchanged, lawlessness will continue, the destruction of private property and human life will go on, the prosperity of communities will be lessened, and one of the rich resources of the nation will be wasted.*

It must, however, in fairness be stated that, bad as conditions now are, the remedy is easy, and that, if soon applied, recovery will be quick. If an area of overgrazed land be fenced in, and stock kept off, the grass, if not actually killed, will after a time regain its original vigor,—in some cases in a year or two, in others in five years. Hundreds of instances may be found where a small area of private land, fenced and not overstocked, maintains its full forage-crop; while outside the fence there is practically no grazing whatever. In many places rich stockmen or companies have acquired title, by purchase from homesteaders, of tracts of watered land covering large territories; and, by fencing them in, they have been able to control all the grazing-land of those regions. No other stockmen can bring their cattle on those areas, because they can get no water for them. The resident cattle-owner, therefore, while without legal title to the land outside of his fences, has, *de facto*, the exclusive use of it. He accordingly manages it as if it were his own property, that is, he does not overstock it. As a result, the grass crop is maintained at its highest limit of continued productiveness.

From what has been said with reference to the beneficial influence of private ownership of grazing-lands on the conservation of the natural forage resource, the conclusion might be hastily drawn that the proper remedy for present difficulties would be to transfer the public grazing-lands from Governmental to private ownership. To this course, however, there are two objections—a moral and an economic one.

A farm of one hundred and sixty acres of fertile land in Iowa, devoted exclusively to raising and fattening cattle, will furnish sufficient forage and grain to send to the market a certain number of cattle per year; but in the plains of Eastern Oregon, on the other hand, a much

larger number of acres would be necessary to produce the same number of fat cattle. It is clear, therefore, that the grazing-lands must be disposed of by the Government in much larger blocks than of one hundred and sixty acres, the present maximum limit of a homestead claim. Many live-stock companies and individual cattle-owners are now occupying more than a hundred thousand acres of Government grazing-land each; and they have such vested interests in winter ranches, buildings, corrals, and live stock, that the Government, if it is to transfer its grazing-lands to private ownership, must, in equity, dispose of the lands in blocks of sufficient size to meet the customary requirements of these as well as of other individuals and companies. Or, if the Government, ignoring the equities of such cases, should set an unalterable limit to the size of blocks thus transferable, adjacent blocks would be so handled that they would soon come into the ownership of single individuals or single companies.

Whichever plan might be adopted, enormous tracts of land in the most thinly settled portions of the West would inevitably come into the possession—perpetual and absolute—of a few men. Whatever such a condition might do toward securing able management and cheapening the cost of cattle production, the evils of land monopoly would, to a considerable extent, necessarily follow, or, what is almost as bad, a large majority of the Western people believe that they would follow.

The second and economic objection to the immediate, irrevocable disposal of Government grazing-lands rests upon our lack of knowledge of the real value of those lands. The present classification recognizes only three kinds of public lands—mineral, timber, and agricultural. Before the Government can dispose of grazing-lands, it must determine which portions of the land now lumped as agricultural are really such, and which portions are fit only for grazing. Especially must such areas of arid land as are capable of irrigation, and which, therefore, are really agricultural, be segregated from the areas not capable of irrigation, and be classed as grazing. It is only by the actual application of engineering and hydrographic methods that the exact location and extent of the irrigable portions of the arid lands can be ascertained; and, in the natural course of events, this would require many years. Clearly it would not be to the interest of the Government to grant patents, as grazing-lands, to large areas really irrigable, and worth, therefore, five, or perhaps, twenty times as much. Furthermore, the economic conditions and the trade relations of the West in general have not yet become sufficiently well established to indicate the true value of land. Land

values have been too high at one time or place, and too low at another. It will require at least one or two more decades of successes and failures to show the real money value of our grazing-lands. We do not know whether their present estimated values are too high or too low.

It has more than once been proposed that the Government should cede its lands to the States in which the lands are situated. The principal reason advanced in support of this proposition is, that the public lands pay no taxes and cannot, therefore, be made to bear their proportion of the cost of State administration and improvement; the whole cost thus falling on the private property within the State. Especially is this burden felt in those States in which the area of Government land is still large. During the last decade this proposition of State ownership has been before Congress in various forms. In general, it is favored by the newspapers of the grazing-States, as represented by Wyoming, for example, and is opposed by the newspapers of the agricultural States, particularly the irrigation States, represented by California. In view of the wide-spread distrust among the people of the West of State, as opposed to Federal, management of the public land,—a view strongly evidenced by the antagonism which the proposition of State ownership has met in Congress,—it seems to be extremely doubtful whether any effective action in this direction will ever be taken.

Granting, then, that the Government must for the present retain the ownership of its grazing-lands, the remedy for overgrazing must lie in some plan of limiting the amount of stock to the forage capacity of the area. Before presenting the outlines of a plan intended to accomplish this object, I shall consider briefly another plan which naturally suggests itself, namely, the limitation of the amount of stock by a *per capita* license.

To effect its purpose, a system of licensing must be restrictive, either through the high cost of the license or from a specified limit in the number of licenses granted. If a license sufficiently high to afford adequate protection to the forage crop should be adopted, it would inevitably follow that, under depressions in the market price of the grazing-product, the license system would become, at least in part, prohibitive; so that a portion of the forage-crop would be left to rot on the ground,—a condition of wastefulness quite as objectionable from the standpoint of the general welfare as an equal amount of loss from previous overgrazing. If the other plan should be adopted,—that of limiting the amount for stock licensed on a particular tract; the cost of the license to be nominal,—the difficulties of administration would only

begin; for it is very doubtful whether any satisfactory system could be devised whereby the number of licenses could be equitably apportioned among the various applicants. Furthermore, under a licensing system the interest of the licensee in so handling and moving his stock as to protect the forage-crop from permanent injury would be exceedingly small; for any benefits accruing from such care on his part would, in all probability, be reaped by other men, whose stock would occupy the same area in succeeding years. It is evident, therefore, that for several reasons, a licensing system does not appear very promising.

After a careful consideration of all the conditions, I am convinced that the Grazing-land Problem will be solved more easily by a system of leasing than by any other plan. A leasing system would, from the start, give each lessee a direct interest in the proper management of his tract of land. Having an exclusive right to the grazing privilege, it would be to his advantage to prevent overgrazing, and in other ways to maintain the land in a state of the highest continued productiveness, precisely as if he were the actual owner. A lease could also fix the responsibility for mismanagement, which, under the commons system, cannot be placed upon any one of the many who occupy a particular area. Furthermore, a lease of reasonable duration would encourage minor improvements, such as the securing of watering-places for stock, the building of occasional shelters on the range, and the construction of fences so as to confine the stock to particular areas at certain seasons,—improvements into which, in the absence of a guaranteed tenure of the land, stockmen will put little or no money.

It may not be out of place to mention here that while, to the United States Government, the Grazing-land Problem is an unsolved problem, it is not so to all Governments and all great land-owning organizations. The Government of Australia was confronted by the same problem, and adopted a grazing-lease system. The State of Texas, which owns the public lands within its borders and has its own Land Office, has solved the problem in the same way. The Northern Pacific Railroad, whose grazing-lands had degenerated through overstocking, and were producing no income, has inaugurated a leasing system. It will be seen, therefore, that the grazing-lease system, as a remedy for overstocking, is not altogether theoretical and untried. Indeed, as a matter of fact, it has been found by actual practice to be a satisfactory method of meeting an old difficulty. The real question that presents itself is whether such a system can be applied successfully to the Government grazing-lands; and this involves an inquiry into the conditions of the lease.

In the first place it is clear that the lease should be for a fairly long term—certainly for five, probably for ten, and possibly for twenty or even thirty years. The Australian lease is for twenty-one years or less; and the Northern Pacific lease is commonly either for five or ten years. It is not quite so clear, however, what the annual rental should be. On certain grounds it is questionable whether it should be more than sufficient to pay the cost of administration. The minimum rate in Texas is three cents an acre *per annum*: the Northern Pacific rate averages a little more than two and one-half cents.

At the nominal rate of one cent an acre the income from our grazing-lands, on the basis of Prof. Newell's conservative acreage estimate,¹ would be \$3,740,000 *per annum*. It must not be forgotten, however, that, in the leasing of land, the Government may come into competition with other landowners who themselves are leasing their lands; and these owners may very properly demand that the Government shall not seriously underbid them. In case this, or any other consideration, should make it necessary for the Government to charge full market value for its land, say two and one-half cents per acre, an annual income of \$9,350,000 would be derived from the grazing-lands, if they were all leased,—a sum amply sufficient to pay the cost of administration and leave a handsome surplus, which latter might be profitably and equitably returned in some form to the States from which it was derived.

The question will doubtless arise in the minds of many Eastern men, "Why should not the Government, as it owns and manages the public grazing-lands, put the profits into its own Treasury, to be used for general purposes?" If he will look further into the matter, however, he will find the following situation: In all the Far-Western States there are large tracts of land still belonging to the Government. According to Newell's statistics,² the Government lands in the State of California—the best settled of the Far-Western States—constitute 58 per cent of the total land-area of the State. These lands pay no taxes and, therefore, do not bear their share of the expenses of State administration. In Arizona the Government lands are 76 per cent of the total area; in Montana, 78 per cent; in Utah, 82 per cent; in Wyoming, 86 per cent; in Idaho, 89 per cent; and in Nevada the proportion reaches the astounding total of 95 per cent. This means, roughly speaking, that in the State of Nevada, 5 per cent of the lands, with the improve-

¹ Prof. F. H. NEWELL, in Sixteenth Ann. Rep. U. S. Geol. Surv., pt. 2, p. 494. 1895.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 478.

ments thereon, pay the taxes with which the whole State, including the remaining 95 per cent, is administered.

Many of the Western States have reached the limit of State expenditure authorized under their constitutions, and still are sorely in need of better roads, of more money for schools, particularly for popular agricultural education, and of State moneys for great irrigation enterprises—a matter of paramount importance in some States. It is such considerations as these that have led some of the Western States to ask for the cession of Government lands to them; so that, through sale or lease, they may derive a revenue to be used for internal improvements. It is, therefore, a sound proposition, that, so long as State cession does not seem desirable, at least the income derived by the Government from the rental of its grazing-lands in excess of the cost of administration, should be returned in cash or in the form of public improvements to those regions from which it came.

Now a few words upon Federal, as opposed to State, management of a public-land system,—a matter concerning which the West has often been bitter, and the East always stubborn. The objections to a Federal administration of a grazing-lease system are: That it would be too long-armed, that Washington is too far from the base of operations; that the business would fall into the hands of Government clerks who would not understand the needs of Western communities and the requirements of Western conditions; and that, although in the long run justice would be done, the ranchers would meanwhile be subjected to exasperating and expensive delays,—delays so long and so numerous that the usefulness of the system would be destroyed.

The objection to State cession and consequent State administration is the wide-spread doubt as to a wise handling of the lands by the various States. This doubt exists not alone among students of political economy and recent American history, but among the common people of the West generally; and it is the latter who are likely to be the more influential in deciding the question. Probably the administration of none of the Western public lands has caused more dissatisfaction among the settlers than that of the swamp-lands and the school lands; and these are the very lands which were ceded by the Government to the States, to be disposed of as they themselves should direct.

In the face of such persistent objections on both sides, the legislator is naturally puzzled, and questions whether the problem admits of a satisfactory solution. I believe there is a satisfactory solution; namely, a method which, in result, though not in form, would represent a joint

administration by the State and the Government. The principle was first suggested to me by a rancher of Eastern Oregon, who had formerly been State Surveyor. Important modifications of it were suggested by a San Francisco lawyer, who had had wide experience in land and water-right contests, and by the State Irrigation Engineer of Wyoming. The proposition has finally assumed the following form: Let the Government retain its title to the grazing-lands, but adopt a grazing-lease system. Let the administration for each State be in the hands of a Federal officer, who shall have his headquarters within the State, attend to all leases and other business for that State, and decide all contests. The resident officers to be responsible to a central officer in Washington, who shall have the general supervision and direction of the system, be responsible for its proper management, and have the right to veto, or reverse, the decisions of the resident officers; his office to be retained during good behavior. In each State the income in excess of the cost of administration to be returned to it, to be used for specified purposes of State improvement. By keeping the title of the land vested in the Government, undesirable leases may later be replaced by sound ones. By having a principal officer resident in each State, an administration cognizant of local requirements, and close at hand to deal with controversies and hasten decisions, will be available. And, by having a central Federal officer to devise and maintain a uniform system, with power to annul improper acts on the part of the resident official, provision for a wise administration would be secured.

Space will not permit me to enter into the details concerning other items to be considered in the leases. I shall, therefore, simply mention, in passing, the following: First, provision should be made for the small rancher to enjoy a limited amount of grazing close to his ranch. A prior lease-right, like that recognized and practised by the Northern Pacific Railroad, or a limited grazing privilege within the boundaries of an adjacent leaseholder's area, as provided for in Texas, would accomplish the purpose. Second, the right of homestead entry and of reclamation for irrigation purposes should be reserved to the Government. The holder of a grazing-lease, however, should be compensated to the extent of the loss of his grazing privilege; or, if he should prefer, by receiving, in lieu of his land, an equivalent amount of grazing-land not yet leased, should any such exist. Third, to encourage improvement on lease lands, provision should be made for reimbursing the lessee for fences and other improvements when he surrenders his lease. Fourth, the Government should reserve the right to terminate a lease at any time

in case a lessee should proceed seriously to overgraze, or grossly to mismanage the land in any other way. A matter of paramount importance for the Government to guard against, would be the accumulation of lease-lands by speculators. To avoid this, the leasing-right should be granted only to actual settlers and live-stock owners; limiting the amount of land leased as nearly as possible to the requirements of their stock, with a fair provision for the expansion of business.

This plan of leasing has been pursued by the Northern Pacific Railway with marked success. Through the kindness of an official of the railroad, I have been permitted to examine the terms of the leases in the North Yakima district. The particulars are as follows:

LEASES IN THE NORTH YAKIMA DISTRICT, STATE OF WASHINGTON.

Number of Acres in each Block.	Number of Lessees of such Blocks.	Number of Acres in each Block.	Number of Lessees of such Blocks.
1,000 or less ¹	91	11,000	1
2,000	14	12,000	1
3,000	9	13,000	3
4,000	4	14,000	1
5,000	7	17,000	1
6,000	8	18,000	1
7,000	1	20,000	2
8,000	4	21,000	2
9,000	4	41,000	1
10,000	2		

¹ Actually 950 to 1,049. The same proportion holds for the other thousands.

The result is, that each of the small settlers has his own small range, the cattle-owners are not encroached upon by the sheep-owners, and general satisfaction exists.

The leasing system is not proposed as a permanent system; but it promises to be a satisfactory temporary expedient for protecting our grazing-lands until we discover their real value and how they may be best disposed of. A period of thirty years—the ordinary measure of a generation—ought to settle these questions; and then the nation will be able to determine whether it is best to continue the leasing system, to donate the grazing-lands to the States, or to transfer them directly to private ownership. If, as now seems probable, the third of the plans shall be adopted, data will then be at hand for settling equitable terms of transfer.

FREDERICK V. COVILLE.

THE PLAYS OF ARTHUR WING PINERO.

"RIDENDO castigat mores" might well be the title of this article; for Pinero, like Sheridan, raps the manners of the day over the knuckles—and we of the knuckles like it, and, instead of protesting, laugh.

But, though Pinero may well be called the Sheridan of to-day, he knows that modern life is projected on a larger scale, and appreciates that, while Sheridan could show life reflected in a mirror, the modern dramatist must let his audience view it through a magnifying-glass. This is the reason why many of Pinero's plays of the "Magistrate" and "Cabinet Minister" order, though in their essence comedy, are in their execution farcical; the farcical exploitation being the magnifying-glass through which we view the comedy of modern life as set forth by this playwright.

Pinero possesses, perhaps to a greater degree than any other English dramatist, what is called dramatic technic,—the building up of each detail with reference to every other detail of a play; the development of a story according to a well-defined process of dramatic evolution; and a nice adjustment of dialogue to action. In one of his earlier plays, "The Squire,"—a most charming production which still holds the stage,—Pinero was accused of borrowing from Hardy's "Far from the Mad-ding Crowd." However that may have been, his fine technic saved him from any lasting opprobrium of plagiarism; for his precise dramatic art made "The Squire" less an adaptation than a re-creation.

Pinero, having himself been an actor before he became a playwright, has no illusions regarding the stage and its relations to literature. His own practical experience as an actor has taught him the value of the right word in the right place, as compared with mere fine writing. As he himself has put it, "More dramatic authors have died from literature than from any other cause." But, while avoiding fine writing simply as such, no one has a more brilliant style than he when it becomes necessary to raise a laugh at the foibles of modern society. Every play of his contains quotable sentences. Thus in "The Princess and the Butterfly," the last of his plays presented in America, we have the line, "Those who love deep never grow old," which not only frames a pretty

thought, but also has a direct bearing upon the story of the play, in which a middle-aged hero and heroine, instead of falling in love with each other, become enamoured respectively of a slip of a girl and a mere youth. Clever, too, is the line in which *The Princess* explains why she is thinking of residing in Paris. "Paris," she exclaims, "is a Paradise for middle-aged women!" "Not for the imported ones," comments her friend, *Lady Ringstead*. Another character, in discussing middle age in woman, explains that the surest sign of the approach of that disastrous period in life is "an appetite for dinner in other people's houses." When *The Princess's* young lover, *Edward Oriel*, would brush aside the disparity in their ages, she strikes a deeper chord: "A well-preserved woman is like a harpstring strung to its highest tension. It may respond tunefully to your touch, but the next thing it breaks."

Pinero's ancestors were Portuguese Jews, who settled in London two centuries ago. He himself was educated for the law: but his bent for the stage was too great for him to adopt that profession; and whatever prospects of preferment in it he might have had he gave up for a salary of a pound a week at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. This was in 1874. He proved a good actor; and from 1876 to 1882 he played with Irving. His first efforts as a playwright were one-act "curtain-raisers"—among them "*Daisy's Escape*," which was produced by Irving at the Lyceum, with the author in the cast. His first great success was "*The Money Spinner*," which Hare produced at the St. James's Theatre in 1880. In 1881 Mr. Pinero followed this play with "*The Squire*," which was successfully brought out by the Kendals. Mr. Pinero is now forty-three years old. Owing to his experience as an actor, his plays are thoroughly practical; and though he may, consciously or unconsciously, have applied the motto, "*Ridendo castigat mores*," to his work, his plays are first of all "acting plays." His stagecraft is so good that he gives complete directions in regard to scenery and "business." His manuscripts are more thoroughly "staged" than those of any other modern playwright, excepting Sardou.

He is a slow thinker, but, when he once settles to work, a rapid writer. Therefore, despite the fact that he is somewhat deliberate in getting under way, his plays are so numerous that only to touch upon all of them would exceed the limits of a magazine article. Fortunately two of his well-known plays—both of them have often been given in America—are so different in character, yet so distinctly his own, that an analysis of them will serve to show the scope of his genius. I refer to "*The Amazons*" and "*The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*,"—the former a farce

touched with the charm of romance; the latter the most serious and the greatest of his dramas.

In drawing his inspiration from modern life, Pinero has not allowed himself to be flustered by its *embarras de richesse*. He has said:—

“At this moment, the difficulty of the dramatist lies less in paucity of subject than in an almost embarrassing wealth of it. The life around us teems with problems of conduct and character, which may be said almost to cry aloud for dramatic treatment; and the temptation that besets the busy playwright of an uneasy and impatient age is, that, in yielding himself to the allurements of contemporary psychology, he is apt to forget that fancy and romance have also their immortal rights in the drama.”

How charmingly the romantic or fanciful can be combined with the comic, Pinero has shown in “The Amazons.”

This is a social satire with a gentle strain of the poetical running through it. One seems to see the playwright smiling pleasantly through the lines, as he observes, with an apologetic shrug of the shoulders, “*Ridendo castigat mores*.” From start to finish “The Amazons” is a delicate persiflage on the growing mannishness of the gentler sex; its *denouement* being a homily to the effect, that the “new woman,” though new, is yet woman. But, withal, the spirit of romance hovers lightly over the story,—Pinero calls the play a farcical romance;—and one would not be surprised if told that *The Tangle in Overcote Park* were an offshoot of the forest of Arden with a modern *Rosalind* and *Orlando* in *Lady Noeline* and *Lord Litterly*. Certainly there is no more clever mingling of romance, comedy, and satire in modern English drama.

The poetic treatment of an amusing story gives “The Amazons” its chief charm. *Miriam*, *Marchioness of Castlejordan*, bitterly disappointed that no son has been born to her, brings up her three girls as if they were boys. Their attire is mannish,—they wear riding-breeches, sporty gaiters, shooting-jackets, as occasion requires,—and they are taught to box, ride, fish, shoot, in fact all the manly sports, for which *Overcote Park* affords capital opportunity. The neighbors naturally object to their garb, and call *The Marchioness* eccentric. But she meets their objections with the observation that dress is, after all, “a question of environment,” and that “the poor African in her solitary row of beads is as discreet as the best-dressed woman in town.” In bringing up her girls in this mannish fashion *Lady Castlejordan* is carrying out not only her own wishes, but also those of her dead husband. Not to have a son, was as sore a trial to him as to her.

Of course it is the provoking which always happens in the early

stages of a play. The bringing up of girls as boys does not make them boys; and, in default of *The Marchioness* being the mother of a "complete boy," the title on her husband's death goes to his brother. This brother, a "wizen creature without shoulders," and his wife, "a wisp of a woman with a mouth like a rabbit's," have a son—*Lord Litterly*. *Lady Castlejordan's* anger and jealousy at this state of affairs are such that she is not on speaking-terms with *Lord Litterly's* parents, and has never seen him. To make matters even more provoking to her, this *Lord Litterly* is a fine fellow. He has, as she protests to her friend, *Rev. Roger Minchin*, "carried everything before him at the University—everything!" It is true that *Lord Litterly* "failed even to take a pass degree" at Oxford, so *Mr. Minchin* informs *Lady Castlejordan*. But what is that to her? "Bother his degree! He was first string in the mile and quarter-mile against Cambridge at Queens Club; he got his cricket blue and came within two of making his century at Lord's; and in Rugby football he was the best three-quarter back in the Oxford fifteen that's been known for the last five-and-twenty years." You observe in these lines, the neat little hit at the preponderance of college athletics, which has a twofold dramatic significance—describing *Lord Litterly*, and voicing *Lady Castlejordan's* disappointment.

By this time you probably know that the problem the playwright has set himself is, to marry *Lord Litterly* to one of his mannish cousins. It chances to be *Noeline*. During a visit to London she manages to slip out of the house at night in man's clothes. She wants to "do" London. Result: She is "done" herself. She becomes involved in a scrimmage, through knocking down a man who is about to strike a woman. True to her sex, though brought up as a boy, she faints. Of course a rescuer appears upon the scene; and you have already guessed that he is *Lord Litterly*. Without being aware of the other's identity, he tracks her to *Overcote Park*, into which he surreptitiously effects an entrance. There he finds two friends, *André de Grival* and *Lord Tweenwayes*, lovers of *Noeline's* sisters, *Wilhelmina* and *Thomasin*.

The rest of the play is the most delightful love-making to be found in modern comedy. *The Tangle in Overcote Park* becomes a demesne of merriment and romance. The love-making is of three kinds, each kind set forth by the playwright with delicious discrimination, according to the characteristics of each of the three lovers. *Lord Litterly* is a perfect type of a young Anglo-Saxon. Cool, completely master of himself, he meets *Noeline's* assumed severity in a provokingly calm, bantering spirit. *De Grival* is a French foil to *Litterly's* Anglo-Saxon

self-poise. The Frenchman is decidedly a Gallic *Miss Nancy*; yet he is constantly slapping his chest and proclaiming that, although French by birth, he is thoroughly English. Does he not even say "Damitall!" in the smoking-room? Pinero has considerable fun with this young Frenchman, with the result that *De Grival* is one of the best farcical stage types of his race that we have. The playwright has eschewed the old trick of mispronunciation, and other conventional mannerisms of the stage Frenchman. *De Grival's* talk is amusing, chiefly by reason of queer little turns given at the end of his rapid speeches. Take, for instance, his apotheosis of *Wilhelmina*: "Wilhelmina! Ah, you are adorable! You are enchanting! You are perfect! Oh, you are—you are—you are pretty good!"

In *Lord Tweenwayes* ("Tweeny") Pinero has held up to ridicule a type of decaying English aristocracy. *Tweeny* and *De Grival* go through a vast amount of manœuvring—hiding, creeping under bushes, and making other extremely uncomfortable strategic moves. A great part of the time *Tweenwayes* is bent double with pains of various kinds. Every pain he in some way traces to the antiquity of his family—the *Fitzbrays*. Once, after writhing in agony and while still rocking to and fro, he explains that in his family "every alternate generation has the cramp bias very clearly defined." "Our cramp," he adds, "has made history. My mother quotes an old distich—

'Cold the wind and damp the day,
Cramp shall seize the true Fitzbray.'

However, both *De Grival* and *Tweenwayes*, though a bit ridiculous, are good fellows at heart; and, after the audience has extracted a vast sum of harmless amusement from them, it is quite reconciled to their winning *Wilhelmina* and *Thomasin*. *Lady Castlejordan* having softened toward *Lord Litterly* because he has *Jack's* (her late husband's) eyes and his fine muscular frame, *Lady Noeline* is also happily disposed of; so that when the play ends the three Amazons are nice, sweet, wholesome girls, over heads and ears in love.

The English failed to appreciate the delicate satire and gentle raillery of "The Amazons"; but in this country it has been one of Pinero's most successful plays. There are not many direct appeals to risibility in it; but an undercurrent of humor runs through the whole play, and an almost continuous ripple of amusement—the most genuine tribute to humor—passes over the audience. *Ridendo castigat mores*—but with a magic wand lightly laid over the shoulders of farce and romance.

"The Amazons," though produced before "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," followed the latter in point of writing. In fact, it was written by Pinero as a relaxation—a charming way of taking a holiday. "The Amazons," in turn, was followed by "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith," a play of the "Tanqueray" order, but not so successful. Indeed, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" marks not only the high-water mark of Pinero's art, but the high-water mark of the popular problem-play. After it the question raised concerning plays which dealt with what are usually considered forbidden topics was not regarding the topic dealt with, but as to the comparative skill and freedom from objectionable frankness with which the playwright handled it. "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" did much to eradicate sophistication in things dramatic. It had, for instance, been deemed advisable in 1888, when Pinero's charming and highly successful play, "Sweet Lavender," was produced in this country, to conceal the fact that the heroine of the play was an illegitimate daughter. But when "Sweet Lavender" was revived after the public had accepted "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," it was given as written.

When "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" was produced in London, an English critic thus summed up his tribute to Pinero's genius: "He is not yet forty; and he is the author of 'The Second Mrs. Tanqueray.'" The play is written with amazing technical skill: there is not a line, however reckless in its wit or audacious in its philosophy, which is not interlocked with the story and which does not aid or illumine its development. Dealing in a novel way with an old, yet ever recurring, and always interesting problem,—the woman with a past, and her attempted redemption by a man with a future,—it made a more profound impression than any other modern English play, and placed Pinero in the front rank of modern dramatists. Among recent English plays it has the unusual, perhaps unique, distinction of having been taken into the *repertoire* of a famous foreign actress. For *Paula Tanqueray* has become one of Duse's finest rôles.

"The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" is, of course, a problem-play. And, speaking of problem-plays, does it never occur to those who use this new term so glibly that it stands for something dating considerably further back than *anno Ibseni*? Is not "La Dame aux Camellias"—which, absurdly enough, we translate as "Camille"—a problem-play of the frankest possible kind, and almost old enough to be a classic? Have our Decadent friends overlooked this fact because "La Dame aux Camellias" is written with such consummate skill—because it is so interesting? Cannot a problem-play be also a real play? Surely the problem is brought

home with none the less force when handled with astounding technical precision. Nor does the lesson sought to be conveyed fail because the dramatist has built upon it a brilliant and effective play. There is no reason, excepting lack of ability on the playwright's part, why a drama should not deal seriously with a vital social problem without being, in the cant phrase, "too good for the box-office."

Had Pinero desired to place a motto at the head of his play, he could not have chosen a better one than that sad reflection of *Paula Tanqueray's* upon her vain struggle to escape from that past which unrelentingly confronts her. In it she voices the whole tragic import of the play. "The future," she says, "is only the past again, entered through another gate." It is her death-song. For, to close that gate forever against herself, she commits suicide. In "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," Pinero does not preach a false, alluring philosophy. He wins our sympathy for *Paula*, not by showing that such a woman can escape the consequences of her past, but by employing all the resources of an experienced playwright to prove that she cannot. With Pinero there is no glorification of the unclean. "La Dame aux Camellias," and "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" are separated by a greater distance than the English Channel. Starting on somewhat similar lines, they are, when the curtain falls, as far apart as the two poles of French and Anglo-Saxon racial philosophy.

"The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" is one of the most compact dramas ever written. There is not a superfluous word in it, not a line nor an episode, nor even a scene, which does not have its exact bearing upon the development of the story. There is no finer example of precise dramatic technic than this play. Yet, as with a great singer or instrumentalist, Pinero's vast technical equipment is but a means to an end. It is employed to keep the main story either in full view or to throw certain side-lights upon it. The play is tragic, with a clever balance of high comedy; the latter accomplished by clever bits of society characterization lightly touched in here and there. Thus it combines the strength of the ancient drama with all the brilliancy of modern exploitation; for even in this story, so sombre in its strain, Pinero has not forgotten the motto of comedy, "Ridendo castigat mores."

Pinero's faculty for putting the story of a play right before us is nowhere more apparent than in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray." When the play opens, *Aubrey Tanqueray* has invited three intimate friends to dinner at his apartments. He intends telling them of his purpose to marry *Paula*—a woman with a past, with, in fact, several pasts. One

of *Aubrey's* friends, *Cayley Drummle*, arrives with news of the marriage of *Sir George Orreyed*, a weak sprig of the nobility, to a certain, or rather a very uncertain, *Mabel Hervey*.

While *Aubrey* goes to his writing-table to finish a couple of letters, his three friends, still ignorant of the name of his proposed bride, continue discussing *Sir George Orreyed's* escapade. "You may dive into many waters," says *Cayley Drummle*, "but there is *one* social Dead Sea! . . . Why, for years I've been sitting and watching and waiting . . . on the shore of that same sea . . . for some of my best friends *to come up*." This is not merely a bit of philosophy cleverly put: it conveys its exact meaning with reference to the evolution of the dramatic idea. For it brings home to *Aubrey* in the most bitter way the view which the world will take of his marriage.

In fact, whoever reads "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" critically will find dialogue and action so firmly knitted together that everything said or done has both a direct significance at the moment and a reflex significance at a later stage in the evolution of the story.

Take, as an instance, the scene in the first act, when, after *Aubrey's* friends have left, *Paula*, whom he is to marry next day, comes to his lodgings. Her purpose in visiting him is to give him a last chance to draw back. She brings him a letter in which she has written a list of her liaisons. She frankly tells him that, while there are names in it of which he already knows, it also contains others. For answer he throws the letter into the fire. This action shows the fine strain of chivalry in his nature. But it does more than illuminate the hero's character; for later, as I shall show, it becomes one of the fatal links in the dramatic chain.

Aubrey's life has been lonely. His first wife was cold and unsympathetic. Here is a description of her from *Cayley Drummle*, the wit and philosopher of the play: "He had reckoned, poor wretch, that in the early days of marriage she would thaw. But she didn't. I used to picture him closing his doors and making up the fire in the hope of seeing her features relax. Bless her, the thaw never set in! I believe she kept a thermometer in her stays and always registered ten degrees below zero."

There is a daughter of the first marriage, *Ellean*. She has been brought up in a convent, and is about to take final vows. Her decision has increased *Aubrey's* feeling of loneliness to a point that, although you realize he pities and loves *Paula*, yet you realize still more that the sheer desperation of his lot has much to do with drawing him to her.

Therefore, when, at the end of the first act, he receives a letter from *Ellean*, telling him that she finds her duty to be with him, and that she is ready to take her place by him, you instinctively feel that, had she made her declaration a little sooner, there would have been no second *Mrs. Tanqueray*, or that the second *Mrs. Tanqueray* would at least not have been one of those women who, as Aubrey says chivalrously and with a home thrust at his own sex, "have been roughly treated, and who dare to survive by borrowing a little of our own philosophy."

Poor *Aubrey*! He little reckes the task he has set himself in the attempt to "rear a life of happiness, of good repute, on a miserable foundation." He is asking himself a question asked by many an honest, manly soul—"Must there be a different standard of right and wrong for men and women?" To that question there is but one answer; and those who have sought to ignore or evade it are the wrecks that strew the shore of *Cayley Drummle's* social Dead Sea.

In this first act the factors in the problem are clearly set before us—last of all *Ellean*, next to *Paula's* own capricious, emotional, morbid nature, perhaps the most important in hastening the final catastrophe. *Ellean* is a beautiful, pure girl. *Paula* fairly yearns for her love; but *Ellean*, though she knows nothing of *Paula's* history, is not drawn to her. There is something deeply pathetic in this love of *Paula*, with her tainted past, for the spotless girl. *Ellean's* reserve is a thorn in *Paula's* flesh. She is wretchedly jealous of *Aubrey's* affection for his daughter. Her isolation—*Aubrey* has given up his London lodgings for *Highercombe*, a country-place in Surrey—also makes her unhappy and morbid. The country neighbors hold aloof from her. It is true she revenges herself by passing spiteful remarks on them, as when she says of *Mrs. Cortelyon*: "She's six-and-forty; and I wish nothing worse to happen to any woman." She loves *Aubrey*, she appreciates what he did for her in marrying her; but "where's the pride in being a married woman among married women!" She realizes that even after the old neighbors have passed away, "there will still remain the sacred tradition that the dreadful person who lives at the top of the hill is never, under any circumstances, to be called upon." The past! alas, the past! It has crept up even to *Highercombe*.

Paula is made miserably unhappy because *Aubrey* allows *Ellean* to go to Paris with *Mrs. Cortelyon*. She suspects that *Aubrey* wishes *Ellean* to have more wholesome companionship than hers; and, when she accuses him of this, he half confesses that her suspicions are correct.

With these preliminaries in mind, the rest of the story can be

briefly told; for from this point the action fairly gallops along to the edge of the precipice, and over. *Ellean* returns unexpectedly from Paris. She has fallen in love with and become engaged to the hero of England's latest Indian border war, *Captain Ardale*. *Paula's* meeting with *Ardale* is one of the great dramatic moments of the play. *Ellean* has spoken of him to her only by his first name. When they meet, *Paula* is face to face with one of her old lovers—one of the men whom *Aubrey* did not know of, but whose name was in the letter he so chivalrously burned.

This is the climax of the third act. That of the fourth and last is the scene between *Ellean* and *Paula*, when *Ellean*, her love wrecked by *Paula's* past, turns upon her and scourges her by telling her she has always known what she was. "Who told you?" *Paula* demands fiercely. "Nobody but yourself," is *Ellean's* answer. "From the first moment I saw you I knew you were altogether unlike the good women I'd left; directly I saw you I knew what my father had done."

Poor *Paula*! She has been an honest wife. Within the limitations of her nature she has done her best. But whichever way she turns, there is her past. "The future is only the past again, entered through another gate." And so she locks that gate with her own death.

Pinero's latest play, "*Trelawney of the Wells*," which has been produced in London, but has not yet been presented in America, has for its heroine an actress, *Rose Trelawney*. Becoming engaged to a young nobleman, she leaves the Sadler's Wells company and goes to his home to visit. There she becomes so weary of the formalities of aristocratic society that she longs again for the freedom of professional life, breaks her engagement, and returns to the stage. In order to win her back, her lover becomes an actor, and finally succeeds in his purpose.

The play is lightly and brilliantly written. One can well imagine the social satire to which Pinero has given vent in depicting the emptiness of the life of which *Rose* grows so weary in her lover's home. Thus in this, his latest play, Pinero has again given free rein to the motto of comedy, "*Ridendo castigat mores*."

That Pinero considers his mission a serious one, may be judged from his words. "I believe," he says, "that the playwright's finest task is that of giving back to the multitude their own thoughts and conceptions illuminated, enlarged, and, if needful, purged, perfected, transfigured."

GUSTAV KOBBE.

The Forum

OCTOBER, 1898.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

THE relations of England and Russia in the Far East attract the attention of every thinking man and woman at the present time; but it would be a cardinal error to imagine that the drama now being enacted in China will amount to more than a chapter in the world-wide struggle which will in the long run take place between the two empires. Great Britain did indeed guarantee the integrity of the Chinese Empire early in the present year, as far as a resolution of the House of Commons goes; but Great Britain has guaranteed in a far more solemn fashion the integrity of the Turkish Empire in Asia by the Cyprus Convention of 1878, as also she guaranteed the integrity of the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway by the treaty to which France was a party in 1855.

British interests clash with those of Russia not only in China, but also on the northwest frontier of India, in Persia, in Abyssinia, in South-eastern and even in Central Europe. Great Britain has now to make up her mind not what her policy in China is, but what her policy will be whenever and wherever she meets Russia in the gate. We are face to face with a young nation, a vigorous nation, a nation whose religious and political beliefs centre in one man whose advisers can direct the whole power of the Empire at any time on any foe with all the force of a crusade. The struggle will be one not only for our daily bread, but also for existence itself. Freedom of thought and freedom of conscience are involved no less than political and commercial freedom. What wonder if the whole civilized world looks with anxiety on a contest in which its progress is so deeply concerned?

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The immediate stake is the trade, as yet little developed, of the Chinese Empire, with its three hundred and fifty millions of thrifty, industrious people. The geographical features of that empire are familiar to every one. It falls into four great natural divisions made by its river systems. Beginning in the south, there is the West River, which flows into the China Sea near the English colony of Hong Kong. In the centre there is the Yangtse-Kiang, the great river which forms a connecting link between China and the English possessions in Burma, and near the mouth of which is situated Shanghai, the commercial capital of China. Toward the north there is the Yellow River, which flows through Shantung into the Gulf of Pechili; and, last, there is the Peiho and its tributaries, in the basin of which Peking, the political capital of the Empire, is situated.

Roughly speaking, the provinces north of Peking have come to be regarded as the sphere of Russian interest. Shantung has been defined as the German sphere of interest. England claims the Yangtse Valley, including the country south as far as the West River; while south of the West River lies the sphere of France. Russia alone has effectively occupied her sphere, Manchuria, with troops.

So far, the object of the English Government has been to maintain the integrity of China and to prevent a partition such as the acknowledgment and delimitation of spheres of interest would imply; and English diplomatists have been inclined to believe that they could by this means obtain equality of opportunity, or what is called "the open door," for English trade throughout the Chinese Empire. The extent of those interests and the possibility of realizing that programme are what we have to consider.

The total value of British goods annually imported into China is twenty-seven and one-half millions sterling. British ships carry 82 per cent of the total trade of the Chinese Empire, and pay 76 per cent of the total customs levied. On the Yangtse, which we claim as our special sphere of interest, according to the last return, 64.8 per cent of the shipping is British, 23.1 per cent is Chinese, and only 12.1 per cent belongs to other Powers. No less than 1,690 British steamers, aggregating 2,252,909 tons burden, entered the river in the last recorded year; and almost the same amount of British tonnage cleared.

It is a commonplace that England lives by trade, and that it is only in the East and specially in the Far East that we can still hope to create and maintain open markets for British manufactures. How does Russia treat our traders? A well-known traveller has stated that every port, every town, every village which passes into French or Russian

hands is an outlet closed to Manchester, Bradford, and Bombay. We may add that a prohibitive duty of from 25 to 30 per cent is laid by Russia on all English goods, including precisely those iron-manufactures which are most likely to be in request for the construction of railways and the opening up of a new country. The policy of Russia toward British capital has been shown by its exclusion in the case of the railway to New-chwang, in the Russian sphere, no less than by Russian opposition to the proposed loan from the British Bank of Persia to the Persian Government.

It is not only our trade and our capital, but also British shipping and British subjects, that Russia seeks to exclude. A Russian law has been passed, which comes into force in 1900, under which goods forwarded between Russian ports, whether in Europe or the Far East, must be carried in Russian ships. The only exception is with regard to salt carried between Russian ports on the Baltic and the Black Sea. A further law has been enacted, also coming into force in 1900, under which only Russian sailors may be employed in Russian ships; and it will be remembered what efforts have been made by Russia to exclude British engineers from Manchuria, and how the lighthouse-keepers employed by the Chinese Customs under Sir Robert Hart have been dismissed in the Russian sphere of interest.

It is well to recollect that, although at the present time these regulations are directed against British interests, they will be equally galling to American enterprise; and one may lay stress in passing on the date 1900. It has been hoped that by 1900 the Siberian Railway would be completed. Till 1900 the Persian Government is forbidden by treaty with Russia to construct railways in Persia. It is expected that by 1900 the Russian arsenal at Ekaterina on the coast of Lapland will be completed, and threaten every British port from Aberdeen to London. It was at one time believed that by 1900 the railway communication between Tornea, on the Baltic, and Port Victoria, the ice-free port on the Atlantic Ocean, in Norwegian territory, would be finished; and for Port Victoria the fate of Port Arthur has been predicted in the Swedish Parliament. Yet there are those who say that Russian statesmen are incapable of planning a forward movement on more than one point at a given date.

But it may be asked, Has Russia taken any steps to place her traders at an advantage in China, and what proof can be given that deep-laid Russian designs have been masked by what is called Russian duplicity? Take the case of Port Arthur. According to Article I of the Russo-Chi-

nese Convention concluded early in the present year, "The sovereign right of China shall not be infringed by the lease of Port Arthur and Talien-wan." Yet Russian merchants at Odessa have been informed that Port Arthur is considered a Russian port and that Russian goods will be admitted free of duties to which British goods will be subject. Port Arthur has been declared a Russian naval fortress of the second class; Rear-Admiral Stark, the second in command of the Russian Pacific squadron, has been appointed commandant; and a garrison of 12,000 Russian troops has been placed at that point. Finally, the Chinese Government has been notified that only Chinese ships commanded by Russian officers will be admitted there; and a circular has been sent from the Russian Legation at Peking to the representatives of the other Powers, announcing the order of the Russian Government that Russian passport regulations will be enforced there. In face of this it seems immaterial to record what were the successive assurances given by Russia to the British Government about Port Arthur; for assurances have not the solemn character of a convention.

After these indications of Russian policy in actual fact it may be interesting to turn to a declaration of Russian policy by Prince Uchtomsky. Prince Uchtomsky is president of the Russo-Chinese Bank, which is playing so large a part in Russian commercial policy in China; he was chief of the last Russian special mission to Peking; he accompanied the present Czar on his journey to the Far East, and remains one of the Czar's close personal friends and counsellors. Further, he is editor of the St. Petersburg "*Viedomosti*," and, as such, is directly under the control of the Russian Government.

Prince Uchtomsky has made an authoritative pronouncement to a well-known German traveller, for publication in the principal German magazine, with the avowed purpose of gaining the support of the German public. By the way, in return for such support, Germany is to receive among other things a free hand for colonial expansion in South America, to which the United States may perhaps have something to say. The Prince states that the objects of Russia are, first, to absorb China under the agis of the present dynasty, second, to exclude British industry, and, third, to form a Continental alliance to crush Great Britain. A few sentences in the final paragraph in the review sum up the matter:

"The pith of the Prince's ideas is the overthrow of England. Obviously he has a war in view, and that in the near future. The removal of English competition from the field is necessary to enable Russia to offer us [Germany] a preferential position in China from a commercial point of view. So soon as England is eliminated from the rivalry of the nations in Eastern Asia, it becomes quite a secondary

question for us whether we [Germany] should barter Shantung to Russia for a position, say, in the Yangtse Valley."

Whatever the personal views of the Czar may be, it is at least permissible to say that these opinions, so openly expressed by a person in Prince Uchtomsky's position, reveal the true state of affairs in the Far East from the point of view of the Czar's advisers. Germany has forced Russia's hand by the occupation of Kiao Chou, which Prince Uchtomsky considers to be in Russia's sphere of interest. Russia has been compelled to move sooner than she desired, and has her hands too full to wish to move further just now. Meanwhile Great Britain is contemptuously told by the Russian press that Russia will not menace her interests, now that she has got what she wants.

On the political results of the absorption of Manchuria by Russia it is unnecessary to comment. In addition to a splendid naval position practically on the Pacific, Russia has obtained a rich and undeveloped country in a temperate climate, peopled by the pick of the Chinese race, who are capable of forming an admirable army. One of her diplomatists has stated that Russia will conquer China by railways; and, as her recent action in the case of more than one railway shows, she intends to move southward by means of railway concessions, building railways and organizing them with Russian soldiers. Apart from this fresh menace to India from another quarter it may be well to notice the results of such action on English colonies in Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, the Malay Peninsula, and Burma, as thus described by Mr. Pickering in a recent book:

"In these countries and islands the backbone of the population, the source of revenue and prosperity, are the Chinese, of whom we have at least 750,000 adults, the majority of whom, leaving their families at home, are entirely at the mercy of the Powers which rule the Celestial Empire."

If Russia becomes paramount at Peking, Mr. Pickering feels certain that in case of war the Chinese of our colonies could be

"so manipulated, either by promises of rewards or threats of punishment to their families in China, that we should find it very difficult to keep down rebellion within and at the same defend our coaling-stations and most valuable colonies from attack."

Mr. Pickering has spent the greater part of his life in the Far East; he has occupied the important position of Protector of Chinese at Singapore; and, on the testimony of Sir Robert Hart, has enjoyed unique opportunities of becoming acquainted with all classes and languages of the Chinese. His views are therefore entitled to consideration.

What, then, is the policy which must be adopted in the Far East?

England cannot of course hope to obtain the whole Chinese trade. She has never asked or wished for more than an equal opportunity with other nations over the whole Empire, which is known as "the open door." But the open door is gone in Manchuria and Shantung, and is threatened even in our own sphere of interest by railways such as that from Peking to Hankow, which is financed by the Russo-Chinese Bank. If we are to save the open door in the Yangtse Valley, it can be done only by instant interference. First, we must delimit our sphere, and make encroachment on it a *casus belli*. We must occupy certain commanding military positions so as to be able to exercise a controlling influence over the provincial Yamêns. Second, we must occupy the great water-ways and patrol them with gunboats, as we do the Persian Gulf. Third, we must undertake the construction of military and commercial railways; connecting our sphere with our possessions in Burma, and using public money if necessary. Last, we must organize a military and naval Chinese force.

All this seems to lead nearer and nearer to war with Russia; but that is not so. Lord Palmerston wrote in 1851:

"The policy of Russia has always been to proceed with its conquests as rapidly as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments permitted, but to retire if it encountered determined opposition, and then to await the next favorable opportunity to renew the onslaught on its intended victim."

Whatever might have been the case in 1900, had Germany not obtained a lease with sovereign rights of Kiao Chou, Russia is now unprepared for war with Great Britain. In the Far East she has neither the ships nor the men nor the means of transport necessary for such an undertaking. In Europe the transition to a gold currency and the expenses of the Siberian Railway make economies desirable. Further, at this moment Russian agriculture is in a parlous condition; and Russian land-owners will need help to tide over the present crisis. Russian industry has made marvellous strides in recent years, but requires still time for a peaceful development. It is even doubtful whether money can be found for the great Russian naval increase of the present year, which has led to corresponding effort on our own side. Time too is required for the successful advance of the Orthodox Greek Church in Persia, where it is driving English and American missionaries before it,—a significant omen for English and American missions in China. The same is true of the ever-growing Panslavist movement in Southeastern and in Central Europe.

The advisers of the Czar may well think, to use a phrase attributed

to a Russian, that for the present "they have bitten off more in the Far East than they can chew." Be that as it may, the course of Great Britain is clear. We must now draw a line round our possessions, and make the crossing of that line, as already said, a *casus belli*.

When other nations consider what the policy indicated means, it is possible that at any rate those not immediately interested will, one and all, wish us success. Within our sphere there will be found first and foremost not only justice, but also liberty—commercial, political, and religious liberty. And, looking at the results of our work in India, Egypt, and elsewhere, we need not fear to challenge the verdict even of the God of battles on the task which lies before us.

GEOFFREY DRAGE.

P. S. The above was written before the publication of the Czar's manifesto of disarmament in to-day's newspapers. Whatever Powers may be affected by that remarkable utterance, Great Britain is not among them,—least of all as far as her relations with Russia are concerned. The Russian army contains on a peace footing a million soldiers. Great Britain, with a larger empire far more open to attack, could not put half that number into the field. The Russian navy, if we take into consideration the commercial interests it has to protect, is far larger *in proportion* than that of Great Britain. It is, in fact, purely aggressive; while that of Great Britain, from the mere insurance point of view, cannot be considered adequate.

As far as England and Russia are concerned, the only question an international conference could ask is, What reduction does Russia propose to make? It would be interesting to see how such proposals would be received, and how enforced.

G. D.

LONDON, August 29, 1898.

THE POPULIST CONCEIT—THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER BY THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

BOTH the Chicago platform of the Democratic party and its 1896 Fusion Populist candidate for the Presidency appear to have become broken-winded in one campaign; and the candidate, as silver falls, dreads to feel that he too may drop and soon be wholly gone, unless the declension of silver can be arrested. Already the demand for silver-tongued oratory is slack. An honorarium of five hundred dollars for an hour of glib talk is no longer obtainable, even in Ohio.

The question in doubt is, whether the platform ruined the candidate, or the candidate ruined the platform. That both were ruined, appears to be now the fast-growing opinion, especially on the Pacific Slope, where Oregon, Washington, and California are getting as solid for sound money as they are for battleships in the next war.

The Wolcott Commission returned from abroad unable to obtain the coöperation of the leading nations in the restoration of the former value of silver. In the face of the unprecedented output of silver bullion, the task of creating a coextensive and stable demand for its coinage was of no ordinary magnitude. The attempt required courage, and had it. It required perseverance and rare ability; and it had both. If Europe, however, is unready for any action in relation to silver, the United States can wait for a century to come with as little discomfort as any country in the world. As a commodity, silver bullion, even at its present price, remunerates most of the Americans who are owners of silver-mines with better returns than are earned by tillers of the soil. Such mines as the Smuggler of Colorado, and the Anaconda of Montana, are not so likely to invite public sympathy on account of the poverty of their dividends as by the tough character conferred upon them by their names. Of silver as money the United States now holds the largest amount it ever had, with an appetite for more no longer rampant.

Should any silver coinage coöperation with foreign nations ever be consummated, we know, of course, that it must be on a wide change of the silver ratio, and at our great cost. Besides \$97,000,000 of silver bullion on hand, we have \$536,000,000 of silver coins in the Treasury,

or in circulation, worth far less than half their face value, to be recoined; and the shortage of silver supplied, or coined in a less amount, would have to be charged by the Government to profit and loss.

The annual output of silver of the United States so greatly exceeds that of other nations, that it is perhaps to be regretted that we have more than once been first in the field to propose the coördinate action of nations in behalf of its larger coinage, which may have aroused an ugly suspicion that our early inspiration was more commercial than cosmopolitan. Therefore, the future leadership of any such movement, if ever revived, would be better wholly surrendered to some country less encumbered by an annual output of silver.

The non-success of the various experiments made by the United States alone to increase the price of silver bullion, by its purchase and coinage, has been disastrously and sufficiently demonstrated; and the annual world-output has obviously become too excessive for consumption by the lagging demand for silver coinage. Manifestly the great owners of silver bullion must now accept its inferior commercial price, and welcome the moderate compensation offered by the increased demand for its use in the arts and manufactures.

Some of the integral parts of the Democratic party may be facile and slippery about the Silver Question in the present year, as their defeat appears inevitable; and, thereafter, expecting a divorce from the Populists, they will feel it an unlucky infelicity to have a Populist, even from Colorado, openly pat their backs. It is true that the advocates of unlimited silver coinage now nominally include it with the free coinage of gold, as though honestly working for it as part of their plan, though heretofore unmentioned; but no fox of a good family would accept a second invitation to dinner from the stork, after having learned, according to *Æsop*, that stork dinners were served in long-necked bottles, and never within reach of a fox. Gold will be brought to our mints for coinage on the half-price ratio of 16 to 1, and be as redundant as butter on bacon, only when gold is extracted from sea-water by the North Lubec Company, of Maine—but not till then.

The representatives of Silver politics, instead of admitting the fact of a more-than-50-per-cent depreciation of silver, often pretended that gold had doubled in value in consequence of diminished production. The claim is, however, wholly refuted by the report of the Director of the Mint, which shows that the annual output of gold has almost doubled since 1873. In nearly every gold-bearing country the product has increased; and this confutes the baseless charge that the scarcity of gold

has augmented the burden of debtors. The sublimity of prevarication is attempted when it is charged that gold has fluctuated and grown so scarce that mortgage debts, since they were incurred, have been made far more grievous to bear; yet at no previous era has gold coin been so notably increased, so abundant, or so continuously maintained as contract and standard money by the United States or by the other leading nations as at the present time.

A further fact against the invalidity of the charge is, that the average duration of mortgage indebtedness has been ascertained to be less than three years, and the average duration of all other debts to be less than one year. At this brevity of time the utterers of these inflammatory falsehoods are now gasping for breath.

If it were true that the stock of gold had long been growing smaller, the logical and primary result would have been a prominent reduction of the wages of labor. But wages, according to our highest authority, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, instead of declining, have here advanced, mathematically, 58 per cent, and in purchasing power 72 per cent. Labor-saving machines in manufactures and in farming industries have largely contributed to the cheapening of both clothing and food, and thus it would seem to have been possible to obtain cheaper labor; nevertheless, the wages of labor have greatly advanced. The cheapest-paid labor of the world is where a silver currency only prevails. Some persons are supposed to hate gold because it offers laborers everywhere better wages than silver; and others hate gold, not because it does any wrong to debtors, but because it maintains justice to creditors.

Truth scorns the support of even the whitest lie; and surely we can dismiss the allegation that silver has not depreciated, which appears as the blackest lie and as the chief corner-stone upon which it was proposed to support a Half-Price Silver Coinage party.

Many of the silver-mine-owners will themselves admit that they are unselfish and altruistic, that they are digging for others only, and trying to emancipate the world from what they denounce as "the demonization of silver,"—the great crime of '73,—but which will be recorded in history as the multitudinous retreat of numerous nations from the fluctuating and descending standard of silver money. These wholly self-esteeming Silver philanthropists might, perhaps, with no more shamefacedness, and with less homespun falsehood, denounce the great crime of the seventeenth century, when fingers were deposed by millionaires from their early and legitimate dinner-table functions and were largely

superseded by two-tined forks, then wholly unknown to Pilgrims or Puritans. They will argue that fingers have always been available, and in standard use, even from before the time when Abraham and Isaac helped themselves to daily food from one common and central dish; and that simple justice requires that human fingers, thus depreciated, be restored to standard and permanent employment, as it cannot be denied that forks, three-tined and four-tined, have been growing dearer and dearer to the plain people for the past century.

The reckless, unlimited coinage of silver, as proposed by the Populist leaders of the Democratic party, amounts to this: That the United States alone, all other nations having declined to coöperate, shall provide mints, with machinery and skilled workmen, for the coinage of all the silver bullion, foreign or domestic, which may be presented, and shall not only coin the same free of seigniorage or charge, but shall buy and pay for it with its notes—United States silver certificates—at more than twice the value of the silver bullion received, and at four or five times the actual cost to such millionaire mine-owners as Mackay, Clark, Sharon, Hearst, Moffat, and many others who may prefer to “blush unseen.”

The scheme is not limited as to time, nor by a fixed amount; but the whole enormous surplus silver of the world is to be continuously unloaded upon the unpitied back of the United States, and for the exclusive profit of silver-mine-owners, and to the injury of everybody else.

Worst of all is the resultant unlimited multiplication of the silver certificates, of which over four hundred millions have been already issued. These are to go forth as the chief money in circulation of the great American Republic, which has on their face only promised to redeem them with silver coins known to be worth less than half their face value, and are likely to become of much lower value by the innumerable daily additions to their present redundancy.

Mexico charges 5 per cent seigniorage for the coinage of silver; taking that amount as toll. The owners receive the remainder, which is principally disposed of by exportation. Our large home product, as well as the innumerable surplus of silver bullion which our terms would attract from abroad, we should be compelled to coin and hoard forever, or else submit to the shame of selling our standard coins for export at less than half the sum at which our own people have been compelled to receive them as legal tender. We ought to be thankful that the free-coinage delusion appears to be tottering toward a last and final collapse.

Some of the Fusion Populist leaders are impatient to change the issue. Ex-Governor Boies, who, in tempestuous hatred of gold and ro-

mantic love of financial heresies, has been second only to the orator of the Platte, now scornfully repudiates the stale parity of silver and wheat of 1896, and astounds an Iowa convention of his party by proclaiming that they must abandon the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, or they will be ingloriously defeated. We should remember that Ex-Governor Boies does not sail with his teeth against the wind. No doubt he has learned that even in Japan the coinage of silver by the "Oriental Yankees" is now tolerated only at the ratio of 32 to 1, and that silver is expected by Japanese statesmen to continue to fall in value. Ex-Governor Boies may have believed that to deny any depreciation in the value of silver, or to propose its further coinage in the United States at half of the ratio now held to be honest and expedient in Japan, was too prodigal of trickery; and, therefore, he refused to prevaricate any longer on the ratio of 16 to 1.

Ex-Senator Peffer, of Kansas, the wisest and best of Populists,—when not too sorely tempted,—is reported to have said at Kansas City, in cathedral tones and with responsive gestures, that "William J. Bryan of Nebraska is in the storm-centre of a great disturbance; but the storm is going to move, and, unless Mr. Bryan broadens out, it will leave him high and dry." Lord Bacon is a high authority for the axiom, "that if a man be on a high place without rails or good hold, he is ready to fall." Mr. Peffer would have been next to Bacon, if he had told Mr. Bryan he would be "high and dry because he was without rails or good hold." The Ex-Senator, however, sternly continued to slap his victim as follows: "The Silver Question is not the only issue which confronts the American people. It is not even the most important one."

It was cruel to subject the great man of '96 to such trenchant and pitiless disparagement. The declaration that Mr. Bryan "must broaden out," though made by one who himself possibly wears a hat no larger, is the more stinging because made by a friend, and so well grounded that the "middle-of-the-road" men do not deny it. Even the foremost Democrats, unaccustomed to political gastritis, now require sedatives. It must be admitted, I fear, that the author of the charge may have been a little sore from recent lack of appreciation in Kansas; although a just and profound conclusion was reached about the narrow, unimportant, and noisy oratory of Mr. Bryan, which was rather too much like that described by Dean Swift, when he wrote, that "it is with narrow soul'd people, as with narrow-necked bottles: the less they have in them, the more noise they make in pouring out."

Evidently that was precisely what our Kansas critic wanted to say;

and, let me repeat, he is the wisest and gentlest of Populists. But how could he ever expect Mr. Bryan himself, or even the Democratic chairman of a great national committee, to admit that the ideas in Mr. Bryan's head needed to be "broadened out," or, alas! that he had less gumption than has ever found a home even in the head of the Ex-Senator from Kansas? Yet the charge ought not to be hastily disputed, although the candidate of 1896 may very likely resent it, and challenge a comparison of heads; may even hold it more defamatory than to be once more flattened out in a Presidential election. It was, however, the utterance of a friend no longer blind to serious, nor to some jocose, defects.

A Populist *régime*, if it had the power, would claim the fatherhood of all future political, financial, and popular reforms, including: fiat money, or an easy way to pay debts; the national ownership of railroads, with free passes for all who vote as the Populists do; a national law limiting the hours of labor, in order to give time for saloon recreation and more holidays; and unstinted judicial reform, such as might shield men from being punished because they do not obey all laws and every word precisely as some judge may interpret them.

The world's output of silver in 1896 was greater than that of both gold and silver in 1874. Even the output of silver in the United States alone was greater than that of the whole world in 1874. The sources of supply appear inexhaustible; while the demand for coinage purposes has grown slender and problematical.

For the United States alone to open its mints to the free coinage of silver, with the idea of restoring its value to what it was in former years, or prior to the abandonment of its coinage by Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, the Latin Union, the Scandinavian Union, Japan, India, and Chile, would prove a "big-headed" example of national conceit.

The United States has now become a great, if not the greatest, industrial nation of the world. No other country annually produces a larger amount of coal, iron, copper, zinc, gold, silver, wheat, corn, potatoes, marble, granite, kerosene oil, cotton, and general manufactures. There seems to be no end to the increase of these vast industries, for which a large market is found abroad. Last year the excess of our exports of merchandise was \$615,000,000; and the excess of our imports of gold was \$105,000,000. All this was due and has been, or must be, paid in gold or its equivalent. This indebtedness can be wiped out only by such money as we have to pay our debts with abroad.

If our financial system had been brought under the dominion and guidance of the Silver Populists, this large sum of \$720,000,000 might

all have been paid to us on the silver standard, and we should have received less than half the amount. We should have been in the silver condition of Mexico, where the United States gold dollar can be exchanged for more than two silver Mexican dollars; which latter can be used at face value in payment for any kind of Mexican merchandise. The wages of Mexicans in silver-mines, if paid with gold of the United States, would be only from 12 to 25 cents per day. On this basis the output of silver yields an immense profit. Owners of silver can have their silver coined in Mexico; but neither the price of silver, nor that of labor, shows any increase in consequence.

The field of enterprise in the United States is too great, its number of working-men too vast, and its honor too precious, to be content with any standard of money less than that of the best of Christian nations.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

ABOUT PLAY-ACTING.

I.

I HAVE a project to suggest. But first I will write a chapter of introduction.

I have just been witnessing a remarkable play, here at the Burg Theatre in Vienna. I do not know of any play that much resembles it. In fact, it is such a departure from the common laws of the drama, that the name "play" doesn't seem to fit it quite snugly. However, whatever else it may be, it is in any case a great and stately metaphysical poem, and deeply fascinating. "Deeply fascinating" is the right term: for the audience sat four hours and five minutes without thrice breaking into applause, except at the close of each act; sat rapt and silent—fascinated. This piece is "The Master of Palmyra." It is twenty years old; yet I doubt if you have ever heard of it. It is by Wilbrandt, and is his masterpiece and the work which is to make his name permanent in German literature. It has never been played anywhere except in Berlin and in the great Burg Theatre in Vienna. Yet whenever it is put on the stage it packs the house, and the free list is suspended. I know people who have seen it ten times; they know the most of it by heart; they do not tire of it; and they say they shall still be quite willing to go and sit under its spell whenever they get the opportunity.

There is a dash of metempsychosis in it—and it is the strength of the piece. The play gave me the sense of the passage of a dimly connected procession of dream-pictures. The scene of it is Palmyra in Roman times. It covers a wide stretch of time,—I don't know how many years,—and in the course of it the chief actress is reincarnated several times: four times she is a more or less young woman; and once she is a lad. In the first act she is *Zoe*,—a Christian girl who has wandered across the desert from Damascus to try to Christianize the Zeus-worshipping pagans of Palmyra. In this character she is wholly

spiritual, a religious enthusiast, a devotee who covets martyrdom—and gets it.

After many years she appears in the second act as *Phœbe*, a graceful and beautiful young light-o'-love from Rome, whose soul is all for the shows and luxuries and delights of this life—a dainty and capricious featherhead, a creature of shower and sunshine, a spoiled child, but a charming one. In the third act, after an interval of many years, she reappears as *Persida*, mother of a daughter in the fresh bloom of youth. She is now a sort of combination of her two earlier selves: in religious loyalty and subjection she is *Zoe*; in triviality of character and shallowness of judgment—together with a touch of vanity in dress—she is *Phœbe*.

After a lapse of years she appears in the fourth act as *Nymphas*, a beautiful boy, in whose character the previous incarnations are engagingly mixed.

And after another stretch of years all these heredities are joined in the *Zenobia* of the fifth act—a person of gravity, dignity, sweetness, with a heart filled with compassion for all who suffer, and a hand prompt to put into practical form the heart's benignant impulses.

You will easily concede that the actress who proposes to discriminate nicely these five characters, and play them to the satisfaction of a cultivated and exacting audience, has her work cut out for her. Mme. Hohenfels has made these parts her peculiar property; and she is well able to meet all the requirements. You perceive, now, where the chief part of the absorbing fascination of this piece lies: it is in watching this extraordinary artist melt these five characters into each other—grow, shade by shade, out of one and into another through a stretch of four hours and five minutes.

There are a number of curious and interesting features in this piece. For instance, its hero, *Appelles*, young, handsome, vigorous, in the first act, remains so all through the long flight of years covered by the five acts. Other men, young in the first act, are touched with gray in the second, are old and racked with infirmities in the third: in the fourth, all but one are gone to their long home; and he is a blind and helpless hulk of ninety or a hundred years. It indicates that the stretch of time covered by the piece is seventy years or more. The scenery undergoes decay, too,—the decay of age, assisted and perfected by a conflagration. The fine new temples and palaces of the second act are by and by a wreck of crumbled walls and prostrate columns, mouldy, grass-grown, and desolate; but their former selves are still recognizable in

their ruins. The aging men and the aging scenery together convey a profound illusion of that long lapse of time: they make you live it yourself! You leave the theatre with the weight of a century upon you.

Another strong effect: Death, in person, walks about the stage in every act. So far as I could make out, he was supposably not visible to any excepting two persons—the one he came for and *Appelles*. He used various costumes: but there was always more black about them than any other tint; and so they were always sombre. Also they were always deeply impressive and, indeed, awe-inspiring. The face was not subjected to changes, but remained the same, first and last—a ghastly white. To me he was always welcome, he seemed so real—the actual Death, not a play-acting artificiality. He was of a solemn and stately carriage; and he had a deep voice, and used it with a noble dignity. Wherever there was a turmoil of merry-making or fighting or feasting or chaffing or quarrelling, or a gilded pageant, or other manifestation of our trivial and fleeting life, into it drifted that black figure with the corpse-face, and looked its fateful look and passed on; leaving its victim shuddering and smitten. And always its coming made the fussy human pack seem infinitely pitiful and shabby and hardly worth the attention of either saving or damning.

In the beginning of the first act the young girl *Zoe* appears by some great rocks in the desert, and sits down, exhausted, to rest. Presently arrive a pauper couple, stricken with age and infirmities; and they begin to mumble and pray to the Spirit of Life, who is said to inhabit that spot. The Spirit of Life appears; also Death—uninvited. They are (supposably) invisible. Death, tall, black-robed, corpse-faced, stands motionless and waits. The aged couple pray to the Spirit of Life for a means to prop up their existence and continue it. Their prayer fails. The Spirit of Life prophesies *Zoe's* martyrdom: it will take place before night. Soon *Appelles* arrives, young and vigorous and full of enthusiasm; he has led a host against the Persians and won the battle; he is the pet of fortune, rich, honored, beloved, "Master of Palmyra." He has heard that whoever stretches himself out on one of those rocks there, and asks for a deathless life, can have his wish. He laughs at the tradition, but wants to make the trial anyway. The invisible Spirit of Life warns him: "Life without end can be regret without end." But he persists: let him keep his youth, his strength, and his mental faculties unimpaired, and he will take all the risks. He has his desire.

From this time forth, act after act, the troubles and sorrows and misfortunes and humiliations of life beat upon him without pity or respite; but he will not give up, he will not confess his mistake. Whenever he meets Death he still furiously defies him—but Death patiently waits. He, the healer of sorrows, is man's best friend: the recognition of this will come. As the years drag on, and on, and on, the friends of the *Master's* youth grow old; and one by one they totter to the grave: he goes on with his proud fight, and will not yield. At length he is wholly alone in the world; all his friends are dead; last of all, his darling of darlings, his son, the lad *Nymphas*, who dies in his arms. His pride is broken now; and he would welcome Death, if Death would come, if Death would hear his prayers and give him peace. The closing act is fine and pathetic. *Appelles* meets *Zenobia*, the helper of all that suffer, and tells her his story, which moves her pity. By common report she is endowed with more than earthly powers; and, since he cannot have the boon of death, he appeals to her to drown his memory in forgetfulness of his griefs—forgetfulness, "which is death's equivalent." She says (roughly translated), in an exaltation of compassion:

"Come to me!
Kneel: and may the power be granted me
To cool the fires of this poor, tortured brain,
And bring it peace and healing."

He kneels. From her hand, which she lays upon his head, a mysterious influence steals through him; and he sinks into a dreamy tranquillity.

"O if I could but so drift
Through this soft twilight into the night of peace,
Never to wake again!
(*Raising his hand, as if in benediction.*)
O mother earth, farewell!
Gracious thou wert to me. Farewell!
Appelles goes to rest."

Death appears behind him and encloses the uplifted hand in his. *Appelles* shudders, wearily and slowly turns, and recognizes his life-long adversary. He smiles and puts all his gratitude into one simple and touching sentence, "Ich danke dir," and dies.

Nothing, I think, could be more moving, more beautiful, than this close. This piece is just one long, soulful, sardonic laugh at human

life. Its title might properly be "Is Life a Failure?" and leave the five acts to play with the answer. I am not at all sure that the author meant to laugh at life. I only notice that he has done it. Without putting into words any ungracious or discourteous things about life, the episodes in the piece seem to be saying all the time—inarticulately: "Note what a silly, poor thing human life is; how childish its ambitions, how ridiculous its pomps, how trivial its dignities, how cheap its heroisms, how capricious its course, how brief its flight, how stingy in hapinesses, how opulent in miseries, how few its prides, how multitudinous its humiliations, how comic its tragedies, how tragic its comedies, how wearisome and monotonous its repetition of its stupid history through the ages, with never the introduction of a new detail, how hard it has tried, from the Creation down, to play itself upon its possessor as a boon, and has never proved its case in a single instance!"

Take note of some of the details of the piece. Each of the five acts contains an independent tragedy of its own. In each act somebody's edifice of hope, or of ambition, or of happiness, goes down in ruins. Even *Appelles'* perennial youth is only a long tragedy, and his life a failure. There are two martyrdoms in the piece; and they are curiously and sarcastically contrasted. In the first act the pagans persecute *Zoe*, the Christian girl, and a pagan mob slaughters her. In the fourth act those same pagans—now very old and zealous—are become Christians, and they persecute the pagans: a mob of them slaughter the pagan youth, *Nymphas*, who is standing up for the old gods of his fathers. No remark is made about this picturesque failure of civilization; but there it stands, as an unworded suggestion that civilization, even when Christianized, was not able wholly to subdue the natural man in that old day—just as in our day the spectacle of a shipwrecked French crew, clubbing women and children who tried to climb into the lifeboats, suggests that civilization has not succeeded in entirely obliterating the natural man even yet. Common sailors! A year ago, in Paris, at a fire, the aristocracy of the same nation clubbed girls and women out of the way to save themselves. Civilization tested at top and bottom both, you see. And in still another panic of fright we have this same "tough" civilization saving its honor by condemning an innocent man to multiform death, and hugging and whitewashing the guilty one.

In the second act a grand Roman official is not above trying to blast *Appelles'* reputation by falsely charging him with misappropriating public moneys. *Appelles*, who is too proud to endure even the

suspicion of irregularity, strips himself to naked poverty to square the unfair account; and *his* troubles begin: the blight which is to continue and spread strikes his life; for the frivolous, pretty creature whom he has brought from Rome has no taste for poverty, and agrees to elope with a more competent candidate. Her presence in the house has previously brought down the pride and broken the heart of *Appelles'* poor old mother; and *her* life is a failure. Death comes for her, but is willing to trade her for the Roman girl; so the bargain is struck with *Appelles*, and the mother is spared for the present.

No one's life escapes the blight. *Timoleus*, the gay satirist of the first two acts, who scoffed at the pious hypocrisies and money-grubbing ways of the great Roman lords, is grown old and fat and blear-eyed and racked with disease in the third, has lost his stately purities, and watered the acid of his wit. *His* life has suffered defeat. Unthinkingly he swears by *Zeus*—from ancient habit—and then quakes with fright; for a fellow-communicant is passing by. Reproached by a pagan friend of his youth for his apostasy, he confesses that principle, when unsupported by an assenting stomach, has to climb down. One must have bread; and "the bread is Christian now." Then the poor, old wreck, once so proud of his iron rectitude, hobbles away, coughing and barking.

In that same act *Appelles* gives his sweet young Christian daughter and her fine young pagan lover his consent and blessing, and makes them utterly happy—for five minutes. Then the priest and the mob come, to tear them apart and put the girl in a nunnery; for marriage between the sects is forbidden. *Appelles'* wife could dissolve the rule; and she wants to do it: but under priestly pressure she wavers; then, fearing that in providing happiness for her child she would be committing a sin dangerous to herself, she goes over to the opposition, and throws the casting vote for the nunnery. The blight has fallen upon the young couple, and *their* life is a failure.

In the fourth act, *Longinus*, who made such a prosperous and enviable start in the first act, is left alone in the desert, sick, blind, helpless, incredibly old, to die: not a friend left in the world—another ruined life. And in that act, also, *Appelles'* worshipped boy, *Nymphas*, done to death by the mob, breathes out his last sigh in his father's arms—one more failure. In the fifth act, *Appelles* himself dies, and is glad to do it; he who so ignorantly rejoiced, only four acts before, over the splendid present of an earthly immortality—the very worst failure of the lot!

II.

Now I approach my project. Here is the theatre-list for Saturday, May 7, 1898,—cut from the advertising columns of a New York paper:

PROCTOR'S **CONTINUOUS**
23D ST. PERFORMANCE.
REFINED VAUDEVILLE.
Vaudeville debut of
CHARLES A. GARDNER & CO.;
Arthur and Jennie Dunn, Paulinetti and Piquo, Hugh-
ey Dougherty, Nichols Sisters, George Evans, others.
SENSATIONAL EDISON WAR-GRAPH.
BALCONIES, 25c. ORCHESTRA, 50c.

PASTOR'S **CONTINUOUS**
PERFORMANCES.
12:30 to 11 P. M. Seats 20 and 30 Cents.
EDISON'S WONDERFUL WAR-SCOPE.
CANFIELD & CARLETON, ELLINORE SISTERS,
JOHNNY CARROLL, CURTIS & GORDON.

14TH ST. THEATRE, nr. 6th av. Good seats, 50c.
THOS. E. SHEA in the great naval play,
THE MAN-O'-WAR'S MAN.
SILVER SOUVENIRS at Wed. & Sat. Matinees.

ELECTRICAL SHOW.

2 to 11 P. M. Admission, 50c. Children, 25c.
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

HURTIG & HARLEM MUSIC Orch. and Bal.
SEAMON'S HALL. Res. 25c. and 50c.
Rogers Bros., Maude Raymond, Joe Welch,
Raymond & Kurkamp. Gardner & Gilmore; others.

LYCEUM. 4th Ave. & 23d St. Begins 8:30.
Daniel Frohman, Manager.
Kelcey-Shannon Co. in Clyde Fitch's
THE MOTH AND THE FLAME.

STAR. THE WHITE SQUADRON. Gal. 15c.
Introducing Robt. Hilliard & Laura Biggar. Bal. 25c.
Next Week—"The Mikado." Orch. 50c.

5TH AVE. THEATRE. Broadway and 28th St.
MRS. FISKE Evs. at 8:15.
Sat. Mat. at 2.
in **LOVE FINDS THE WAY**
and **A BIT OF OLD CHELSEA.**

KEITH'S CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCE,
25c., 50c., Noon to 11 P. M.
BIOGRAPH, CHARLES DICKSON & CO., 4 CO-
HANS, JOHNSTONE BENNETT, GEORGE W. LES-
LIE, SMITH AND CAMPBELL, GARDNER AND
ELY, WEBB AND HASSAN, HALL AND STALEY,
BLOCKSOM AND BURNS AND OTHERS.

HARLEM OPERA HOUSE.
Eve. 8:15. Mat. Sat. 2.
HENRY MILLER—THE MASTER.
Next Week—THE HIGHWAYMAN.

PLEASURE CONTINUOUS 58TH ST.
PALACE, PERFORMANCE. and
3D AVE.
LEW DOCKSTADER.
Milton and Dollie Nobles, Ivan Greboff, Cushman
and Holcombe, C. W. Littlefield; others.
EDISON WAR-GRAPH (NEW VIEWS).
Come any time, 1:30 to 11 P. M.
15c., 25c. AFTS. 25c., 50c. EVGS.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC. 14th St. & Irving Pl.
A STUPENDOUS SUCCESS.
BATTLES OF OUR NATION.
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2. Eve. 8:15.



SAM T. JACK'S THEATRE,
BROADWAY & 29TH ST.
2 BIG SHOWS EVERY DAY, 2 and 8.
Jennie Yeamans & French Importations.

WEBER & FIELDS' MUSIC MAT. TO-DAY.
POUSSE CAFE AND CON-CURERS.
THE
MISS BESSIE CLAYTON, the Queen of Dancers.

BIJOU Matinee To-day at 2.
To-night at 8:15.
Last Two Performances of
MY FRIEND FROM INDIA.
NEXT WEEK—THE TARRYTOWN WIDOW.

AMERICAN 8th ave. and 42d st. Tel. 3147-38.
EVE. 8:15. MAT. WED. & SAT. 2.
Castle-Square Opera Company.
6TH | 80 Artists
MONTH | Present **THE BEGGAR STUDENT.**
ENTIRE HOUSE, 25, 50, 75. Mat. To day, 25 & 50.
NEXT WEEK—FAUST (IN ENGLISH).

EMPIRE THEATRE. B'way and 40th st.
WM. CRANE | **HIS** **THE MAYOR.**
H. CRANE | **HONOR**
Evenings at 8:30. Mats. To-day and Wed. at 2:15.

OLYMPIA MUSIC HALL. Mat. To-day.
ADGIE, Marguerite Sylva,
& 29 others.
NEXT WEEK.
An Original
Patriotic Extravaganza.

KNICKERBOCKER. B'WAY & 38TH.
EVENINGS AT 8:15. MAT. TO-DAY AT 2:15.
SOUSA'S **THE BRIDE-ELECT**
NEW OPERA.

KOSTER & BIAL'S ADM. 50C.
MAT. TO-DAY.
ADELE RITCHIE in "AU BAIN."
Truly Shattuck, Gerome Edwardy, and others.

WALLACK'S Evgs. 8:15. Mat. To-day, 2.
LAST
WEEK
IN
THE BOSTONIANS
THE SERENADE.

Daly's Evenings, 8:15. Matinee To-day, 2.
THE CIRCUS GIRL.
Virginia Earl, James Powers, &c.
"A trump card; very bright."—Herald.
"Evening of unalloyed enjoyment."—Trib.

Now I arrive at my project, and make my suggestion. From the look of this lightsome feast, I conclude that what you need is a tonic.

Send for "The Master of Palmyra." You are trying to make yourself believe that life is a comedy, that its sole business is fun, that there is nothing serious in it. You are ignoring the skeleton in your closet. Send for the "Master of Palmyra." You are neglecting a valuable side of your life; presently it will be atrophied. You are eating too much mental sugar; you will bring on Bright's disease of the intellect. You need a tonic; you need it very much. Send for the "Master of Palmyra." You will not need to translate it: its story is as plain as a procession of pictures.

I have made my suggestion. Now I wish to put an annex to it. And that is this: It is right and wholesome to have those light comedies and entertaining shows; and I shouldn't wish to see them diminished. But none of us is *always* in the comedy spirit; we have our graver moods; they come to us all; the lightest of us cannot escape them. These moods have their appetites,—healthy and legitimate appetites,—and there ought to be some way of satisfying them. It seems to me that New York ought to have one theatre devoted to tragedy. With her three millions of population, and seventy outside millions to draw upon, she can afford it, she can support it. America devotes more time, labor, money, and attention to distributing literary and musical culture among the general public than does any other nation, perhaps; yet here you find her neglecting what is possibly the most effective of all the breeders and nurses and disseminators of high literary taste and lofty emotion—the tragic stage. To leave that powerful agency out is to haul the culture-wagon with a crippled team. Nowadays, when a mood comes which only Shakespeare can set to music, what must we do? Read Shakespeare ourselves! Isn't it pitiful? It is playing an organ solo on a jew's-harp. *We* can't read. None but the Booths can do it.

Thirty years ago Edwin Booth played "Hamlet" a hundred nights in New York. With three times the population, how often is "Hamlet" played now in a year? If Booth were back now in his prime, how often could he play it in New York? Some will say twenty-five nights. I will say three hundred, and say it with confidence. The tragedians are dead; but I think that the taste and intelligence which made their market are not.

What *has* come over us English-speaking people? During the first half of this century tragedies and great tragedians were as common with us as farce and comedy; and it was the same in England. Now we have not a tragedian, I believe; and London, with her fifty shows and theatres,

has but three, I think. It is an astonishing thing, when you come to consider it. Vienna remains upon the ancient basis: there has been no change. She sticks to the former proportions: a number of rollicking comedies, admirably played, every night; and also every night at the Burg Theatre—that wonder of the world for grace and beauty and richness and splendor and costliness—a majestic drama of depth and seriousness, or a standard old tragedy. It is only within the last dozen years that men have learned to do miracles on the stage in the way of grand and enchanting scenic effects; and it is at such a time as this that we have reduced our scenery mainly to different breeds of parlors and varying aspects of furniture and rugs. I think we must have a Burg in New York, and Burg scenery, and a great company like the Burg company. Then, with a tragedy-tonic once or twice a month, we shall enjoy the comedies all the better. Comedy keeps the heart sweet; but we all know that there is wholesome refreshment for both mind and heart in an occasional climb among the solemn poms of the intellectual snow-summits built by Shakespeare and those others. Do I seem to be preaching? It is out of my line: I only do it because the rest of the clergy seem to be on vacation.

MARK TWAIN.

THE CONDUCT OF THE CUBANS IN THE LATE WAR.

It has been my privilege during the past ten years to associate, more or less, with the Cuban people. The command for six years of the Department of the East brought me into contact with them in Key West, in Tampa, and elsewhere on the Southern coast; and I was enabled to pay one visit of several days to Havana. During the present year I have very naturally had unusual opportunities for meeting and conversing with them at length. I have met officers who had served under Gomez and Garcia, and others who had been detached to act with our army and navy operating on the coast of Cuba. More recently I have been brought into contact with Cuban physicians of scientific attainment and with families of importance; and I think I have seen enough of the lower stratum of the Cuban social fabric to form a correct judgment of its characteristics as a people.

First. It can be asserted, as a truth not likely to be contradicted, that the Cubans, within and without the country,—that is, the vast majority of them,—are determined to secure for Cuba a government independent of Spain.

Second. The Cubans would like to have a government in which the people would have a voice. If it be a republic, and the republican form is preferred, they do not wish it to be established under the influence of intense partisanship. They naturally fear divisions, feuds, and the revival of old animosities; so that

Third. The wisest among them see no safety in beginning a new government except under the protection of the United States. The President's promise to secure to Cuba "a stable government" satisfies all their hearts, and brightens all their hopes of the future.

Fourth. Any indication of a purpose on the part of the United States to ignore the counsel of their best men, and seemingly to put them at a distance, is a source of deep humiliation and sorrow to the thinking Cubans. The Spaniards have told them again and again that our people were not *bona fide* friends; that as soon as we should have them in our hands we should humiliate them, take away their possessions, and trample upon their rights.

Fifth. Before the Battle of Santiago a thorough plan was formulated, which depended, for successful execution, on the coöperation of the Cuban insurgents—said to be organized and in the field, with Gomez in supreme command—and on the coöperation of this force, or a detachment of it, with our navy and army on their arrival in the vicinity of Santiago. Gen. Garcia, with the Cuban contingent, came to the coast as agreed upon. Our navy made a lodgment near the entrance to the harbor of Guantnamo. Capt. McCalla held the landing by occupying an important height with his marines. His garrison was small; and it wearied his men exceedingly to hold the position night and day without reinforcement. A reinforcement, however, came in time, sent by Garcia from his Cuban contingent. I saw in the hands of Col. Laborde, a wounded Cuban officer, an expression of thanks given by Capt. McCalla in writing to Laborde for the part that he and his Cubans had borne in driving back Spanish forces which bothered his flanks and undertook to recover the height. In conversing with several naval officers, also, I found that they were pleased with the Cubans' coöperation at a later period.

It appears that Gen. Shafter first landed at a place called Acerraderos, already in possession of the Cubans. In that neighborhood he met both Garcia and Castillo. There, between them, the whole topography of the country was fully considered; and it was agreed that, as nearly as possible simultaneously with the attempt at landing our troops, five hundred Cubans should be put ashore near Sigua, some twelve miles east of D'aikiri, the point selected for the army's landing, and that five hundred more, coming from another direction, should join them, so that a command of one thousand men would sweep along westward back of the hills, and clear the landing of D'aikiri. This was done by the Cuban commander; the "Vixen," under Capt. Sharp, having carried the first five hundred to their place of debarkation. It appears that the Cubans were so promptly on hand that the Spaniards fled from D'aikiri before the shelling by our fleet had ceased; one Cuban being killed and two wounded by our own shells, owing to the force ashore having been mistaken for Spaniards.

The advance from D'aikiri toward Santiago was assisted by a thorough coöperation with the Cubans as flankers and skirmishers as far as La Quasimas; causing the evacuation by the Spaniards of Siboney. After that there was such eagerness, and perhaps rivalry, between different regiments to press ahead that the Cubans were not so much in demand; but still Gen. Lawton, in a letter to Castillo, gives him high

praise for his help, his gallantry, and the readiness of his men to do what was required of them.

There is some controversy with regard to the part the Cuban patriots bore on the extreme right of Shafter's line. At the time four thousand Spaniards were allowed to come into the beleaguered city. Only three hundred Cubans defended the Cobre road; and these were engaged by the Spaniards, four thousand strong, and driven out, though not without considerable loss to the Spaniards. It appears to me that the Cuban contingent performed an important part in the advance on Santiago, and did their work reasonably well. They did not bring from Gomez as many men as they had promised, and their manner of fighting, which they had been practising for several years, did not accord with the American idea; yet all due credit must be given by us to a coöperation without which the taking of Santiago would have been much more difficult. Had Gen. Shafter really designed, cost what it might, to cut off and destroy Pando's four thousand, he would not have intrusted so important a work to the Cuban forces, reduced as they were by several detachments to other points. Undoubtedly Garcia's force of undisciplined men was far weaker than a corresponding number from any other brigade or division of Shafter's army would have been. He probably did not care much for that Spanish reinforcement; for it would only increase the number of the garrison to be fed and to be captured. Pando's commander simply put his four thousand men into Shafter's pocket. Indeed, I learn from one who was present that Gen. Shafter gave Garcia to understand that he himself would be pleased to have Pando's commander slip into his trap.

There are some stories about the Cuban soldiers picking up blankets, and others of their firing upon Spaniards helpless in the water, and the like; yet no friend of the Cubans will believe that many, even of the common Cuban soldiers, did these things. They had for years been fighting an enemy that had hardly ever spared a prisoner; yet the Cuban commanders wonderfully refrained from retaliation and revenge when Spanish prisoners fell into their hands. Whatever may be said to show his degradation, the Cuban is not a savage, nor is he a thief. It is, indeed, remarkable how he loves to dispense hospitality, or to do one a service, when he can—always without reward.

The common Cuban has his vices and immoralities; and they need eradication. He has his feuds, his hatreds, his revenges, like the inhabitants of Sicily; and there are corruptions, due to a perpetual state of war and to malignant oppression. All these will be swept away by the introduction of a thorough educational system, and by a proper moral

training under wholesome laws properly administered. I believe that after the Spaniards shall have gone, and a good government shall have been established,—a government which shall encourage and foster, but not undertake to control, the offices of religion,—Cuba will be a fruitful field, rich in the products of virtue and of loyalty to right; for the basis is a people of kindly natures and warm hearts.

With these convictions, I am pained to see, on the part of some of our public journals and many private citizens, a disposition to alienate the Cuban patriots. We did not expect to find angels in the present Cuban people. Their old men, their women and children, *reconcentrados*, and non-combatants have been so badly treated, so degraded, that those who have not already perished furnish a pitiable sight to American eyes. It will take wholesome government, encouraged industry, and ample time to bring this generation out of the stupor of their prolonged woe. We need not despise any poor soul capable of salvation. Again, then, I call upon all our friends who have made sacrifices in this war to remember that the Cuban patriots have thus far acted loyally, if not so energetically as we could have wished, in coöperating with our commanders; and that, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, the Cuban people, as a whole, are worthy of our protection and our help.

Sixth. The prejudice against the Cubans on the part of our forces that have been operating in Cuba appears to arise mainly from a feeling that these patriots have not properly appreciated the sacrifices of life and health that have been made to give them a free country. Doubtless there is some truth in this view, as there was in the dislike of black men in 1863 in our own country because so many of them did not seem to understand, or be grateful for, what had been done for them. But it should be remembered that the common Cubans are not wise enough, nor well enough informed, to understand precisely our attitude toward them. To them it seems as if we struck blows in their behalf, and almost immediately afterward forbade them to enjoy either the freedom promised or the coveted fruits of the common victory.

We answer that we could not trust them to manage the affairs of Santiago, for fear that they would loot the city and commit outrages upon those who had been hitherto their foes; for there were many such in Santiago. As I understand it, Garcia neither intended nor desired to hold the place given to Gen. Wood; but he did want his officers and himself to have some recognition in the celebration of a victory to which they had certainly contributed in some small degree. Another natural desire on his part was, that Spaniards and Spanish sympathizers

should not be continued in places of responsibility and trust in Santiago. He felt that the mailed glove, and not the friendly hand, was, for some reason, extended to him and his. Surely it was a difficult task to preserve a comparatively hostile government in Santiago in full vogue until Gen. Wood should gradually substitute an American replacement, —difficult indeed to do it and at the same time to make the patriots feel that our Government was their friend. Gen. Miles's kind note, asking further coöperation from Garcia in his Porto Rico expedition, came just at the right time to appease the wounded chieftain. Additional efforts in the same direction will be indispensable on our part.

Further prejudice has appeared in the careless statements of officers who, in their soreness, have made a wholesale condemnation of the Cuban contingent. They say, "Show us any wounded men!" I answer that there were several in every hospital I visited in Key West, and in others concerning which I have had direct testimony. In addition, there is the large Cuban hospital at Firmega, back in the mountains, where there are four thousand wounded men, besides the sick. The Cubans sought the most healthful locality they could find, and naturally carried their sick and wounded to that place. I do not know how many were killed in action; but they probably numbered about one-fifth of the wounded.

To an unprejudiced mind the loss and suffering thus indicated do not warrant the charge of non-coöperation and want of courage. It is further true that our officers seem to have misunderstood the fact, that the Cubans had been detached in parties of about two hundred from Garcia's main body.

I believe that the simple reason so many of them were not used in the places to which they were sent was, that, on account of the difference in language, the Americans and the Cubans did not make themselves mutually understood.

I understand that Garcia, Castillo, Rabi, and other gallant Cuban leaders earnestly desire that the whole matter of accusation and depreciation of their troops be thoroughly investigated. Surely the friends of the Cubans must deprecate any judgment of their behavior founded upon mere prejudice and camp gossip.

O. O. HOWARD.

AMATEURS IN WAR.

"AND *there*, mark you, is the vartue that no money an' no dhrill can buy—the vartue av the ould soldier that knows his orf'cer's work an' does ut at the salute!" Thus spake *Private Mulvaney*, who knew the difference between the soldier and the man,—a difference so great that it passes the comprehension of the amateur.

In soldiering, perhaps more than in anything else, the value of training, of exact knowledge, of professional details is made apparent. Any man of ordinary common sense can master the manual, the one, two, three of the drill-sergeant; the country boy, taken fresh from the farm, can learn, after he has been handled for a few months by *Mulvaney*, *O'rtheris*, and *Learoyd*, to stand with his heels together, his chest thrown out, and his hands touching the seams of his trousers; but "the vartue av the ould soldier" is not to be learned on the parade-ground nor to be picked up in a few lessons. It is the one thing which cannot be bought, which cannot be forced, which cannot be found by chance. It comes slowly, by gradual upbuilding until the level of perfection is reached. And then the man has become a soldier, than whom, in some respects, there is no finer thing on earth.

For years we in this country have gone about soldiering like children playing at a game. We have been the veriest amateurs. Our system has been top-heavy and cumbersome: it has been expensive, unwieldy, and disjointed. Fortunately in one respect, unfortunately in another, it has been put to no severe test. From the close of the Civil War till the recent war with Spain, the regular army of the United States had no more serious work than to fight Indians or occasionally to uphold the dignity of the Federal Government in quelling a riot. Our Indian wars have taught us nothing of the art of modern fighting, or of military tactics as adapted to modern military requirements. Even less has been learned from the conflicts between rioters and regulars.

The greatest lesson of the Civil War, curiously enough, has never been heeded. Because the South was as badly prepared for war as the North; because both sides spent months in drilling and placing their armies in the field; because the military blunders of the North were

only exceeded by those of the South; because when Lee laid down his sword the United States had more than a million men under arms; because for four years a war had been carried on,—a war in some respects more remarkable than any other the world has known,—because of all these things the people of this country have believed that armies can be called into existence by the magic of a President's Proclamation; that a declaration of war transmutes men into soldiers. It has taken the weakest military power of Europe to open our eyes.

A soldier is a product of slow growth. Hammered out of the rough by the drill-sergeant, shaped by his company commander, polished by his major, he, at last, after having passed through the hands of the colonel, becomes the finished article. Even then he is only half a soldier. He can march, he knows what a command means and can carry it out, he can use his rifle and his bayonet; but he has still more, much more, to learn. The soldier must learn to take care of himself on the march and in the field; and, above all, he must learn that most difficult of all things—implicit obedience.

Herein lies the difference between the soldier—and by the soldier I mean the man in the ranks of the regular army—and the volunteer. The former, by obeying—he has been taught from the first to learn that obedience to his superiors is his first as well as last duty—and by constant association with his officers, becomes simply a machine to do what he is told to do. To call a man a machine is no reflection upon his intellect or his manhood. Like a machine, he is perfect in all his parts, ready to respond to the lightest touch of the controlling power. The volunteer, on the other hand, knows not the meaning of the word discipline. He has served no long apprenticeship in the art of learning subordination; he has not been drilled and hammered and pounded until compliance with a command becomes a second nature. Out of his uniform the volunteer frequently commands instead of being commanded. He cannot change the habits of a lifetime with his change of clothes. But perhaps more important even than this, and which makes the volunteer force an extremely frail reed to rely on in case of emergency, is the inability of the volunteer officer to wield that peculiar psychological power without which no man is the master of men. Nor is this surprising. Between the soldier and the officer there is a wide gulf, even in a republic; and no attempt is made to bridge it. It is well that it should be so. The soldier is content to rely on the wisdom of his officer. The man in the ranks stands sentry, or faces a battery, not because he likes to do one better than the other,—and soldiers, like

all the rest of us, think their trade a little bit harder than any other,—but because someone higher in rank has told him to do it, and he has enough confidence in that someone to believe in him. But with the volunteer it is different. His superior officer may be, frequently is, his social inferior. As to his military knowledge, there are often grave doubts. He gives a command; but it inspires no confidence. The men in the ranks unconsciously feel that they are following a blind leader.

The writer has no intention of casting any reflections upon the volunteers. He has lately seen them under fire in Cuba, he has seen them on the march and in the trenches, and he has seen such conspicuous examples of bravery and devotion to duty as to arouse his profound admiration. Whatever just criticisms may be made are directed, not against individuals, but against a system,—a system which takes it for granted that an amateur is the equal of a graduate. And I contend that in soldiering, as in everything else, the master of his art is a far better man than the tyro. Courage, like a taste for olives or a cold plunge in mid-winter, is an acquired habit. Pick out at random a hundred men, and a surprisingly small percentage—of Anglo-Saxons—will show the white feather when suddenly confronted with danger. Some will behave better than others, which may be set down to any one of a dozen causes; but few will act like curs. Those who come out best from the ordeal will be the men who have served their novitiate. They have faced death, and pushed it away from them; and they have learned that what they thought was Death is merely one of his minor satellites with power to terrify, but not to destroy.

Many harsh and unwarranted things have been said about volunteers who refused to go into action. We have heard of one regiment becoming so demoralized that it threatened the entire line, and, to avert a panic, had to be unceremoniously sent to the rear. These things do not imply cowardice. They simply show the folly of expecting amateurs to do that which taxes the capacity of experienced professionals. Most men admit that they experienced a feeling of terror the first time they heard the flight of a bullet. There is something terrible in the shrieking, rending scream of a bursting shell, or the high-pitched whistle of a bullet from a modern rifle; and when shells burst, and men and horses fall in a shapeless mass, and the whistle of the bullet is followed by a groan, and where was once a man is only a space in the ranks, men must have nerves of steel and be possessed of the stoicism of an Indian, not to feel that "chilly devil" which Kipling has so well described. But, after the first period of nervous exaltation and hysterical depression has passed away

—its duration varying with the mental and physical make-up of the individual—shells and bullets appear less dreadful. Between the veteran and the raw recruit there is a psychological difference only. Physically the recruit may be the better man of the two; but he has “nerves.” The veteran’s nerves have become absorbed in the process of evolution through which he has passed.

In nearly every relation of life the individual counts for a great deal more than the aggregate: nowhere is this so marked as in an army. In the words of Napoleon, “In war *men* are nothing; *a man* is everything.” Take a hundred men in a company, and their efficiency and *morale* will depend, in the first instance, upon their first sergeant, who, being generally experienced and knowing barrack-room politics, puts some sensible ideas into their heads. If the captain commanding the company be the right kind of man, the good work goes on; but it is essential that the men have confidence in their commander. He may bully them and he may violate the Articles of War by swearing at them,—which sounds badly, but isn’t so very dreadful,—but no man will care, if he possesses courage and knows his business. If he has those two things, his men will follow him not only into the jaws of death, but through and out on the other side. In the scale of progression the good work of a captain may be destroyed by a colonel,—a fussy old woman who will punish a man for a button awry and be blind to pluck. Given a colonel who knows his soldiers and has their confidence, and you have the most perfect piece of machinery the handiwork of man can turn out. There is nothing more superb than a regiment which, like an endless chain, is a series of unbroken links extending from the private in the ranks to the colonel. Such regiments have made history and glorified their country.

To the average man, who knows nothing of military affairs, and whose knowledge of the army is confined to an occasional parade, or the turn-out of a volunteer regiment when it escorts a fire-company to a country fair, the men in the ranks are all that there is to the army. If he should think, he would perhaps admit that soldiers have to be fed and clothed and housed, and occasionally transported here and there. But soldiers have rations, which they get in some mysterious manner; and the Government, which is a nebulous institution, chiefly designed to make trouble for hard-working people and to provide places for lazy ones, furnishes them with clothes. The soldier toils not, neither does he spin: but he has his rations and his uniform; and what more could any well-disposed person want? In our dilettante way, the army has been allowed to take care of itself; while an institution, known as the

"Staff Corps," has grown up. Had Congress purposely devised a system which should go to pieces the moment the slightest strain was put upon it, it could not have more cunningly contrived than when it created the various staff departments of the army. Put the best troops in the world in the field, and starve them, and they become of little value; or send them into the tropics in the worst season of the year, clad in uniforms suitable for a climate where snow covers the ground until late in the summer, and you may expect them to fall ready victims to disease. These things happened in the campaign before Santiago. Never was such absolute incompetence displayed; never did men prove so unfitted for the duties imposed upon them.

Going back to the time when the army was encamped in Tampa, one sees there a record so shameful that the mystery of it is, that it should have been permitted to stand unchallenged. The movement of troops and the transportation of their supplies devolve upon the Quartermaster-General, one of the Staff Corps which came so perilously near to wrecking the army. Much has been said of the difficulties with which the Quartermaster's Department had to contend in moving some sixteen thousand men from Tampa to Cuba. "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*" The excuses and explanations of our amateur transportation managers have only served to emphasize the fact that the accusations were well founded. Temperate as one may wish to be, it is difficult to restrain oneself in discussing the inexcusable blunders committed by the staff departments; and it is only fair to say that no single department was worse than any other. The apologists of the Quartermaster's Department, with more zeal than discretion, have urged that allowances ought to be made, as it was a task unheard of to send men and supplies across the sea. But was it? It seems to me, speaking with all due humility as a layman, that, given a certain number of men and so many tons of food and other rations, it was a simple calculation to determine the cubic capacity of the vessels necessary for their transportation. Certainly the calculation is worked out every week in the year by the managers of the great ocean transportation lines, who know to a nicety how many passengers and how many tons of freight their vessels will carry, and who have their systems so perfectly organized that the largest ships leave their docks with the precision of express trains. But then, these managers are professionals and not amateurs, which may perhaps explain the difference.

To the Quartermaster was intrusted the responsible duty of furnishing transportation for the army and loading the vessels. It would occur

to most people to place in the bottom and least accessible parts of the holds those supplies not immediately needed; reserving the upper part for articles which would be required as soon as the troops landed. Yet, when the troops debarked in Cuba, there was witnessed the melancholy spectacle of a commissary officer sitting on a huge pile of soap and candles, while troops at the front were without rations. Now, soap and candles are valuable in a campaign, but hard-tack and coffee are better; unwashed men, with no light to shine upon their glorious deeds, having been known to win battles, but starving men seldom. Why, when men clamored for hard-tack, they were permitted to look upon soap and candles, is easily explained. These articles were placed on top, presumably because they happened to be overlooked until the last moment; and, of course, in unloading the vessel, they had to be taken out before the more valuable food and ammunition could be discharged.

Disheartening and exasperating as it was to witness these things, it must, in fairness to the officers, be said that it was the system which was responsible for the many mistakes they made. *En passant*, it may be well to correct a popular error. It has been generally supposed that with the outbreak of the war the staff departments were flooded with civilians, men who secured their appointments through political influence, and that it was owing to these political, civilian appointees that the Staff Corps was so hopelessly demoralized. It is true, numerous civilians were given staff appointments; but in every case the men at the head of affairs were officers of the regular army, of many years' service. In numerous cases the civilians, being practical men, did better than their amateur superiors. The latter made mistakes because they were without practical experience.

Since the close of the Civil War, the quartermasters of the army have occasionally had to move a regiment from one post to another. When that operation was to be performed, the Quartermaster would send for his clerk and instruct him to make the necessary arrangements; and the clerk would, either by public or private contract, secure the transportation from the railroad company offering the best terms. The practical details were left to the railroad companies, who, being supplied with the number of men and the amount of baggage to be moved, furnished the requisite number of cars, just as they would have done had they been given a contract to move coal or iron or any other freight. Curiously enough, the higher in rank the less able the officer of the Quartermaster's Department is to perform his duties. A lieutenant performing the duties of regimental quartermaster must actually do the

work himself, because he has no one to assist him. If he is very lucky, he sometimes finds an enlisted man who is competent to act as his clerk and who is capable of doing some of the routine work; but the real work rests upon his shoulders. When he becomes a full-fledged quartermaster, and is transferred to the corps, he gets a clerk; and the higher he goes, the more numerous the clerical force at his disposal, until in the fulness of time he reaches the *Ultima Thule* of all military ambition and occupies an office in Washington. When that happens, he has forgotten what little he knew in his younger days.

Two other staff corps—the Medical and the Commissary—have divided with that of the Quartermaster's the dubious honors of the recent war. Here, as in the Quartermaster's Department, the system is chiefly responsible for the almost criminal blunders which forced men either to go hungry or to live on fat bacon and salt pork, than which there can be nothing much worse for men in a climate so devitalizing as Cuba. When supplies were at last brought to the front, tomatoes in two-pound cans were issued. Think of men having to march and go into battle with bulky tomato cans stowed about their persons! Yet the Commissary Department had so little knowledge of the actual requirements of war, that, because tomatoes for commercial use are sold in cans containing two pounds, that size was accepted for the army. It would have been as easy to furnish the tomatoes in half-pound cans as in two-pound ones; and this would have vastly increased the comfort of the soldier. The Subsistence Department, like the Quartermaster's, is decaying from inanition. To provision a few hundred men in garrison, requires no great knowledge or executive capacity. This has been the experience of commissary officers for the past thirty years. They have drawn supplies, they have signed their names to vouchers, they have drawn their salaries, and, if they have lived long enough and escaped the shoals of a court martial, they have gained their promotions. Can one wonder that, when confronted with an emergency, they proved themselves unable to meet it?

The Medical Corps, being part military and part scientific, may perhaps be excused for its numerous *lâches*; scientific men being notoriously lacking in administrative faculty. Still, even the most charitable may with propriety question if a system which permits regiments to go into action without surgeons is not faulty. Under the same system, troops in an enemy's country had bullets dug from their bodies with penknives, because the surgeons neglected to furnish hospitals and had not their instrument-cases at hand. With a battle imminent, no provision was made for the care of the wounded; and when, after the battle, the

wounded were brought in, as might have been expected, by tens and hundreds, there were no means for their proper treatment. In any large city, on the day of a parade or other event bringing thousands of people together, the police and the hospital authorities, anticipating casualties, prepare themselves accordingly, and skilfully and quickly take care of the injured. Here, again, the difference between the man trained to his work and the amateur is strikingly apparent.

But the remedy for all these things? The remedy, I venture to suggest, is readily accessible, if we will disregard past traditions and adopt methods more in keeping with modern progress. The necessity of a larger standing army and a higher state of efficiency among the volunteers is conceded. The political events of the last few months have made it incumbent on the United States to increase its military resources. Very much has been said recently of the value of a "General Staff"; and military experts have pointed to the magnificent work of the German General Staff, which owed its creation to the genius of Moltke. While military conditions in Germany are so unlike those which prevail in this country that it is unsafe to take the German army as our guide, yet a General Staff would be of value, as it would mean a reorganization of the staff departments and a change in the present system. It would be the first step, if we are to put the army upon a business basis, and intrust affairs to men of practical experience; but it would not go to the root of the evil. In a country where reliance must be placed upon a volunteer army, it is all-essential that the volunteers be imbued with the discipline and training of the regular army. This can be done at a comparatively small expense, and without in any way disturbing present social and political conditions. For purposes of military administration, the United States is divided into military departments. The Department of the East,¹ which will do as well as any other by way of illustration, comprises the New England States, the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and the District of Columbia. In these States there is an organized militia force of 75,634 officers and men, of all branches of the service. These 75,000 volunteers, with the assent of the various States, should be incorporated into the divisions of the army corps of the East. Thus, roughly, the six New England States and New York would furnish about 26,000 men, or enough

¹ As it existed up to March 12, 1898. On that date certain of these States were transferred to the new "Department of the Gulf."

to constitute one full division. But no division should be composed exclusively of volunteers: at least one-third of the strength of every brigade should be regulars. Once a year the troops constituting the Department of the East should be mobilized. This would give everybody practical experience, from the raw recruit to the general in command of the Department. If the conditions were made to resemble as nearly as possible a state of actual hostilities, the week or ten days spent in the field would be of inestimable benefit to the two services—regulars and volunteers.

Assuming the point of concentration to be in North Carolina, and that a force of about 75,000 was called into the field (and to the volunteers must be added the regulars, of whom there would probably be not less than 10,000 or 15,000 in the Department of the East), officers of the line, no less than officers of the staff, would in this way learn what can never be acquired on the parade-ground or in an office. The Quartermaster would be given practical experience in the transportation of men, animals, supplies, and *impedimenta* from a dozen points to the place of concentration; and in a very short time quartermasters would find out those things which, in the recent campaign, because of their ignorance, destroyed the efficiency of the army. The men should live in tents. The provisioning of the army would furnish data for the Commissary Department; while the sickness and casualties naturally to be expected would give the medical officers practical experience in the business of war. The value to the line, officers and men, cannot be overestimated. Under the command of regular-army officers, volunteers—men as well as officers—would learn discipline: they would learn the difference between amateur soldiering and professional. In addition, contact with the regulars would teach them how to take care of themselves in the field; and that knowledge is only second in importance to the habit of learning to obey.

The old soldier has many tricks which the untrained man acquires only after much sorrow. Few volunteers know how to cook or to make the most of the food furnished them. The volunteer has been known to throw away his canteen, his blanket, his rations even, because their weight was oppressive. As a result of his ignorance, he has suffered from thirst and cold and hunger, conditions which very quickly lead to the hospital. And, while the volunteer was learning the rudiments of war, his commanding officers would be taking a post-graduate course. Since the close of the Civil War, general officers have never had under their command at one time more than a few thousand men. Of tactics

on a grand scale they know nothing, because they have not had the pieces with which to play the game. Brigade and division commanders would profit immensely by having to handle large bodies of troops, and by conducting a campaign under conditions approaching reality.

To obtain the use of the volunteers, the National Government would doubtless have to pay all the expenses of the encampment, which would be perfectly proper. The Federal Government now makes an annual appropriation to the militia force. Those States which refused to send their troops to the departmental encampment should lose their share of the appropriation; or perhaps the system under which the appropriation is distributed might be advantageously changed, and a fixed amount be paid to the State for every man present at the encampment, as shown by the muster-rolls.

It will doubtless be urged, that the remedy proposed is unnecessary, inasmuch as summer encampments of the volunteers are held in nearly every State, to which a regular army officer is usually detailed as inspecting officer; a battery of artillery or a few companies of regulars sometimes encamping with the volunteers. These summer encampments are play, not business. The men look forward to them as a "jolly lark"; and they devote more time to entertaining female relatives and friends than they do to military work. Immaculate, white tents are set up in mathematically correct company streets; guitars and sofa-cushions serve to veil the horrors of war; champagne in the officers' and beer in the privates' tents reveal in all their nakedness the hardships of life in the field. There is a little drilling, a sham fight, perhaps, and the inevitable review by the Governor, who, knowing the potency of votes, commends the gallant bearing of his troops in the same way that he admires prize pigs at agricultural fairs, and is very heartily glad when the farce is over. All this, while spectacular, is not war. From a military point of view, the summer encampments teach nothing, and are simply a waste of money. They provide the volunteers with an outing at a trifling cost to themselves; but they serve no purpose in improving the efficiency of the armed force of the State.

If the United States is to profit by its recent costly and disgraceful experience, it must destroy a system which accumulates barnacles; it must give men practical as well as theoretical training; it must remember that, while it is easy enough to create armies on paper, soldiers, unlike poets, are not born, but made, and that the process of manufacture is a slow and difficult one.

A. MAURICE LOW.

OUR WAR WITH SPAIN, FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

THE warp of politics is closely interwoven with the woof of every important event in American history. The recent war with Spain has proved no exception to the rule. In a broad sense, this is fortunate. The political expression of the citizen is his final verdict of approval or disapproval as respects the government under which he lives. The American voter, possessed of a higher average of intelligence than is enjoyed by his fellow-men throughout the world, and with a fine capacity for discrimination, reviews the actions of those who have been placed in authority, and sweeps from power the offenders against his judgment. The time is approaching when the decision of the great national jury will again be invoked. On that day of reckoning the citizen will not be forced to decide, as he has been for more than a third of a century, between various phases of economic and financial problems. For the moment at least, these questions have been relegated to the rear, and graver matters confront him. He must determine for himself whether the war was justly waged, whether it has been properly conducted, and, most important of all, whether the future policy of the United States is to be broad and liberal or narrow and insular.

The war has marked a turning-point in the destiny of the American Republic; and it now remains for the individual at the ballot-box to decide whether the nation shall press forward along the paths which open alluringly into a field of wider power, or shall deliberately ignore the plain manifestation of destiny and remain bound in the swaddling-clothes of eternal infancy. In this comprehensive sense, therefore, the political aspect of the war is more significant and engrossing, more important in its effect upon future history, than any other factor concerned in the struggle. The thunder of guns at Manila and Santiago has ceased: the mustered-out soldier is returning home. Presently the dropping of the ballot will be the echo of the noisy engines of human destruction. In the meantime it may not be inappropriate to discuss some of the political considerations which have marked the beginning and the progress of the conflict and which will have their weight in determining the conclusion that will be reached.

It may, in the first place, be set down as an axiom, that if the war had not been fought, the Administration of President McKinley would have been wrecked. Anyone who has read American history, and knows the temper and spirit of the American people, must admit this assertion without argument. John Adams, it will be remembered, labored successfully to avert a war with France, and then paid dearly for his well-directed and humane efforts. At the same time, it would be foolish and unjust even to intimate that President McKinley was influenced in the least by this political consideration. Prominent leaders in his party, as I know personally, were dominated by this idea, foreseeing campaign victories as the result of a war; but the President would gladly have averted the conflict, if he could have done so with honor to the country, without regard to the effect of such action upon his political future. In this, however, the present President is not peculiar. It is a curious and at the same time a gratifying fact, that the election of an American citizen to the high office of the Presidency invests him with a sense of national responsibility which no one can appreciate who has not seen it exemplified, as I have done, in many Presidents. There have been some occasions, undoubtedly, when the Chief Executives have elevated party above country; but these instances have been so few and they have provoked such universal condemnation as to prove the rule. In the case of President McKinley the desire to administer his office for the welfare of the entire country has been especially paramount.

The politics of the war began in St. Louis in 1896, when the Republican party, in national convention assembled, unanimously passed a series of resolutions declaring the conditions existent in Cuba to be intolerable, and that, the Government of Spain having lost control of the island, it was the duty of the United States to interfere in order to restore peace and give independence. The Democrats likewise declared their sympathy for the struggling Cubans, and were, therefore, pledged in advance to support any efforts which looked toward the amelioration of oppressive conditions in Cuba. When, after the inauguration of a Republican President, the sympathy which the Democrats had invoked took a definite and official form, they could not, in all fairness, array themselves in opposition. As a matter of fact, and to their credit be it said, they did not assume the attitude of obstructionists. Aware that successful war in the United States has always inured to the benefit of the political party inaugurating it, they, nevertheless, stood gallantly and enthusiastically by the President's side. There was, it is true, some differ-

ence of opinion between the Republican and Democratic leaders in Congress as to the minor detail of whether the insurgent Government in Cuba should be officially recognized; but even in this division there was a notable absence of party lines. Republicans and Democrats alike voted for the resolutions which made the war inevitable; and, on the other hand, Republicans and Democrats were ranged together in opposition. The voices of Senator Wellington, of Maryland, and Senator White, of California,—the one a Republican, and the other a Democrat,—echoed across the Senate aisle in denouncing the approaching conflict.

The war with Spain was not, therefore, the offspring of partisan politics. Neither party can justly claim the credit of its inauguration. It was, in this regard, unlike the Civil War, for and against which the Republican and Democratic parties arrayed themselves in almost solid phalanxes. The abolition of slavery was the cardinal principle of the Republican party alone: the rescue of Cuba from Spanish tyranny and oppression was urged by all parties with equal emphasis. The American spirit, regardless of differences upon purely political questions, revolted against the continuance of inhuman conditions at the country's very threshold, even as it welcomed Kosciusko as the living embodiment of a people seeking freedom, and applauded Daniel Webster, seventy years ago, when he eloquently pleaded the cause of the Revolutionists in Greece. The unanimity with which the emergency defence fund of \$50,000,000 was voted in Congress also demonstrated that party lines were obliterated, and that behind the President was a united and sympathetic people.

Having shown, satisfactorily I hope, that no partisan advantage can be claimed by either side for the inauguration of the war, we reach the point where responsibility and credit are no longer divided. The conduct of the war rests entirely upon Republican shoulders. In the executive branch of the Government the Democrats have no voice whatever; and the glory of successful management, or the shame of official corruption and incompetency, must be visited upon the Republican Administration alone. It becomes interesting and important, therefore, to consider the manner in which a Republican President and a Republican Administration met the duty devolving upon them.

Here we have two points of view, the general and the individual. The former embraces, of course, the broad questions of national policy: the latter relates to personal selection and preferment.

As for the first, speaking from the standpoint of an impartial observer, and with a more or less intimate knowledge of the daily happenings

at the White House, I desire to say that I believe no President could be freer from narrow and bigoted partisanship than Mr. McKinley. He has never sought to turn the national duty of freeing Cuba into political capital for the Republican party. (He was tempted to do so more than once by designing politicians at his elbow, whose devotion to party was more earnest than wise; but their selfish and unpatriotic advice he, happily, spurned.) On the contrary, I know, from a personal conversation with the President, that to him the most glorious outcome of the war is the disappearance of the last vestige of sectionalism. Intensely patriotic, as sentimental in many things as a woman, he is proud that in his Administration there has come the absolute reuniting of the nation. Beside this one great result, all the honors and achievements of the war are to him as naught. As compared with the solidification of the Republic, the acquisition of territory and the brilliant record of the army and the navy upon land and sea are insignificant.

How has it been, however, with the selection of individuals to fill the innumerable offices made necessary by the war? I know that on this point opinions differ and will continue to differ, despite all that may be said on either side. There have been currently bruited in the press—mostly the opposition press—all manner of charges concerning the diversion of Presidential power into political channels. We have heard much of “great men’s sons” being appointed to fat offices; and those of us who live in Washington know from experience that the “pie counter” attracted a hungry and persistent horde. For a time, a mercenary and selfish, rather than a patriotic, spirit seemed to animate a very large contingent of American citizens. It was a deplorable exhibition which this mob of office-seekers made; but it was offset, happily, by the noble spectacle of tens of thousands of young men hastening to join the ranks as self-sacrificing, ill-paid, and unknown volunteers. It is also a fact worthy of emphasis, that many of the unsuccessful applicants for military office contented themselves with places of lower degree. There were not many of these instances, it is true. But we must remember that ten righteous men would have saved Sodom and Gomorrah; and it is pleasant to know that all of the office-seekers were not actuated by purely selfish motives.

In the few months immediately following the inauguration of a President, when every moment of his time should be occupied in familiarizing himself with the details of government, he is compelled to devote himself to finding places for his adherents. At the opening of the war, when the President might naturally have been expected to be en-

grossed in the consideration of gravest problems, Mr. McKinley found himself called upon to fill a multitude of offices which the sudden assembling of a large volunteer army and the enlargement of the regular force had created. As already intimated, there was no lack of applications. In the War Department alone over 150,000 letters were received from candidates and friends of candidates. It was a physical impossibility for the President or the Secretary of War, overwhelmed with all-important duties, personally to examine all these communications. Some system had to be devised whereby the labor of the President could be lightened, and the honors at the same time be equitably distributed, with due regard always to the best interests of the country. It was, therefore, decided, that the Senators and Representatives should present to the President the names of those persons whose appointment would be satisfactory to them. It was to be supposed that Republicans and Democrats alike would endorse men of their own political persuasion; and the supposition naturally proved to be correct. In this manner the President dispensed official favors without regard to party; and I am informed by the Adjutant-General of the Army, through whose hands all papers connected with the issuance of commissions passed, that in no case did the President inquire as to the politics of an appointee.

It may be objected, however, that this plan, even without the President's direct participation, encompassed all appointments with the atmosphere of political influence. Of course it did. No one denies—no one, so far as I know, desires to deny—that influence secured the prizes for which so many earnestly sought; but how else should the appointments have been made? Through the tedious routine of civil service examinations, when every moment counted in placing the army in the field? By personal examination by the President of thousands upon thousands of letters from unknown writers, whose statements as to their qualifications could not have been inquired into and substantiated, except at an enormous loss of time? Surely not. The President very wisely and properly called upon the representatives of the people, irrespective of party, to aid him in the delicate, onerous, and responsible task of selecting officers for the army. He knew from experience the wide acquaintance possessed by each Senator and Representative; and he also knew that these men would be held personally accountable by their constituencies for the selections which they made. It was but fair to presume that they would have sufficient patriotic concern to present only the names of those who were amply qualified to fill the positions for which they were suggested. They had shared with the

President the burden of inaugurating the war; they had aided him in the enactment of the necessary legislation; and they were, in turn, invited to assist in the prosecution of the conflict through the persons whose names they submitted for Executive consideration. If many of these Senators and Representatives endorsed incompetent men, or if they selected their sons and other relatives for official preferment, it was a matter which rested upon their own consciences. If there is to be a rebuke, it must be administered by the people at the polls in November to those callous public servants who regarded the war as affording an unequalled opportunity for installing their *protégés* into Government jobs.

It has been asserted that the President could have avoided all exercise of political influence by utilizing the officers of the regular army. Let us examine the records. There are eighteen major-generals of volunteers. Of these, thirteen are from the regular army, every brigadier-general having been promoted without exception; while of the five civilians, all were distinguished officers of the Civil War, and three of them, Lee, Wheeler, and Butler, served on the Confederate side. There are seventy brigadier-generals. Forty-three of them were colonels in the regular army; and the remaining twenty-seven from civil life were men of excellent military record. In the assignments to duty in the Adjutant-General's Office the same generous treatment of regular officers was shown; but in the Quartermaster's, Commissary, and Medical departments the proportion of civilian appointments was, of course, very large. The exact figures may prove of value. They are as follows:

	From the Army.	From Civil Life.
Major-Generals	13	5
Brigadier-Generals	43	27
Adjutant-General's Office	62	43
Inspector-General's Office	19	12
Judge-Advocate-General's Office	3	5
Quartermaster's Department, all grades	45	77
Commissary Department " "	21	92
Medical Department " "	36	47
Paymaster-General's Office	1	85
Engineers	22	6
Ordnance	26	..
Signal Corps	23	81
	<hr/> 314	<hr/> 480

It is worth while to note the fact, not apparent in the above table, that the early appointments in each branch of the military service were of officers in the regular army, who were thus promoted to more responsible duties and higher pay. Upon this foundation of military experience the President rested his civilian corps. The appointment of the latter in the Quartermaster's, Commissary, Medical, and Pay branches of the service was absolutely necessary; there being scarcely enough officers in the miniature regular army to attend properly to its necessities. Even in selecting three hundred and twenty officers the President barely avoided crippling the service. Many of the companies of regulars served with less than their quota of commissioned officers; and in some cases a non-commissioned officer was in command. Had the President advanced every officer of the regular force to a higher position in the volunteer service, he would have been compelled to appoint large numbers of civilians to fill the lower grades,—men without training or discipline, lacking essential experience in the management of veteran troops, and whose installation into the regular army would have prevented the promoted officers from returning to their proper rank at the close of the war.

In the selection of army officers for advancement personal favoritism was undoubtedly shown; but this is the way of the world. The proprietor of a large business establishment gives employment to the son of his old friend rather than to an entire stranger, even if all other things are not equal; and Presidents and Secretaries, like other men, are influenced by human sympathies. Granting, however, that this is true; admitting that in many instances the President and the Secretary of War bestowed favors upon men with whom their associations were of an intimate and personal nature, is it for a moment to be believed that they would sacrifice the honor of the country or the *prestige* of the American army on the altar of personal consideration? To entertain this idea for a single instant is to attribute to them a degree of perfidy beyond comprehension. It is charged, for example, that Secretary Alger appointed Gen. Shafter to the command of the campaign against Santiago because the latter was a Michigan man, and because his selection would materially promote the Secretary's political fortunes in that State. Apart from the absurdity of the logic of this proposition,—for Gen. Shafter had long since left Michigan, and exercised no influence there,—it is not reasonable to suppose that the Secretary of War would deliberately court disaster through the appointment of an incompetent commander simply because that officer happened to be a native of his own

State. In the same scale with personal acquaintance and knowledge there must have been an honest belief that the officer would prove himself capable of performing his duty most bravely and successfully. To harbor any other idea is to accuse the appointing power of being a traitor to his country and to insure for him an execration which no public official would wantonly invite.

Political influence, or, rather, the influence of politicians, secured positions in the army. Was the result unsatisfactory? There has been, as I think everyone will agree, a serious exhibition of mismanagement and inefficiency in the army. If the root of the trouble lies in the exercise of political influence, however, it must be traced further back than the appointments made to meet the exigencies of the recent war. The primal difficulty is with the system in the army which allows the President discretion in the promotion of all officers above the rank of colonel. In the navy advancement is based upon seniority. When a vacancy occurs a captain steps from the head of his grade to the bottom of the list of commodores; and no official power can either retard or hasten his upward movement. In the army the conditions are different. The President can to-day take any colonel, no matter how low the latter may be in the army list, and promote him to a vacancy in the column of brigadier-generals; while to-morrow, if occasion offers, he may elevate the newly made brigadier to a major-generalship and assign him to the command of the entire army. This system, breeding the cultivation of "political pull," has resulted in placing at the head of the important bureaus of the War Department those officers whose influence with the President was most potential.

In time of peace this policy of selection, although radically wrong, worked no hardship, injury, or scandal, because the ostensible head of the bureau suffered its work to be performed by those subordinates whose long acquaintance with its routine made them fully capable. In the emergency of war, however, when experience, ability, foresight, and unerring judgment were demanded at every hour of the day, these favorites of political fortune were sadly out of their element. It is these high officers, and not the "great men's sons," upon whom the blame of inefficiency must fall. As a matter of fact, the almost universal verdict is that the new appointees entered upon their duties with enthusiasm, with minds fresh from contact with the busy world, and with the ambition to achieve a creditable record. The baneful effect of political influence is visible higher up in the scale than in the acquisitions to the military force. One lesson from the consideration of poli-

tics in the war, therefore, is that promotions in the army should be entirely free from political considerations, and should be based, as in the navy, upon seniority alone. It is interesting to observe that in the one instance where the navy departed from its safe and admirable rule, and gave Admiral Sampson what is humorously called "gunboat commission," advancing him by bureaucratic favor in disregard of his actual rank, the experiment has resulted in a public scandal. The undisguised favoritism shown to Admiral Sampson is the only blot on the fair name of the navy to-day; and this stain could have been avoided by a strict observance of a proper and sensible policy.

Far more important than this political point of view from its individual side is the effect which the war will have upon parties and platforms in the future. The limit of this article has, however, been reached, and its concluding views must be briefly stated. It has already been asserted that if the war had not been fought, the Administration of President McKinley would have been wrecked upon the rock of popular disfavor. The converse of this proposition, however, is not necessarily inevitable; but the probability is that history will repeat itself. Every Administration which has waged war has been endorsed by the people. The Civil War intrenched the Republican party in power for twenty years; and the same organization will undoubtedly be the beneficiary of the recent struggle. It will claim the credit of awakening a national spirit, of developing a pride in the acquisition of territory, and of stimulating a sense of greatness that is as novel as it is thrilling; and this claim will be very generally allowed. The Democratic party has two alternatives. It must either combat the policy of national expansion, or it must accept the situation and look elsewhere for campaign issues. If it adopts the former course it will put itself in the position of retarding national progress, of obstructing the onward course of events. This would be unpopular, in the present state of public feeling; while its acceptance of a colonial policy would be an endorsement of the Republican party. I doubt very much whether, in the exhilaration of acquiring new territory, the public mind will turn with patience to a resurrection of the doctrine of the free coinage of silver. Consequently, the political effect of the war upon the country will undoubtedly be advantageous to the party represented in the Administration which conducted it to a successful issue.

Only one cloud disturbs the serenity of this outlook for the Republicans; but already the cloud is larger than a man's hand. The evils of the military administration seem to have been great. With or with-

out reason, the country is aroused by the stories of ill-treatment related by returning soldiers. Herein the Democrats naturally find a battle-cry of opposition. The Wisconsin Democrats "condemn in unstinted measures the War Department for the blunders and crimes committed against the brave boys in blue in camp and on foreign battle-fields by selfish contractors, incompetent surgeons, and vain, heartless army officers, appointed for political purposes"; and the New Hampshire Democrats demand an investigation by Congress "and the summary punishment of the men who have prostituted patriotism to partisanship and greed."

If the people, between now and November, shall become convinced that the Republican Administration is responsible for the unnecessary suffering endured by our splendid soldiers, the rebuke administered at the polls will be emphatic and severe.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

THE DANGERS OF IMPERIALISM.

ONE of the prominent characteristics of American politics, which writers and speakers have frequently remarked, is the lack in recent years of any very fundamental differences in the tenets of the great political parties. Since, indeed, the question of slavery ceased to have other than historic interest, no political question at all comparable to that in intensity or divisive force has arisen. Neither the rehabilitation of the Southern States, nor the adjustment of tariff duties (though quite the first in importance of *post bellum* issues) ever made the same powerful appeal to the national thought that long characterized the earlier issue of slavery. And the reason is not far to seek. A question of public policy whose main interest is intellectual, which appeals primarily to men of education or fruitful experience, or concerns the choice of means to the attainment of some end generally regarded as desirable, can never become a ground of radical distinction between parties. A real issue, whatever its other elements, must take strong hold of the moral sense, must touch the feelings and emotions, and color, for better or worse, the views of the national mission and ideal entertained by the mass of the people. Something of this moral appeal, impossible in connection with any purely administrative question, has attached to the latest of our party issues, in the growing opinion that the maintenance of a sound currency is not alone a matter of scientific determination of standards, but a matter of national honesty and good faith as well.

There seems to be good reason for thinking that, as one result of our unhappy war with Spain, American politics has at last been provided with a real and living issue. Under the taking name of "imperialism," the people of the United States find themselves suddenly confronted with a question of national policy of profound significance and far-reaching relations. It is not a question of administrative detail, or of mere choice of means, or of observance of scientific law. It is not a question on which individual opinion must be guided wholly by extensive technical information. It is a question, rather, of our national hopes and desires, of our place and work in the world, of what

we wish our America to become. In all our history no question has been presented to us whose answer may so radically change the face of our national life. How vital the issue is felt to be, how widely it is being discussed, is clear to any thoughtful observer. It bids fair to unite North and South, East and West, at the same time that it runs athwart existing party lines, and causes a man's foes to be those of his own political household. Such a situation as is presented in Massachusetts—where the two Republican Senators, each prominent in the councils of his party, occupy diametrically opposite positions on the question—is significant of the power of this new idea.

I understand by imperialism, in the best sense in which the term is used, a theory of national policy in accordance with which the United States is to add to its territorial possessions, for the purpose of extending American trade and American political influence. We are to change our traditional policy of independence and non-participation in the general politics of the world, and to adopt a policy of territorial expansion, of wide contact and control. We are to have colonies and dependencies, coaling-stations and "keys." Incidentally, we are to get military and naval influence, and a reputation for physical prowess, not for purposes of wanton aggression, but to command wholesome respect. I do not understand that imperialism means political tyranny or meddlesomeness, or greedy scrambling for territory, or offensive and defensive alliances, but rather the extension, by reasonable and honorable means, of American influence and control beyond the North American continent. To use a hard-worked phrase, it is a policy of extensive, rather than intensive, growth. It is the cosmopolitan and international, as opposed to the provincial, idea.

Without discussing further the general nature of this new issue, or its theoretical bearings upon politics in a democracy, I propose to consider some of the dangers which seem to me to be inseparable from the pursuit of such a policy by the United States.

I. The right of the United States to acquire and govern territory is no longer open to discussion, nor is the particular method to be followed in either case a subject for other than academic debate. In the absence of any constitutional provision, the question of acquisition has been settled by precedent. Jefferson, to be sure, sought to quiet his strict-constructionist conscience by empty talk about a suitable constitutional amendment; but nothing came of it, nor has the matter been at any time seriously considered. The method, too, has been determined by the occasion. We obtained Louisiana and Alaska by pur-

chase, occupied Florida by force, took California and New Mexico as spoils of war, and annexed Texas and Hawaii by joint resolution. For the government of acquired territory, also, warrant has been found in the clause of the Constitution giving Congress power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Whether this clause contemplated "territory" or "Territories" is, again, a question of only historic interest. The doubt was early resolved in favor of the right of Congress to organize territorial governments in new regions, to give to those governments such form as it chose, and to continue the territorial status as long as seemed expedient. For the administration of new territory to any point short of statehood, therefore, there is undoubted constitutional sanction, as also for giving to new possessions any form of government deemed best, whether it be the familiar territorial form long in use or some other.

While, however, Congress, in matters in which it is given discretion, is not bound to follow its own precedents, precedents nevertheless count for much in history and law. And one precedent in our dealings with Territories, of especial significance in connection with this new issue of imperialism, has been the general assumption, confirmed by long practice, of the merely temporary status of a territorial organization. It has always been distinctly understood that a territorial government was preliminary to statehood, and was to give way to a State organization as soon as the size of the population warranted. The idea of a *permanent* Territory, with no prospect of ultimate recognition as a State, and subject indefinitely to the immediate control of Congress, is foreign alike to our theory and our practice. We have never so dealt with any people subject to our jurisdiction and recognized by us as citizens, nor have we ever manifested any disposition to do so.

One serious danger of imperialism, accordingly, is in the likelihood of pressure from our new acquisitions for admission to the Union as States. To admit them, sooner or later, is, as we have seen, to follow a long line of precedents; to debar them is to adopt a wholly new theory of national policy. The objections to the admission of Hawaii, for example (or of any other region we are likely to acquire), as a State, with Senators and Representatives in Congress, participation in presidential elections, and an equal voice in the conduct of national affairs, are many and cogent; and it is not surprising that some of the foremost advocates of an imperial America have hastened to declare in advance against such admission. When, however, we recall the circumstances under which

some of the present States have been hurried into the Union, and the arguments adduced in support of such action, it cannot be doubted that the pressure brought to bear would be very great. On the other hand, the permanent government of outlying districts as colonies in fact, though not in name, is so far foreign to our historic usage, and rests upon so different a theory of national organization, that the adoption of such a course might well be fraught with grave menace to our whole constitutional system.

II. Closely connected with this danger of forced admission of detached States is the danger of the abandonment, or, at least, the radical modification, of our belief in universal suffrage. The theory, that all adult male citizens of sound mind and independent status have a right to participate in the conduct of affairs, has been one of the most important and most distinctive bases of our political life. It was not the theory of our fathers, nor had it the sanction of any enlightened nation at the time our Constitution was framed; yet it has steadily and successfully made its way, and has long been regarded, in common thought, as one of the peculiar glories of our system. The emancipation of the negroes, thrusting upon the body politic a horde of human beings previously regarded, in law, alternately as chattels and as real estate, and to whom the status of "persons," within the meaning of the Constitution, had been denied by the Supreme Court, strained the doctrine to the utmost, and put the faith of its defenders to the severest test: but the argument from necessity overrode the argument from political philosophy; and the suffrage was extended to the blacks on the same terms as to the whites. Aside from the abolition of slavery, probably no single result of the Civil War has been more highly praised, or oftener cited as proof of far-seeing political wisdom, than this.

Yet it is not difficult to see that one of the strongest arguments against the admission, as a State, of such a dependency as Hawaii, involves a denial of universal suffrage as a measure of universal application. We shrink from entrusting political control to dark-skinned Hawaiians of uncertain pedigree and problematic civilization, for the same reason that we hesitate to entrust it to Cubans. The notion of equality, inseparable from the idea of universal suffrage, seems, in these mixed populations, to be hardly borne out by the facts. Here, again, the advocates of imperialism have already entered upon the new road. Their leaders are already telling us that "of course" the suffrage must be restricted, that "we cannot think" of putting the ballot into the hands of such people for other than local affairs, and that it is "out of

the question" to consider giving to the Hawaiians and others a voice in national concerns.

I can but think that the Imperialists, however far removed from theoretical consistency, are at this point in close accord with common sense. At the same time, the logical application of the new doctrine is likely, I fear, to bring some unexpected and not wholly beneficent consequences. One need not admit all the extravagant claims of its extreme advocates, or ignore the objections of its extreme opponents, to realize that universal suffrage, as worked out in the United States, has served to stimulate profoundly the desire for individual betterment. It has not, as some predicted, saved American politics from corruption, nor freed us from the control of the spoilsman; but unquestionably it has deepened the sense of political responsibility, conduced to a higher average of citizenship, and extended to all the hand of helpfulness and cheer. Any attempt, accordingly, to deal with the people of our new possessions on terms less liberal than we have thus far accorded to the lowest elements in our own cosmopolitan population, can hardly be construed otherwise than as a withdrawal from our present advanced position, or operate otherwise than as an argument in favor of a restriction of the suffrage in certain States of the Union, particularly in the South, and as a check on democratic progress the world over. Universal suffrage for continental Americans, however ignorant and degraded, and restricted suffrage for Hawaiian Americans and others, would be a combination whose reactionary effect might well be feared.

III. In the third place, an imperial policy is a costly policy. Just as there are gifts which may impoverish the recipient, or compel a radical change in his accustomed mode of life, so there are opportunities of which even a wealthy nation may not avail itself without assuming a heavy financial burden. The great example of colonial expansion is England; and much recent discussion of England's place as a World-Power proceeds on the assumption that, since England is rich and powerful, and has numerous dependencies, the dependencies have been a source of wealth. The reasoning itself is specious; and the assertion is not confirmed by the facts. Instead of being a mine of wealth to the mother-country, the English colonies have become so great a source of expense that statesmen have wondered whether the load could be much longer borne. Any colony, especially one in such an economic condition as Hawaii or any of the Spanish possessions, is sure to make large drafts on the home treasury, not alone in outright grants for necessary internal improvements, but in financial concessions none the less costly

because less readily traced. No colony, in its beginnings, can stand alone. Further, a colony must be defended; and that means fortifications, troops, and a large and efficient navy, the larger part of the cost of which must be defrayed by the mother-country. The ordinary charges of territorial administration, also, are considerable; and these, too, if we regard our uniform practice, will be wholly or largely borne by the United States. We shall have to build capitols, prisons, and court-houses, improve rivers and harbors, subsidize railroads, survey public lands, pay numerous salaries to officials, construct forts and barracks, provide soldiers and munitions of war, and guard the coasts. In short, the adoption of a policy of territorial expansion, even upon a moderate scale, means the adoption of a new scale of national taxation and expenditure, and opens the way to administrative outlays, direct and indirect, greatly in excess of those to which we are now accustomed.

I suppose there can be little doubt but that the people of the United States are able to pay much higher taxes than they now pay. We do not commonly think of ourselves as overtaxed: certainly, in comparison with some other nations, the burden of governmental contributions cannot be said to rest very heavily upon us. The point to be attended to, however, in considering an imperialistic programme, lies in another direction. It has been more than once pointed out that, under a *régime* of vastly increased national expenditure, the sources of revenue provided by the Constitution have begun to show significant limitations. There are indications, political and economic, that tariff taxes have reached very nearly their maximum-point, and that we can no longer hope to meet increased appropriations by the simple device of "raising the tariff." We have at present a scale of duties at which our protectionist fathers would have looked aghast; nevertheless we have a deficit. Further, so long as the opinion of the Supreme Court remains unchanged, it seems impossible to frame a suitable income tax, while the Constitution in terms prevents the levying of any direct tax not susceptible of apportionment among the States in accordance with population. There are left, then, the two resources of indirect internal taxation and an increase of the national debt, upon both of which the war with Spain has forced us to draw heavily. In all probability, we have for the present seen an end to payment of the national debt, and a beginning of heavier internal taxation.

I regard the financial cost of imperialism, then, as a danger, not so much because of the increased burden it will lay upon the people, as because of its possible influence upon the national temper. The ques-

tion is not whether we are able to pay, but whether it is worth while to pay. I do not find myself in accord with those who regard a national debt as a national blessing, and the payment of heavy taxes as *prima facie* evidence of prosperity. If, in order to avoid a recurring deficit, internal taxation is to be relied upon more and more, then we must expect to see the inquisitorial and vexatious side of taxation become more and more apparent. Not only shall we have less profit from our industry, but our earnings will be levied upon in more grievous ways. And with the chafing of the load goes the increasing restlessness with which it is borne—a spirit less buoyant and hopeful, a less pronounced sense of getting on in the world, a keener realization of the hardness of life. Unless the added weight of taxation can be offset by enlarged opportunities for capital and labor, and the tangible evidences of material prosperity still increase among us, the possession of islands in the Atlantic or Pacific, or coaling-stations in the Philippines or the Ladrones, may well come to seem too dearly bought.

IV. I have spoken of imperialism as the manifestation of a desire for intimate and influential relations with world affairs. Such relations are, indeed, a necessary result of territorial expansion. Yet it is open to question whether our habits have been such as to fit us for immediate success in such a sphere. Our long freedom from “entangling alliances,” and our ability to conduct our affairs with little danger of collision with other Powers, while allowing remarkable liberty of action, have tended also to develop an easy-going habit of mind, and a comfortable willingness to make the best of unfavorable conditions. The particular illustration of this spirit is to be seen in the general indifference to purity and effectiveness in governmental administration. The idea of trained service, strict business methods, and absence of personal or party favoritism in the administration of government has grown but slowly in the United States. Public office has been too largely public plunder, and the spoils system has too effectually blunted the moral sense, to give to the obligations of government routine a very vivid appeal.

It is against this general apathy, and its resulting demoralization, that the agitation for civil service reform and the abolition of corrupt political practices has been mainly directed. We have heard so much of late about these two movements, and have seen such notable results accomplished in their name, that we may easily make the mistake of attributing to them a strength and permanence which they do not possess. I am still much inclined to doubt whether the theory involved in civil service reform is as yet sincerely accepted by any considerable num-

ber of our leading public men, or has a very secure hold of a large proportion of voters. Like many similar programmes, its success is distinctly out of proportion to the volume of its support. Certainly the present unblushing opposition, in some sections of the Republican party, to any further extension of the system, together with an announced willingness to reduce the area of its operation, seems to point to a limit beyond which the reform may, for a time, be unable to go. That we are far from having attained the ordinary, every-day purity long characteristic of English political life is only too painfully shown by the notorious corruption intrenched in such States as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and in such cities as New York and Philadelphia.

What sort of a civil service would a policy of imperialism demand? What sort of a civil service would probably be put in operation were that policy definitely entered upon to-day? We have not, nor has anyone in authority suggested, in this connection, that we ought to have, arrangements for the systematic training of candidates for the consular and diplomatic services; neither have we seriously contemplated the establishment of an administrative system such as has made English colonial management so signally successful. In the present condition of public spirit and political morality in this country, there is but too much reason to fear that new possessions, like the old, will fall under the control of the spoilsman, and be administered in the interest of the "machine." How great may be our latent capacity for dealing with new international relations, with their selfish rivalries and numberless points of hostile contact, no one, perhaps, would venture to say; but to turn over to a "boss" or a "leader" the political patronage of a distant dependency could hardly fail to insure, only on a larger scale, the same pernicious incapacity and lamentable maladministration which, but a short time ago, sent American troops to Cuba with antiquated rifles and inadequate supplies, and left sick and well alike to succumb like cattle to starvation and disease.

I know of nothing that strikes more surely at the foundations of national success than indifference to the conduct of ordinary administrative affairs, and toleration of dishonesty in political management. They make impossible for us the things we most desire. Anxious as we may be to occupy a large place in the world's eye, to deal skilfully with great interests, to unravel complicated situations, and to shape in some degree the course of civilization, we sacrifice the essential ability to do so by neglect of the only means by which permanent success on a large field can ever be attained. England has succeeded, primarily, because Eng-

lishmen have come to regard government as a serious business, to be engaged in with deliberation, and prosecuted with all the aid obtainable from thorough training, long experience, and rigid legal safeguards. We in America, on the contrary, have never taken the business of government much to heart, nor viewed the administration of political affairs as other than a necessary evil. And it may very well be that this new issue of imperialism will bring no greater danger than that of delaying the overthrow, within our present borders, of a political *morale* which has brought us nothing but evil, and against which we still need to fight with all our strength.

V. It may be pointed out that a policy of imperialism, consistently adhered to and logically developed, is not in harmony with the historic spirit of American government. The remarkable stability of the Constitution of the United States has often been noted, particularly by European observers. The century since 1789 has been preëminently a time of constitution-making. All the national written constitutions now in existence have been framed since our own. France, in the same time, has had many constitutions. Of the original thirteen States, Massachusetts alone retains the constitution with which it entered the Union. But the Constitution of the United States remains in form essentially what it was in 1789. Ten amendments, satisfying the popular desire for a bill of rights, were added in 1791, and two others in 1798 and 1804; then two generations passed before the list was completed with the amendments of 1865, 1868, and 1870. With all the widening of national interests, and the complicated relations of modern industrial and political life, no proposition to revise the Constitution has ever been seriously entertained.

The Constitution was made for the United States, however, and not the United States for the Constitution; and it cannot be doubted that respect for an honorable past would not avail against a demand for new powers adequate to changed needs. That American government, as at present constituted, has, from an imperial standpoint, obvious shortcomings has already begun to be pointed out. To hang practically the whole administration of colonial possessions, in whatever form, upon the single grant of power "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory" of the United States, is to suspend it by a slender thread. To annex Hawaii by joint resolution because annexation by treaty could not be secured, is not best defended by citing the precedent of Texas, or pleading the right of Congress to act according to its mind. An executive closely dependent upon the legislature, and lacking large powers

of initiative, is ill-fitted to manage complicated foreign interests, or to maintain the secrecy and reserve frequently indispensable to diplomatic success; while the want of continuity in immediate foreign policy, due to frequent changes of diplomatic agents, and an arbitrary change of administration once in four years, puts the United States at a disadvantage in dealing with other Powers whose diplomacy suffers no such arbitrary breaks. In the absence of a permanent civil service at home and abroad, covering all offices not strictly political in character, the changing aspects of party politics would be a constant menace. There would certainly be need of clearer definition of the taxing-power, of the citizen status of colonial peoples, and of the obligation of the House of Representatives to support an executive policy.

What the advocates of imperialism, who consider the constitutional bearings of their plea, have in mind is the Cabinet system of government; and it is this which, under one pretence or another, we are asked to contemplate as a substitute for the system we now have. It cannot be denied that the English Cabinet system has many marked advantages for a nation with wide international relations; and I suppose few would insist that the adoption of such a system in the United States would mean the wreck of the Republic. It is rather with the dangers involved in change of any sort that I am here concerned. It is a perilous thing to alter the structure of a government: it is scarcely less perilous to bring about deliberately a state of affairs in which the need of such alteration shall be generally and seriously discussed. For the suggestion of change, when accompanied by favoring circumstances, opens up to the national vision the evils present in the great convention of 1787, and in nearly every similar State convention since—the evils, namely, of clashing interests, of antagonistic theories, of selfishness, corruption, and intrigue. Of all the dangers that imperialism could bring, I can think of none greater than this, that we should lose confidence in the government which has worked for us so well, and seek, through a new constitution, support for a policy which as yet has position without development, and which stands for our ambitions rather than for our logical necessities.

I recall that the American Republic, founded at a time when monarchy and caste ruled the world, was established by statesmen whose idea of what their country was to be was not the less definite because their grants of national power were often couched in general terms. I recall how the Constitution, conceived in discord, born of compromise, and nurtured in the face of opposition at home and contemptuous dis-

regard abroad, has unified the nation, carried us successfully through foreign and domestic war, fostered our industry and trade, spread material prosperity throughout the land, and given to each succeeding generation a heritage of peace, opportunity, and good-will. Distant by an ocean from the life of the Old World, and with a wilderness to conquer, we have nevertheless grown in knowledge, in refinement, in intellectual and moral resources. We have resolutely refrained from interference with the political affairs of other nations, and as resolutely resisted attempts to interfere with our own. If, as a people, we have never fully attained moral consistency, or freed ourselves wholly from those who would make our virtues a means to selfish aggrandizement, we have yet stood, in a peculiar sense and in a large way, for the best aspirations, the cleanest and healthiest political and social ambitions, of the human race. More than any other people, we have achieved political independence, abstained from international strife, spread education and enlightenment, cared for the poor and oppressed, and raised the standard of living for the mass of the people.

I cannot avoid the conclusion that some large measure of our success, in these several regards, has been due to the form of government under which we have lived, and to the national limitations which, from the beginning, we have set for ourselves. And I cannot think with indifference of the likelihood of change in these respects. We have no political ills to be remedied by foreign enlargement, and no political gains yet visible commensurate with the risks involved. We have no lack of territory, no pressure of population, no limited resources, and no want of respect from the world at large. If at any time we have been disliked abroad or accorded a consideration beneath our due, it has commonly been because of our own irritating acts. Imperial dominion and imperial influence, dissociated from the sordid elements attending them, are fascinating objects of national ambition; but they would be indeed dearly bought if their price were the sacrifice of any of the things which thus far have made us great.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

BISMARCK.

ON the night of July 30, 1898, Prince Bismarck passed away. Germany mourned for him as perhaps she had never before mourned for one of her dead; and the whole civilized world sympathized in her bereavement. It is true that the death of Bismarck has not been everywhere deplored as a painful loss. Here and there, indeed, undisguised expressions of relief have been heard. Nor is this astonishing; for powerful natures, such as his, must ever be attended by love and hatred, respect and aversion, gratitude and revenge, even to the brink of the grave. Upon one point, however, all will agree; viz., that in Bismarck probably the greatest man of the century, certainly one of the foremost characters in history, has passed to his final rest.

A personality such as that of the "Iron Chancellor," to be correctly appreciated, must be viewed across the perspective of centuries. Only future generations will be able to form an accurate estimate of the man: they alone will perceive his true relation to his country and to the world at large. We, his contemporaries, however, remember the man as he was, and all the circumstances of his career; and it devolves upon us, who knew him so well, to pay a fitting tribute to his memory.

We Germans can epitomize the achievements of the great statesman in a single sentence: He was the founder of the German Empire. Since the fifteenth century, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, respectively, had established national unity, and had, in turn, stepped to the front as the leading nations of Europe. We Germans, on the other hand, at the very centre of the Continent, remained disrupted and severed; and when Russia, like the others, matured into a Power of the first magnitude, our position became precarious in the extreme. Yet, eventually, the advance from identity of language and culture to political unity was consummated much more rapidly in Germany than elsewhere. Under the leadership of prominent statesmen, with Prince Bismarck at their head, our country finally succeeded in attaining the long-desired goal. More than Elizabeth or Cromwell to England, than Henri IV or Richelieu to France, was Bismarck to us; and therefore, no German, proud of his na-

tive land and solicitous for her welfare, should mention the Chancellor's name without gratitude and reverence.

Since the days of Luther, we have been acknowledged as a people ever battling in the forefront for the advancement of true culture. The seed of the Reformation germinated in an educational system which has become the boast of the nation. Men like Goethe and Schiller, Leibnitz and Kant, are not ours alone: they belong to the world. Napoleon I knew not what he undertook when he seriously contemplated the political annihilation of the "nation of poets and thinkers": for the calamitous period of French aggression gave birth to the idea of German unity; and this idea could not be smothered, but spread irresistibly, until it became the ideal of every patriot. Surely, the man who realized for us this long-desired ideal, must have appeared to us like the fairy prince of the fable! He was the magician who from the enchanted mountain drew forth the buried splendor of German unity. So long as one loyal German heart shall beat, this man's name shall live.

Some may be disposed to dispute this assertion by citing the numerous compatriots of the great statesman, who, instead of honoring him, overwhelm him with censure. The work of Bismarck could not have been accomplished without combat; and whoever fights such battles and wins such victories as he did cannot but make irreconcilable enemies. Perhaps a consideration of the views of his opponents will serve to throw additional light upon the achievements of the great Chancellor.

The standing objection to Bismarck's policy is his advocacy of "blood and iron," as a means of national unification. But what means would have been employed by the adherents of the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, and the representatives of popular suffrage?

On March 28, 1849, the King of Prussia was elected Emperor of Germany at Frankfort; 290 votes being cast for, and 248 against him. He refused to accept the office. Could he have been forced? And if so, by what means save weapons? And, supposing the King of Prussia had accepted, how would he have obtained the endorsement of his royal brethren who were not disposed to acknowledge his supremacy—the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover, flanked by the 248 members who were against him,—the same adversaries that Bismarck was forced to overthrow in 1866? Such are the facts: it is useless to conceal them. War was imperatively necessary to the establishment of national unity. The real grievance is that this war was conducted by Bismarck in the service of the King and not in obedience to the will of Parliament. It is urged that not royalty, but

the people, first took up arms,—the people, who arose in Saxony, Baden, and the Palatinate, in order to enforce the provisions of the Frankfort Parliament, and to coerce the princes into compliance with the popular will.

None but the tyro in history will believe that great political upheavals, such as that by which German unity was secured, can be accomplished without bloodshed. As regards the sacrifice of human life, however, I would point to the circumstance, not generally known, that the remarkable transformation achieved in 1866 was completed without a greater loss of life than was entailed—quite unnecessarily—by the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848–50.

I here wish to refer to a noteworthy feature of Bismarck's statesmanship. A scion of the old Brandenburg nobility, throughout his entire career every inch a soldier, expert in arms and fearless of spirit, he resolved in the event of failure to seek death upon the field of battle.

Bismarck never conducted a war for its own sake. "The very fear of God should teach us to love peace and to foster it,"—such was the conviction of the Iron Chancellor expressed in his own words. War was with him the means to an end,—a weapon indispensable to the statesman, yet not to remain unsheathed unnecessarily for an instant. That Bismarck at important stages of his career strenuously defended and successfully maintained this attitude, in opposition to the views and desires of the military authorities, is now regarded as certain; and further developments will probably serve to strengthen this conviction.

Bismarck also sought, as far as possible, to reduce the military burdens of the people. Military service was far less exacting at the time of the North German Confederation, and in the early days of the new German Empire, than under the old Prussian *régime*. But foreign pressure, notably the extensive military preparations of France and Russia, forced Germany to increase her armament, until, in 1888, the Chancellor, heartily supported by the unanimous vote of Parliament, carried the measure providing for the reënactment of the old Prussian law of compulsory military service.

Bismarck never exploited his military successes for purposes incompatible with the national welfare. Despite his territorial acquisitions, his was not the spirit of the conqueror. He applied the knife, making a clean incision, so that the wound might heal and leave no scar; and this frequently against the energetic protests of his less moderate followers. In this way alone was it possible to effect, simultaneously with the peace of 1866, an offensive and defensive alliance with the South German States, and to cement, within thirteen years after the sore defeat

of Austria, a union with that country—a union which has welded Central Europe into a political unit far more potent than would have been the ideal German Empire advocated in 1848.

Future historians will relate that Bismarck, by three short and decisive wars, solved for the German people the most difficult international problems of the century; that he freed the northern provinces, which Germany, in an evil hour, was compelled to relinquish to the foreign yoke; that he created the conditions upon which a national fabric could be reared; and that he banished forever from German soil the intermeddling influence of France. Yes, history will quote the words “blood and iron” as irrefutable evidence of the clear-sightedness of him who promptly discerned the only path leading to the desired goal.

“But the founder of our government has hampered the development of its free institutions,” is another objection frequently raised in the camp of Bismarck’s political opponents. In criticising Bismarck’s policy, we should remember that he was born and bred a strict Royalist. He belonged to the greatly vituperated Prussian rural nobility, which, after all (and this is too frequently forgotten), has ever been distinguished by two virtues, invaluable in great emergencies,—military courage and fidelity to the crown.

Bismarck was and remained a pronounced enemy of revolution. Yet, withal, is it not strange that this man, even in his internal policy—so frequently condemned—should have remained susceptible to rising influences; that he should have recognized the demands of the inevitable and accepted the dictum, even against the remonstrances of his party? Yet such was the case. He frequently defended the constitutional rights guaranteed to the people—more particularly after the war of 1866, when he was strongly urged by one of the most powerful parties in Prussia to utilize the situation for the restoration of the former prerogatives of the crown.

Bismarck clearly discerned the advantages of popular representation. Indeed, he frequently asserted that, instead of diminishing the royal power, popular representation, by stimulating the national consciousness, would redound to the advantage of both crown and state. Only those familiar with Prussian tradition can form a conception of the intellectual expansiveness of this man, who could not only accommodate himself to new conditions, but could make these subservient to the great purpose of his life. Thus it was he, the strict Royalist, who dared to found an empire upon the principle of popular suffrage—a most singular and wonderful fate! His opponents, almost without exception, have

repaid him with base ingratitude, oblivious of their obligation to him; while many of his friends have covered him with censure—whether justly or unjustly, time alone can determine.

Bismarck has been called an enemy of freedom; yet it was he who gave us universal suffrage at a time when but few European nations possessed it. It is true that he consistently opposed the extension of parliamentary privileges beyond set limits. He firmly adhered to the opinion that the rights of the crown had already been sufficiently curtailed and that any further limitation of the monarchical authority would prove subversive of its best interests; and several million Germans of sound judgment concur in this opinion.

That our stable monarchical system is the central pillar upon which rests the welfare of the Empire and the prosperity of the nation, is the firm conviction of the great majority of our citizens. Numerous indications in the life of Europe to-day justify the belief that the monarchical principle, still so deeply rooted in our national consciousness, is truly a precious possession. There have been times when this belief was considerably shaken; and it is to Bismarck that we are indebted for raising it once more to power and distinction. Who in Germany, to-day, longs for French republicanism? "Thank God that the conditions are not with us as in France, and that you still have a King by the grace of God," was the answer of William IV, when a deputation from the Landtag waited upon him in October, 1848. His words, at that time received with incredulity, would to-day meet with ready acceptance; and this change of opinion is undoubtedly due to the influence of Bismarck. History alone can decide which principle has been more conducive to our national prosperity,—the principle of constitutional monarchy represented by our Chancellor, or that which would base our entire political future upon the opinions and sentiments of the masses.

Furthermore, it is urged that a very large proportion of the Fourth Estate was also arrayed against Bismarck, who it is said, never manifested any sympathy for the working-classes; and this complaint frequently proceeds from social reformers beyond the pale of the proletariat. They say, "Bismarck was the originator of the Socialist law; he hindered the enforcement of the Sabbath law; he opposed numerous measures devised for the protection of working-men; he endeavored to prevent the formation of labor organizations; and he was finally deposed because his views on these matters clashed with those of the Emperor." It is strange indeed to consider as devoid of heart the man who once,

at the imminent peril of his own life, rescued his lackey from drowning. In a letter, written by Bismarck during the Bohemian campaign, we find the following passage:

"Our men deserve to be kissed—they are so brave, quiet, obedient, and orderly. Although fatigued, hungry, drenched, and almost bare-footed, they are yet friendly toward all. They neither plunder nor burn. They pay what they can afford, and subsist on mouldy bread. Surely there must be a deep fund of godliness among our common people; otherwise this could not be so."

None but those who have a heart for the lowly can write in this vein. That Bismarck, as a landed proprietor, was ever gentle and considerate toward his dependents, is admitted by all. Moreover, he was the founder of that system of insurance which makes provision in case of accident, sickness, and infirmity. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in the domain of so-called social reform, Bismarck always proceeded slowly and with extreme caution. Nor was there any concealment as to the motives that governed him. He had serious doubts as to the feasibility of direct interference in behalf of the working-classes; believing that such interference would prove detrimental to industrial development, would cripple competition, and would, in the language of the fable, "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs." Surely these scruples were not entirely without foundation. Could words annihilate, socialism would long ago have been squelched by Eugen Richter; and to-day the controversy has resolved itself into a question of concessions. From all this, it appears that Bismarck's views were not entirely unjustifiable, nor his policy entirely reprehensible.

The enmity of the Social-Democracy was perhaps exceeded by that of the "Centrum," a party with which Bismarck long waged deadly feud. While the direct cause of this antagonism cannot be readily ascertained, there can be no doubt that long before the existence of a German Empire, Prussian supremacy in German affairs was hotly contested by the Catholic clergy. This must be evident to all who have glanced, if only superficially, at the polemic literature published during the religious controversy at Cologne and for several years after. While the Catholics were by no means opposed to the unification of Germany, they desired its establishment under a Catholic ruler and with Austria as an integral constituent.

Finally, Bismarck was drawn into the controversy. He could not fail to perceive in official Catholicism the inveterate foe of Prussia and of Prussia's imperial dynasty; and all doubts as to this enmity must have been dispelled when, upon the establishment of the Centrum,

that party sought to incite a crusade for the restoration of Roman supremacy in secular affairs. Thus originated the conflict with Rome, known as the "Culturkampf," in which only a Bismarck could have effected a compromise without loss of *prestige*. To-day the Centrum has acquired enormous power; and this power is due largely to the fact that the party is no longer compelled, as formerly, to deal with the individual parliaments of the several states. So even the Centrum has reason to be grateful for the existence of the Empire.

It is deplorable that in the criticism of economics, party passion and prejudice frequently tend to obscure the noteworthy achievements of Bismarck. Indeed, the Iron Chancellor has been frequently called the inaugurator of the present warfare of interests, the man who raised the price of bread and who, by his protective duties, has thrown the burden upon the lower classes. As if the warfare of interests were confined to Germany! Is it not waged to-day in every part of the civilized world? And as for duties and indirect taxes, are they not considered legitimate and most important sources of revenue wherever the burden of political responsibility rests heavily upon the state? And, after all, was not the economic legislation advocated by Bismarck introduced according to strict parliamentary procedure? Vulgar demagogues may rant as they will; but they cannot controvert what for the last eighteen years has become the earnest conviction of the vast majority of German citizens. What are we coming to, however, when we are no longer disposed to accord our political adversaries the right to their opinion?

I have here indicated the lines along which the opposition to Bismarck's policy has moved. Party passion has sometimes run very high; and much has been done, and more spoken, that the true patriot cannot but recall with pain. It would be erroneous, however, to infer from this that Bismarck's political fabric has become unpopular and that the idea of political unity is waning. The latter, indeed, is daily becoming more firmly rooted; while our new institutions have established a homogeneity of interests unparalleled in our history. Dismemberment may perhaps be advocated by a few reckless individuals; but no party in Germany to-day seriously contemplates the demolition of our national unity and the restoration of the *ancien régime*. The foreign foe who counts upon our disunion is greatly in error. "It was hard to unite the Empire: it will be still harder to rend it asunder," declared Bismarck; and he spoke truly. "Let us lift Germany into the saddle," said he; "she will know how to ride." And events have justi-

fied the prediction. The Empire exists; and only with the nation will it perish. Its existence, however, will ever swell the fame of its illustrious founder.

This opinion, which has already obtained a wide acceptance abroad, will be confirmed by posterity. With what distrust was the new Empire received into the brotherhood of nations! It was universally feared that the new Empire would enter upon a career of conquest,—a tendency somewhat unjustly attributed to its mediæval predecessor. Yet all these fears vanished before Bismarck's statesmanship, which transcended the expectations of even the most sanguine. For centuries the entire Continent had suffered from the deplorable political condition existing within its centre. By establishing the unification of Germany, therefore, and by promoting that of Italy, Bismarck contributed largely to the peace of the world. Europe has never known so long a period of peace as that which she has enjoyed since 1871.

That this peace is maintained by vast standing armies,—that all Europe is bristling with guns,—is an undeniable fact, but one easy of explanation. For nearly three centuries, *i.e.*, from Henri IV and Richelieu to Napoleon III and Thiers, the primary aim of French statesmen was the weakening and disintegration of Germany. The policy thus undeviatingly pursued by France, was well formulated by Napoleon in the remark, "*Il faut dépayser l'Allemagne.*"

Regarded from this point of view, Germany was merely a geographical idea. Napoleon recognized only Bavarians and Saxons, Prussians and Suabians, Hessians and Hanoverians: Germans in the wider sense did not exist for him. How bitterly was the second French Empire condemned for its non-intervention during the war of 1866! "The battle of Königgrätz should never have been permitted," was the cry of Thiers and his associates. Thousands of Frenchmen who afterward washed their hands in innocence, at that time fiercely clamored for war. To the last Frenchman, the belief was general that the unification of Germany would portend the downfall of France. Thus, a long and inevitable historical process finally rendered a victory over France imperative to the establishment of German unity.

Undoubtedly we Germans were partly responsible for this state of affairs; for, by reason of our political impotency, we presented a tempting bait to every strong and adventurous neighbor. Throughout a thousand years of our history there was not a trace of any political hatred toward France; nor does such a sentiment exist among us to-day. It was engendered by the tyranny of Louis XIV, fostered by the Repub-

lic, and matured by the aggressions and usurpation of Napoleon I. "Against whom are the Germans still fighting?" inquired Ernest Renan of Leopold von Ranke, after the battle of Sedan. "Against Louis XIV," promptly replied the great historian.

Even after their defeat, Frenchmen could not accustom themselves to the idea of reigning in Europe peaceably at the side of their neighbor, and of withdrawing from all interference in her affairs. Not the rendition of Alsace-Lorraine (by which the integrity of France was by no means destroyed), but the loss of political *prestige* has engendered the idea of "revanche," that constant and serious menace to the peace of Europe.

To have allowed Strasburg and Metz to remain in the possession of France would, in the light of history, have been an egregious error. Bismarck a short time before his death referred to a conversation with William I of Würtemberg (during the French embroglio of 1850), in the course of which the King is said to have declared that Strasburg was nearer to him than Berlin. So we see that the armed peace now prevailing must be maintained, and that Germany, to-day, must still cling to the old maxim of Frederick the Great, "Toujours en vedette."

But the great armament which the new Empire has been compelled to support, has by no means retarded its internal development. In every department of culture, the progress of Germany within the last few decades has been almost unexampled. A broad and rational system of laws, equitably administered, has stimulated the energies of the people, encouraged the spirit of enterprise, and promoted the present extraordinary growth of national prosperity. Leibnitz once said of the German people that their only title to distinction was their diligence. Yet this same people now takes rank among the foremost commercial nations. It is true that this competition has sometimes been unpleasantly felt by our older rivals in the markets of the world. Yet, upon calm reflection, they will acknowledge that, wherever attained, success has been due largely to intrinsic worth.

It is to the efforts of Bismarck, however, that we are indebted for this marvellous progress; for it was he who shaped our present policy of peaceful competition, so aptly expressed in the well-known motto, "Germany desires nothing more than a place in the sunshine by the side of others."

An estimate of Bismarck would be incomplete without some reference to that well-known and incomparable personality, which, once seen, could never be forgotten. The towering figure, powerful frame.

large head, and mighty brow, all seemed to stamp their possessor as the living embodiment of primeval Teutonism. The bearer of a name old as that of Staufen, Zollern, Habsburg, or Wittelsbach, the descendant of one of the first families that defended the Elben frontier against Slavonian invasion, yet mingling in his veins the fresh blood of more plebeian stock, Bismarck was born at a time when all Prussia was eager to repel the onslaughts of Napoleon I. He attended the best gymnasiums in Germany; easily passing through the three upper classes within the short space of two years.

The potent and permanent impressions of his youth, however, were undoubtedly associated with the life of the rural nobility of North-eastern Prussia. After one term at the university, during which he displayed great diligence, Bismarck entered one of the student fraternities; but, although, by reason of his superior swordsmanship, styled "Achilles the Invulnerable," he never became thoroughly absorbed in the superficialities of student life. At this time he already exhibited a knowledge of men and a faculty for handling them; and he delighted in the study of human nature. Englishmen and Americans exercised a considerable influence over him. At this time, also, he gave evidence of that loftiness of purpose which the greatest difficulties could not appall. He even dared to contradict the assertion of Motley, that Germany could not be united.

Another decade was spent in the exercise of official duties and in agricultural pursuits; ever acquiring the confidence of his neighbors and fellow-citizens. In 1847, at the age of thirty-two, he made his entrance into the arena of public life: he entered the Landtag, and, at a stroke, the finished statesman stood revealed!

At the first and the second Landtag, in the second Kammer, and at the Erfurt Unionsparlament, Bismarck was already distinguished by the attributes of the successful speaker. Indeed, he was, in some respects, one of the most impressive orators of the century; and his speeches were models of intellectual effort. Bismarck did not greatly value rhetorical gifts, and once designated them as an inferior manifestation of intellectual life. Nor did he ever affect the style of the polished orator. He spoke to the point, was quick at repartee, and his remarks, though sharp enough at times, were never inelegant. His discourse was ever enlightened by apt illustrations and striking pictures, evidences of the man's originality and of that deep sense of humor which accompanied him through life, and even upon his death-bed did not forsake him. His speeches never suggested the musty folio or the mid-

night lamp. And yet how varied the attainments of the man, and how extensive his reading!

Bismarck possessed a vast fund of knowledge, upon which, however, he would only occasionally draw. Although highly impressionable, he was distinguished by solidity of learning and breadth of culture. Already upon his first appearance in public life, he had revealed the fundamental principles of his political faith,—sterling patriotism, fearless courage of conviction, and a firm belief in power as the basis of political influence. His first address before the Landtag was delivered in defence of patriotism. Amid the tumult of discussion arising over the point, that the struggle of 1813 was waged to secure constitutional rights, Bismarck arose and expressed his views in the following terms:

“In my opinion, we render a poor service to national economy when we declare that the abuse and degradation inflicted upon us by the foreign invader were not sufficient to stir our blood and to subordinate all other sentiments to the hatred of the oppressor.”

When the second Landtag, on April 2, 1848, submitted an address to the King in acknowledgment of the concessions granted in March, Bismarck and one other deputy refused their signatures; Bismarck declaring that he could not simulate a joy that he did not feel. Hundreds of deputies, on the other hand, and among them the most prominent and independent in the land, to whom the March proceedings had been thoroughly distasteful, acted as though perfectly satisfied with the result.

In respect of manly courage and fidelity to conviction, Bismarck has never been excelled even by the most radical revolutionist. In every popular assembly—in the Landtag, Kammer, and Unionsparlament—he invariably emphasized the idea that there could be but one policy for Germany, a policy based upon the power of Prussia. This view was well expressed in an address to the parliamentary deputation that waited upon him on the occasion of his eightieth birthday: “It has always been my aim to utilize the power of Prussia for the furtherance of the German idea.” During the eight years of his activity in the Bundestag, Bismarck never deviated from this policy; and his reports and letters bear testimony to his fidelity of purpose.

Every unprejudiced observer must admire the manner in which this *Junker* and law student bore himself in the great world. What superior intelligence and fine humor were displayed in his intercourse with the men of high and low degree in the Confederation! He was never harsh in his bearing, but always firm; finding time and strength, amid his multifarious duties, to direct the European policy of his country.

He visited the Court of St. Petersburg, that high-school of diplomacy, which has ever borne the reputation of giving the best qualification for foreign service; and here Bismarck attained his political maturity. In the full vigor of manhood, rich in experience and fertile of resource, he assumed the leadership of Prussian affairs, founded the Empire, and controlled its destinies during several decades, the most glorious in the history of Germany.

Of his triumphs and defeats, joys and disappointments, it is impossible as yet to speak. On March 23, 1895, the Reichstag framed an address congratulating Bismarck upon his eightieth birthday. During the debate which followed, the Chancellor's attitude toward his political adversaries was thus warmly defended by an old associate:

"A task so comprehensive, a patriotic service so long, ardent, and disinterested naturally call for passionate zeal and indomitable will; and such qualities inevitably invite antagonism."

Bismarck possessed all these qualities in a high degree: they were requisite to the success of his great undertaking, the establishment of German unity; yet they led to sharp contests in the domain of domestic affairs. Bismarck, who was never spared by his opponents, undoubtedly offended, and grievously offended, many of them; numerous interests suffered injury at his hands; and he was frequently considered too radical in his work of demolition. In his anxiety to put the great national structure under cover, he was sometimes constrained to disregard details of masonry. He was compelled to enforce compliance with his views and to bend his opponents to his will.

It is impossible to refute the assertion that Bismarck's methods of government were not conducive to the development of independent action; but these are the inevitable results of greatness in every sphere. The weak are vanquished: the light of genius remains. And this light will long serve as a beacon to guide the German people to their destiny.

With the sadness which overwhelms us in these days there is mingled a feeling of gratitude that this great man was bestowed upon us. Many vows to live and to serve the Fatherland in the spirit that he did have been made. The German people will never surrender Bismarck's gift to them; but, like him, will firmly guard their rights. If they thus follow in his footsteps, they will, like him, respect the rights and interests of others, and Germany's policy will be, as Bismarck's was, a powerful factor in the promotion of peace and of the welfare of humanity.

DIETRICH SCHÄFER.

TAMMANY PAST AND PRESENT.

TAMMANY has now been in undisputed and practically unrestricted control of the affairs of the city of New York for three-quarters of a year. The existence of an independent Democratic organization in Brooklyn Borough, as well as the other boroughs, is not important. The purposes and methods of all are very much the same. Where differences have arisen, Tammany has had its way. In the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx—the old city of New York—it is practically supreme.

What is Tammany? What, so far, since its restoration, has it done? Mr. Simon Sterne, in a valuable and discriminating article ("The Reconquest of New York by Tammany.") in *THE FORUM* for January last spoke of the Tammany organization as "banded together in the main for the purpose of maintaining its members directly and indirectly by public office and from the proceeds of compulsory taxation."

By this view Tammany is a corporation of limited liability engaged in politics as a business. It does not follow that all who share in its management depend on politics for their revenue; while, on the other hand, the revenue of many of its active managers, not directly derived from taxation, is largely and favorably influenced by their political power. In theory the Tammany organization is that of a representative democracy, with a logical series of bodies of delegates; the lowest being chosen by all the party voters, the next highest by the first, and so on to the leader. In practice the working of this representative system is modified by the skill and energy of individuals in controlling, and often in corrupting, the process of selection. All the party voters do not take part in the primary choice; men not of the party and not even voters are sometimes brought in; the rolls are stuffed and the count is manipulated from time to time as the exigencies of one faction require and the strength of another may permit, as in other political organizations where the spoils of victory are the chief object. The leader who comes out at the apex of this pyramidal structure, the man who, in the language of his fellows, is "on top," is thus evolved by a complex and obscure process: but essentially the process is one of representation; and, what-

ever may be their motives, he must have the active support of the majority in each successive delegate body and that of the majority of the mass at the bottom who take part in politics.

For this chief the popular title, accepted by friends and opponents alike, is "The Boss." The derision often implied in the term is natural, but somewhat misdirected, and expresses a view not without risks. The title is essentially not a bad one. It comes down directly from the Dutch rulers of Manhattan Island, and implies substantial power and authority distinctly recognized. The Boss is to be reckoned with; and the man or the party that undertakes to thwart him without understanding the sources and extent of his strength is not likely to succeed. Certainly the Boss of Tammany uses his power in a manner that to outsiders seems arbitrary; but it is always very sharply limited by absolute necessity for the support of his followers. He is a leader, not a ruler: he is chosen, not imposed. Primarily the motives to which he appeals in order to get and to keep his power are partisanship and interest. They are the strongest passions of ordinary men; and the leader who can unite them and use them to control the political action of a half-million of voters and the public affairs of three millions of people must possess gifts more unusual than those of any living hereditary ruler whom, at the moment, I can recall.

Partisanship is a source of power to Tammany indirectly rather than directly. It enables it to secure the support at the polls of that great body of Democratic voters—a large majority of the party in the city—who take no share in the organization. This support is given to Tammany candidates because they are regular. It varies with the character of the candidates and the state of the public mind. From time to time it fails, and Tammany is cast out until it can again secure enough of the purely partisan vote to give it a plurality.

The chief motive power of the machine proper, from the voters at the primaries to the leaders, is interest. By this is not meant the greed of money alone. It includes ambition of a not discreditable sort, vanity, social aspirations no less real and effectual because incomprehensible to those who think that they constitute the only "society," and the love of distinction, which, it must be remembered, is measured by the distance from the next lower, not the next higher, rank. At the very bottom, in the bed-rock stratum on which Tammany rests, in the voters and workers at the primaries, interest takes many forms, some grotesque, some pitiful, some criminal; but it is general and intense. First, last, and all the time the business of every active manager in Tammany, of

whatever rank, is to attach to himself and to the machine, by actual, tangible service of real value to the recipients, as many men as he can. For this he must expend time and effort and influence and money without stint. His own purpose may be selfish. He may be crafty, deceitful, unscrupulous, greedy, a swindler, a thief, a perjurer: but service he must render, at all times, in a thousand ways, to as many men as may be; and it must be substantial service which they recognize and are willing to repay.

The chief field of this activity, in which the greatest number of voters are influenced, is the distribution of employment to unskilled laborers or the lower grade of mechanics, either directly under the various departments or under contractors for the city or under corporations more or less dependent for privileges upon the action of political officials. Beyond those reached in this way is a considerable multitude enlisted by gifts of small amount, but numerous and timely,—a few dollars for rent or provisions or fuel, tiding over a period of no work, or sickness, or other distress. Back of these, and constituting an energetic and efficient force, are those protected from the just, and sometimes, but rarely, from the unjust, enforcement of the law. In very many instances these offenders are victims of drink, members of the working-classes, not habitually lawless, to whom an occasional sentence of "ten dollars or ten days" involves great distress for their families, and who are bound with hooks of steel to the politician who secures the remission or the payment of the fine. Many of them, however, are vicious and incorrigible members of the distinctly criminal classes. The kind of service they claim from the politicians, and that which they return, constitute a real danger to society and to all classes of society.

The basis of the power of Tammany is the hold its active managers have upon the very large numbers of the poorer classes through services rendered. How strong this hold is is indicated in the following extract from a report in the "New York Times" of August 15, 1898, of an address made by the Rev. Herbert Casson to the Labor Church, of Lynn, Massachusetts, on the previous day, referring to Mr. Theodore Roosevelt:

"He has no sympathy for the poor; he has but hatred for them. He forever fights Croker and Tammany in New York, but, bad as it is, Tammany is a better friend to the poor than twenty brigades of Roosevelts would be. A spectacular chap, Roosevelt appeals to the masses by grand-stand plays about good government.

Tammany appeals to the masses by providing rent and food. Tammany may be corrupt; but better a corrupt crowd that feeds the toiler food than a bigot who with high-sounding phrases tries to deprive them of an opportunity of enjoying

their one day of rest, and destroys their homes by driving into the residential districts the painted lilies of the streets."

This is a view of Tammany sincerely held by many honest men; and it has for foundation the facts I have briefly described. I think it is a fair inference that the power of Tammany for evil cannot be destroyed, and that the affairs of the city cannot be placed in honest and able hands, until those who hold this view see their error, see that for the great mass of "the poor" the rule of Tammany is maintained at a cost far outweighing the aid it extends for selfish purposes to individuals. It is with reference to the effect of Tammany rule since January 1 of this year upon the poorer classes that I propose to examine its record.

I may say at the outset that the record discloses neither instances of gross extravagance nor of scandalous jobbery such as have occurred in the city government in the past, or in the State government within the last few years. The financial management of the city has not been able or skilful. It has, indeed, been muddled; and the wabbling of the Law Department over the very important question of the debt limit, as affecting the validity of new issues of city bonds was, to say the least, most peculiar. But there has been a stringent effort to keep down total expenditures. Some good work has been deferred or starved in order that some departments might yield a richer return of patronage; but a showing of economy in net results has been sought, and on the whole fairly obtained. From the ordinary force in the various departments the city is getting less service and poorer for the money expended, while in special departments like those of the police and of street cleaning there is a conspicuous falling off; but the money cost of running the city is not sensibly affected. Again, in the matter of public schools, which most intimately concerns the greatest number of the people of the city, there has been no material change; the administration of the schools remaining practically in the same hands, Tammany has no chance either to repeat or avoid the evils which unquestionably existed and were very serious when it was last in power.

I regard the good administration of the civil service of the city in all its grades, that is to say, the selection and control of the vast army of city appointees and employees, as of the most immediate and vital concern to the people. This concern is important in inverse ratio to the means of the taxpayers. Every resident is a taxpayer, directly or indirectly, who is able to provide himself with shelter and food; and the burden of the tax is heavier in proportion as the provision is more difficult. The rights of what, for want of a better term, I may call the

poorer classes, as to the administration of the civil service are two-fold. In the first place, as contributors to the treasury it is their clear right that every dollar expended shall secure the best service, and therefore the best servants obtainable from the highest rank to the lowest. This right is the more sacred because the contributions of most of these classes are unconscious, are made without distinct knowledge by the contributors. The taxes paid in rent and in the prices affected by rent are a trust fund in the treasury which it is a shame to divert or waste. In the second place it is a peculiarly clear right of the poor, to whom the chance to work is the chance to live and to provide a living for their families, that employment by the city in such labor as they are able to do shall be open to them without prejudice or discrimination. The day laborer, or his son who has made a good use of the priceless opportunities of the public schools, seeking employment from the city is cheated, outraged, and humiliated when his success is made to depend on the favor of a politician. The offence to him and to society is still more shameful and vicious when the price of this favor is party service or personal service to the politician.

Both of these rights are openly violated by Tammany Hall. The violation of them is the basis of the whole Tammany system; and if these rights were understood and insisted on by the poorer classes, its fabric would inevitably go to pieces. Since the return of Tammany to power it has made substantial progress in undermining the system by which for fourteen years these rights had been more or less effectually protected, and which would protect at least the second of them almost completely, if honestly and intelligently administered. To speak first of the general practice as to securing the best possible service. It has been defiantly bad. Take two conspicuous instances. Tammany found at the head of the Street-Cleaning Department Col. George E. Waring. As an organizer and executive officer, he had no superior in the United States. For scientific knowledge of the work in which he was engaged, his reputation extended far beyond our country. His honesty was not only impregnable, but aggressive. These qualifications and others equally high he had proved. His work was so unprecedentedly good that it was a revelation. It advanced in thoroughness and skill from the day he took it in hand. His moulding of the street-cleaning force, mainly from the old apparently hopeless material, into a body of self-respecting, ambitious, and efficient public servants, with a *morale* and an *esprit de corps* akin to that of our peerless navy, was a veritable marvel. Within its ranks he had practically solved the problem of labor disputes; for,

by referring every case for investigation and discussion to committees composed of freely chosen representatives of the employees and of representatives of the Commissioner, he made the force in effect self-disciplining. His usefulness in his department was continually increasing; many of the improvements he devised requiring time. Col. Waring was not a partisan, not even in his political preferences a Republican; and many of his subordinates, some in places of importance, remained, without question from him, members of Tammany Hall. He simply excluded all consideration of politics from his department.

When Tammany came into power Col. Waring was replaced by an appointee of very moderate ability whose one claim to favor was that he would not exclude politics from the Department, but would admit and recognize it. The result is a distinct deterioration instead of the progress that we should have had. The standard of efficiency is still much higher than of old; but it is lower than it was under Col. Waring. The "pull" has been reëstablished, not in its former stupid tyranny, but in a degree that shows; and this gives to the politicians the chance for their undemocratic, unjust, and fraudulent privilege.

The second case is like the first. The Engineer-in-Chief of the Dock Department on January 1 was Mr. George S. Greene, Jr. He had performed the duties of the office for some twenty-four years. The dock system was largely his creation. In building it up he had overcome certain grave engineering difficulties with skill and originality that amounted to genius; and his preëminence was recognized at home and abroad. During the previous two years the Department had obtained authority and means largely to extend the docks according to a plan which Mr. Greene had worked out and gradually prepared for a score of years. It was chiefly due to his intelligence, vigilance, and foresight that the revenues and expenditures of the Department had been maintained in equilibrium, and that the steadily expanding needs of the vast commerce of the port had been met without expense to the city treasury. As an executive officer his methods were of the highest, marked by the strict and impartial discipline of the army and by the adaptability and efficiency of a great industrial establishment. His devotion to his work was absolute, his pride in it great: the ability he had applied to it would have won for him in his profession many times the modest salary he had received. With the advent of Tammany he was "discharged" promptly and brutally for the sole reason that, so far as lay in his power, he had always stubbornly resisted the sacrifice of the interests of the city to the need or the greed of any party or its leaders. He, also, was no

partisan, and even had, out of consideration for a Tammany commissioner who had protected the Department from the destructive influence of the Boss, made payments from time to time to Mr. Croker,—an utterly mistaken course, perhaps, but throwing light on the sense of decency of that gentleman. Mr. Greene's successor, so far as I can discover, leaves unopposed and uncriticised the use of the appointing power in the Department for the profit and at the dictation of Tammany. Here also the "pull" has been reëstablished, so that the privilege of the politician outweighs the right of the citizen.

Throughout the municipal service generally, in cases where vacancies cannot conveniently be filled arbitrarily, officers and employees of every grade who are not in favor with Tammany, and especially those whose standard of duty interferes with the plans of Tammany, have had their salaries reduced. In some departments these reductions are generally recognized as the fines imposed for undue vigilance and zeal. The effect upon the value of the service the taxpayers get for their money is plain.

If we turn now to the specific system established by law, intended to secure the best service for the city and also to guarantee the equality of right in all citizens as to employment in the service, we shall find the policy of Tammany steadily subversive. By the amazing enactment, popularly known as the Charter of Greater New York, the system regulating the civil service of the city was exempted from the effective supervision of the State Commission, and the rules adopted by the City Commission and the Mayor no longer required the approval of the State Commission. This was obviously opposed to the effective enforcement of the fundamental law of the State, which made merit and fitness, tested as far as practicable by competitive examination, a principle of State legislation. Incidentally it was a political blunder.

A law was passed on March 31 last to amend this provision of the Charter: but it has been declared ineffective by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court; and until this decision shall have been reversed by the Court of Appeals, or the defect remedied by legislation, the Mayor and the City Commission have complete control of the city rules within the general and somewhat vague provisions of the law. The City Commission has, accordingly, made radical changes in the rules. They are mostly in the direction of exemption of appointments from the impartial test of open competition, and tend to enlarge the arbitrary discretion of the appointing officers, with corresponding opportunity for abuse. A large number of exceptions from examination has been made; and, by an ingenious change, these may be applied to an indefinite num-

ber of persons. Under the old rules twenty-one offices were excepted by title, and only one appointment could be made to each of these, save by special provision. Under the new rules the offices excepted by title from examination are seventy-eight, and the limitation of the number of appointments under each title is quietly omitted. A quite unlimited range of appointments is thus placed, without examination, at the disposal of the politicians. In the schedules still nominally competitive the opportunity for temporary appointments without examination has been greatly increased.

Again, the range of selection has been much broadened by the repeal of the restriction as to the number of names submitted for choice on requisition and by giving the appointing officer greater liberty of rejection. Transfers from non-competitive to competitive positions are allowed after one year's service instead of five years'. The practice of assigning persons employed as laborers, without examination, to the duties of offices properly to be filled only after examination has been considerably extended. It will be seen that under these changes an aspirant for city employment, possessing the indispensable favor of Tammany, but indisposed or unable to meet the practical test of examinations, may be taken on as a laborer and assigned to clerical or other like work, may receive a "temporary" appointment with a chance of practically indefinite renewal, may get a place on a "pass" examination and be transferred to one which should have been filled by competition, or may be one of an indefinite number of appointees to places exempted from examination. In every one of these devices the constitutional provision for securing the best service for the public, and equal right to all for a chance to enter the service, is evaded. In every case the constitutional test of open competition has been shown by actual experience to be entirely practicable. The effect is to defeat the purpose of the constitution and to violate the plain public rights placed under constitutional protection; and that undoubtedly was the intent of Tammany.

Under the civil service statute of New York, there had been established in this city a set of rules governing the appointment of laborers. They were simple and effective, and practically abolished the odious influence of the politicians in this direction by the application of the principle "first come, first served." Applicants for employment, passing a proper physical examination, had their names registered, and were certified for employment in the order of their registration,—the earliest first, and so on. Firmly and honestly enforced, these rules were a substantial protection of the clear right of the laboring-classes to such work

as they could fairly do, with no dependence on the favor, always humiliating and often corrupting, of the politicians. This protection has been withdrawn. The requirement, that names shall be certified in the order of the time of registration, has been omitted from the new rules. Selection may be made from any names on the list; and nothing but zeal and industry on the part of the district leaders is now needed to make this practically an enrolment of their dependents. To my mind, no more shameful outrage upon "the poor," nothing more revolting to real democracy, could be imagined.

The Lexow Committee's investigation of the Police Department established beyond any reasonable doubt two facts; viz., (1) that promotion through the various grades was secured by a combination of political influence and bribery; and (2) that the enforcement or non-enforcement of the laws was a source of revenue, often very large, to the officers of the police force. The investigation was neither thorough nor impartial, and in many of its features was blameworthy. It was at the outset inspired more by the hope of partisan advantage than by an unselfish purpose to expose wrong and promote right. Its chairman was not entitled, either by character, ability, or experience, to that implicit confidence which a man in his position should have commanded. Much of the work of detection and disclosure was done by the unofficial agents of a volunteer organization, excellent in purpose, but lacking in judgment, experience, and responsibility. The lawyer employed actively to conduct and direct the investigation was a man of great ability and unbounded energy and persistence, but of some fixed prejudices and of erratic temperament, who rode rough-shod over many of the conventions of his profession and who discredited some of the testimony, in itself very convincing, by the vigor and even violence with which he extorted it. Despite these drawbacks, the net result of the investigation was the general and just conviction in the public mind that the two facts mentioned above were firmly established. It is extremely significant that this conviction was most deeply rooted in the classes to whom the guilty, the takers and givers of bribes, belonged. Professional and business men, accustomed to weigh evidence and sift it and to deal with fairly honest witnesses, may have been inclined to suspend judgment in some cases, while impressed by the general vileness disclosed. But the men who sold and the men and women who bought license to break the law knew that their vile traffic had been exposed to the light, and made their plans accordingly. They and all whom they could influence directly or indirectly were, after Mayor

Strong's election, organized into an anti-reform movement, working night and day with all their might for the restoration of the old *régime*. The half-drunken women of the town, whom many of us saw in certain streets of New York on last Election Night cheering for Tammany and invoking the blessing of their God on Van Wyck,—it is significant that the personality of the Mayor-elect counted so little that they frequently pronounced his name "Van Wik,"—were types of a very numerous class who looked on the return of Tammany as their peculiar triumph, securing their emancipation from the restrictions of the law.

They have not been disappointed. The traffic in license, so far as one can judge by known facts, has been revived. By an unwarranted evasion, if not open violation, of the statute, the Police Commission has been changed. The Chief of Police, with whom the Commissioners had declared themselves entirely satisfied, has been retired; and his place has been filled by one of the old captains who had actually been dismissed by the old Board, after the Lexow investigation, as a sacrifice to public indignation. While it is obviously impossible to prove specific transactions in the old line of business at this stage of its development, it is extremely difficult to doubt its reëstablishment, if one is at all acquainted with the "daily walk and conversation" of those formerly engaged in it. These make no question that the rule of the police is again becoming *facio ut des*, and that of the gamblers, the keepers of houses of ill-fame, the violators of the excise law, etc., *do ut facias*. When the arm of the law is thus moved or stayed by money, the resulting corruption is at once insidious and shameless. There is no crime known to the code more outrageous than trade in crime.

Official evidence of a general nature is not wanting, as when the Magistrate of the Harlem Police Court refused to hold two saloon-keepers on complaint of a policeman; declaring that there were thousands daily violating the law, and he saw no reason why these should be selected for punishment when others were left free.

The value of various precincts is being quoted among the police and the politicians. One, whence a transfer has recently been ordered, is estimated at \$16,000 a year, on the basis of a monthly contribution of \$10 from each privileged dealer. In the down-town East-Side region, and in that peculiar quarter the richness of which in police revenue gave it the name of "The Tenderloin," values are quoted still higher, and are based on a more revolting class of privileges.

In the tenement-house districts where the enforcement of the sanitary laws is at once most necessary and difficult, police business takes a

somewhat different form, and exemptions from undue annoyance are arranged with that industrious and influential person, the district leader.

In all these matters, and in promotions and other advantages in the police force, the influence of the old combination of money and "pull" is generally recognized.

The return of Tammany has not been disappointing to its leaders or to its opponents. It has begun again, with greater skill, but with no less energy and resolution, to do the kind of work in which it was formerly engaged. This was inevitable; for the use and abuse of official power to get money must always be not merely the chief object, but the primary condition of its existence.

I have tried to show as well as I could in the limits of such an article as this, that the basis of the power of the Tammany organization is the hold it has on large numbers of the poorer classes. To these classes as a whole it is, nevertheless, always and entirely an evil. It robs and cheats them at every turn. It makes heavier the already sore burdens that they must bear. It increases the cost of the living which at best is so hard to get. It tends to make health more difficult and deaths more frequent. It levies toll on their contributions to the public treasury, and denies them their fair share of the public employment. In the enforcement of the laws in which they are most deeply interested justice, order, and decency have no place. In quarters where the poorer classes are compelled to dwell it pollutes, by the sale of license for the grossest immorality, the surroundings in which their children must be reared.

One condition, as I have said, of the rescue of the city from Tammany is to loosen the hold of Tammany on these classes and to convince them of the real and serious mischief done to them. There is, however, another not less imperative. Tammany maintains its organization by the means I have described; but its strength at the polls depends largely on the support its organization gets from Democrats because of its regularity. When intelligent Democrats, with no selfish interest in Tammany, will ask themselves what is their personal duty to the city, and will do that duty, the reign of Tammany, powerful and "tough" beyond all precedent as Tammany has shown itself to be, will surely end.

EDWARD CARY.

A DECADE OF MAGAZINE LITERATURE.—1888–1897.

TEN years ago a friend, interested in my intellectual growth, and desirous of furnishing me with material for professional use, began sending me, as an annual Christmas gift, five of the leading American and English magazines. They were THE FORUM, "The North American Review," "The Nineteenth Century," "The Contemporary Review," and "The Fortnightly Review." During a decade these magazines have come each month with the latest word on all the great questions of the day, until they have created a storehouse of contemporaneous literature available for immediate use. They form far more than a collection of fugitive sketches by skilful hacks: they make a library of permanent value, in which are represented the ablest thinkers and statesmen, the wisest scholars and scientists, the subtlest critics and philosophers. He who has read this library has come into touch with some of the finest spirits of his time. Many of the works which have become permanent authorities in science, religion, politics, education, and statecraft have been first printed in the magazines.

The monthly reviews have most of the advantages and few of the disadvantages of the daily press. Like the newspapers, they must furnish articles which have value in themselves; and the articles must be timely. They must be written, too, by men or women who can command attention. But the newspaper is ephemeral. Its collection of facts and its editorial discussions are hurried and haphazard. What else can be expected when the history of the world for a day is to be written in a day, and its philosophy and practice distilled? It is not so with the review. It does not cater to the lower order of intelligence: its public is select. Its work may be laid out for a year in advance; its contributors may be selected with the greatest care, and in many cases they have time to do their work after research and deliberation; while every new genius brings his offerings to the judgment-seat of the editor, that he may obtain an audience for his cherished offspring.

In the reviews one may feel the pulse of society, follow the movements of the people, enter into the inner policies of prime ministers,

study the course of Spain in the Philippines; of Russia and England in China; of England, France, and Germany in Africa. One may catch the spirit of ancient and modern art, and observe the birth and growth of great economic and religious institutions. He who would be equipped for a life of thought, for the discussion of the great problems of nature and humanity as viewed by experts, must keep himself informed in magazine literature.

The clergyman will find the magazines of more value than his denominational paper; since in this larger forum appear not merely the members of his own theological party, but men of all parties, and the discussions are carried on by the ablest disputants and in a truly catholic spirit. The politician must listen and ponder when his opponent, far from heated caucus, addresses him in the quiet of his library and in the calm utterances of the reviews. For the scientist and the financier the review becomes a well-regulated clearing-house, in which obligations are recognized and adjusted.

The general impression received from a decade of magazine literature, in the broadening of one's intellectual horizon, the enriching of memory and imagination, and the growth of human sympathy and companionship, has been so significant, that I have thought it worth the while to analyze more carefully its contribution to the intellectual life of our time. In view of the extent of the work, I have selected two reviews of the first class, whose circulation and general character entitle them to be called representative—THE FORUM and "The Nineteenth Century." Whatever we learn by an examination of these magazines we may conclude is approximately true of others of the same kind.

My first step in this analysis has been to make the table which is printed on the following page. While this has been done with considerable difficulty and hesitation, I think it classifies with sufficient accuracy the articles published in the two reviews during the period under consideration.

An analysis of the table discloses: (1) *General World-Tendencies*. There can be no doubt that the great movements of the present age are economic and political. All our ideals and ways of life are becoming commercialized. The rise and growth of democracy, which have characterized the present century, have reached their climax toward its end. The last decade has been largely occupied in the discussion of the rights of working-men, scales of wages, and the length of the working-day. Men have studied, as never before, the laws which underlie the production and distribution of wealth, the nature of money, and the methods

CLASSIFICATION OF ARTICLES IN "THE FORUM" AND "THE NINETEENTH CENTURY" DURING

THE DECADE 1888-1897.

	Science.		Religion.		Political Economy.		History.		Fiction.		Education.		Politics.		Philosophy.		Poetry.		Miscellaneous.		Totals.	
	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.	F.	N. C.
1888.....	6	7	6	9	33	21	5	5	4	1	25	10	26	27	..	2	..	4	29	47	131	133
1889.....	7	9	8	18	30	18	4	11	3	..	12	3	33	36	..	..	3	3	28	43	130	142
1890.....	15	14	10	9	32	26	2	12	3	..	3	..	35	31	..	..	1	1	25	48	125	141
1891.....	8	13	7	18	38	27	6	15	2	..	5	3	32	16	..	1	..	6	40	60	138	158
1892.....	2	16	6	4	60	31	2	8	1	..	5	3	33	41	..	..	3	13	45	82	155	198
1893.....	8	11	8	18	45	22	4	17	6	3	11	5	32	23	..	..	..	6	32	55	149	160
1894.....	6	7	14	16	49	24	6	10	3	1	7	5	30	26	1	2	..	..	27	84	143	175
1895.....	2	7	6	23	50	17	10	15	7	..	14	5	13	35	..	5	1	1	41	68	143	176
1896.....	4	9	8	13	24	24	6	18	4	2	11	14	38	36	..	2	1	1	40	65	135	184
1897.....	3	9	5	11	40	21	13	21	1	2	10	6	31	42	..	2	6	2	25	57	134	173
Totals.....	61	102	78	139	401	231	58	132	34	9	103	54	303	313	1	14	12	37	332	609	1,383	1,640

of taxation. There has been much social restlessness: the appearances of the revolutionist and the anarchist have been more frequent and threatening. The two reviews in question have registered these conditions. "The Nineteenth Century" has given 231 articles, by the ablest thinkers and writers, on different phases of political economy and sociology. THE FORUM has printed 401. Together, out of a total of 3,023 articles the two magazines have given 632 on these subjects—nearly one-fifth of the entire matter published. The larger number given by THE FORUM is due to the fact that the supreme problems with us to-day are economic. They are as acute as the subject of slavery in the early sixties.

Politics in England and America has been largely the management of a nascent democracy. Great world-movements find their best illustrations in England and America. There were 313 articles on politics in "The Nineteenth Century," and 303 in THE FORUM; a total of 616, or 16 less than on economics. Economics and politics together number 1,248—less than one-half of the whole number.

Science is well represented; 102 articles having appeared in "The Nineteenth Century," and 61 in THE FORUM—a total of 163, or about one-nineteenth of the entire number. Religion has 139 in "The Nineteenth Century," and 78 in THE FORUM—a total of 217, or about one-fourteenth of the whole. Science and religion together number 380 articles, nearly one-eighth of the whole. These figures fairly represent the interest taken by the public in discussions of science and religion, as compared with those of economics and politics. In America, where suffrage is universal, and the public school is so important an institution, education commands large attention. During the ten years THE FORUM has had 103 articles, and "The Nineteenth Century" 54; 157 in all, or about one-nineteenth of the whole.

The table indicates the somewhat narrow interest in philosophy and poetry, both in England and America; although it must be said that, philosophy having its special organs, the showing is not quite accurate. "The Nineteenth Century" had 14 articles on philosophy, and on poetry 37; THE FORUM, philosophy 1; poetry 12. Philosophy and poetry combined make but one-forty-seventh of the whole.

History is represented in "The Nineteenth Century" by 132 articles, in THE FORUM by 58; 190 in all, or a little less than one-sixteenth of the entire number. There are 34 articles on fiction in THE FORUM, and 9 in "The Nineteenth Century"; 43 in all, or about one-seventieth of the whole. Those classified as "Miscellaneous" number in "The Nineteenth Century" 609, in THE FORUM 332; a total of 941, or about one-

third of the whole. These articles, dealing with nearly every imaginable subject, suggest the almost infinite variety of the interests of modern life.

The table also shows: (2) *Points of Agreement and Contrast between American and English Thought*. The points of agreement are many; those of contrast, few and superficial. Nothing, perhaps, will show with more distinctness the essential unity of the English race than an examination of the matter and method of the literature of a decade. The demand of the public and of the world of authorship is, "What are Englishmen and Americans thinking about?" "What ideals and motives are supreme in Great Britain and the United States?" If there is to be an alliance of England and America, its sure ground will be not military, but intellectual. If the two nations are thinking the same thoughts, admiring the same personalities, and cherishing the same imaginings, their union is certain. That Englishmen and Americans are at heart one, that they are meeting and solving the same political, social, and religious problems, is evident in the unconscious revelation of ten years' writing for the registers and framers of public opinion—the great reviews.

It will be observed, as I have already pointed out, that both the English and the American reviews have a large number of articles on politics. "The Nineteenth Century" has 313, THE FORUM 303—a total of 616. But the largest number of articles on any one subject is 632 on political economy. Of this number, 401 are in THE FORUM, and 231 in "The Nineteenth Century." There can be no doubt that economic questions in our country, where industrial difficulties have been more pronounced, are more insistent than in England, where various adjustments have been brought about which we have not accomplished. The next largest number in THE FORUM is on education, 103; "The Nineteenth Century" having 54. Religion has the third place, THE FORUM giving 78 articles. But the English people, who are said to be readers of sermons, are also readers of articles on religion; and "The Nineteenth Century" gives 139. The American magazine publishes 61 articles on science; the English magazine, 102. THE FORUM prints 58 on history; "The Nineteenth Century," 132. England is writing history: America is making it. America, it would seem, takes more interest in the novel, since THE FORUM has 34 on fiction; while "The Nineteenth Century" has but 9. England, on the other hand, appears to show a greater interest in philosophy and poetry; her representative furnishing 14 articles on the former subject and 37 on the latter. The American representative has 1 on

philosophy, and 12 on poetry. Greater variety is indicated by "The Nineteenth Century" in miscellaneous subjects, with 609 articles out of 1,640; THE FORUM's figures being 332 out of 1,383. But THE FORUM shows greater brevity.

(3) *The Character of Articles.* I had thought that a decade would show changes in contributions, corresponding to the assumed alterations in public feeling and life. It is possible that the period examined is too short a one to secure definite results, or it may be that the prevailing problems of society and life have not altered. It would be interesting to study the formative period in our national history in the magazines, corresponding to our modern ones, if only they existed. The coming historian will find an inexhaustible storehouse of material in the magazines of to-day. To follow the growth of Abolitionism, or to study Reconstruction and the education of the freeman, or to investigate the growth of democracy since the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, is to feel the throb of the great human heart. No such changes are visible in the ten years just closed. But it will be observed that the table indicates a deepening of the popular interest in political economy and politics. In other respects, so far as the articles published indicate, the world has proceeded on an even course.

It is sometimes said, that, as the century draws to a close, Science, which achieved its great triumph in the "Origin of Species" in 1858, is declining, and that Religion is reassuming her rightful place as the superior mistress of men's minds and lives. But there is nothing in the table before us to show that this is the case. The number and interest of the articles remain about the same for the decade. We have reason, however, to believe that true science and true religion, as they enlarge their borders, grow at once broader and more humble; mutually approaching one another. Higher views of industrial relations, of education, of political rights and duties, are gaining ground as humanity approaches its coronation. When that shall come, the world will acknowledge as among its chief benefactors, defenders, and inspirers, the reviews and their discriminating and hopeful editors.

CHARLES HENRY EATON.

TRAMPS AND HOBOES.

MY attention was arrested by the article entitled "The Tramp Problem: a Remedy," by Mr. Henry E. Rood, in THE FORUM for March, 1898, p. 90. Having been a tramp myself (with no literary or sociological motive, however); having been much in company with tramps¹; having revelled with them and suffered with them on trains, on foot, in barns, under shelter of haystacks, beneath the stars of heaven, in lock-ups, and in city parks, I know whereof I speak. I venture, therefore, to offer some corrections of the impressions under which the author of the article referred to labors, to so great a disadvantage to himself, his readers, and the "gentlemen of the road."

In the first place, Mr. Rood fails to make distinctions where great differences exist. He takes no account of the tramp caste,—a condition that is essential. For, as there are castes of lawyers, physicians, ministers, and tradesmen, so there is a caste of tramps. Tramping is in no inconsiderable sense a profession, a human pursuit. If there is a Tramp Problem, there is also a Preacher Problem, and a Lawyer Problem; for do we not read in the papers that there is an over-supply of preachers, that the competition of clergymen threatens to create disrespect of the Church, and that lawyers have so multiplied that, instead of being benefactors to the State, they are a menace, making laws for their own gain?

If all preachers were worthy and all lawyers sincere, there would be no Preacher Problem and no Lawyer Problem. It is the lower caste—the baser sort of preachers and lawyers—that makes the problems. Just so is it with tramps. The genuine tramp bears the world no ill-will. He has chosen his pursuit, and proposes to follow it. He *asks* for a meal, but never *demand*s; for he knows quite well that if one good housewife fail him, another will not. But the criminal on the road temporarily, the vagrant driven out of the city, and their like, make the Tramp Problem serious. The genuine tramp is harmless. But for the vagrants, professional criminals, burglars, etc., who are con-

¹ I use the term "tramps" here in the general sense; reserving a differentiation of it for a subsequent paragraph.

sidered with tramps, the problem would not be serious enough to excite interest. The world does not bother about idle men: it becomes concerned when it hears of dangerous men. But to the definition of terms.

A tramp is not a hobo; a hobo is not a tramp; a vagrant is neither; a criminal is none of these. But Mr. Rood freely confuses them all. In his first paragraph he speaks of a laborer who became a professional beggar. Now if this laborer took to the road as a professional beggar, refusing absolutely to work, he became a tramp. A tramp is a man of such mental make-up that he has no higher aim than to exist and have "a little fun" occasionally; avoiding responsibility and restraint and all manner of mental concentration. He will walk only when he cannot ride, and will work himself tired going from house to house rather than accept a job on the promise of a meal. If Mr. Rood's laborer had some sort of trade at which he could work, but for some cause or other became discouraged, and, perceiving that he could live without constant working, took to the road and brought his trade into use when necessity pressed, he was a hobo.

The term "hobo" was not originally of evil significance. It originated in the West, when the great tide of humanity swept in that direction; and it was applied to the many who, failing of their first hopes, were forced to the necessity of tramping from community to community in quest of employment. A hobo is a better sort of man than a tramp, has more self-respect, is usually young, and may, I believe, be called a tramp in the first stage. Many hoboies are merely men out of work who were forced to the road by circumstances which they could not control.

A vagrant loafs around a town as long as he can. He does not jump trains,—he lacks the spirit to do that,—but he may sneak into a box-car. He is often a "grafter," that is, he blisters his arm, pretends to be paralyzed, sells pencils, tells pitiful tales of former brilliant prospects, or what not; and, very likely, has the whiskey or opium habit. Hoboes are never "grafters," though they may or may not have the habits just mentioned. Very few genuine tramps resort to the grafting scheme.

I need not define the term "criminal," though Mr. Rood uses it so freely in his article that distinctions must necessarily be made. A few criminals tramp; but neither tramps nor hoboies are criminals. A vagrant may be led by a stronger personality to almost anything.

With these definitions and distinctions in mind, let us examine Mr. Rood's article.

The young man who, he informs us, accosted a well-known business man, and, by the latter's extreme carelessness, got a two-dollar breakfast, was one of a higher class of dead-beats,—a vagrant of the city, above the average vagrant, but by no means essentially either a tramp or a hobo. A tramp would not accost a prominent business man on Broadway. He would probably go to the door of a residence on a more or less unfrequented street. A hobo might be very hungry; but his first impulse would be to beg for a dime in or about a saloon. Only as a last resort would he accost a business man on Broadway. I dare say the young man in question had been reared in New York city. At any rate, any well-known business man ought to have known better than to turn loose in a well-stocked restaurant a "strong and hearty," and presumably very hungry, young man and expect to get off with less than the price of a square meal.

I do not wish to dilate in this article on street-beggars,—the maimed, the halt, the blind, the Italian woman with her professional starvation and her professional famishing infant, etc.;—but I cannot avoid mentioning that the assumption, that "every sensible person knows that the vast majority of beggars on the streets are idle, lazy vagabonds and quasi-criminals," is a great factor in the making of just these classes of people. If a young man, who gets into a bad way, loses his job, and goes forth despairing into the streets to beg, though the humiliation burn him to the soul, be taken by every sensible person for an idle, lazy vagabond and quasi-criminal, he will speedily become one. It is easy at best to roll down-hill; and, when every sensible person kicks you, it requires a lion's heart and a hero's faith to keep from going to the dogs at a tremendous rate. The fatal mistake of our time is the failure of otherwise sensible people to act upon the principle, that all men are brothers and may become brotherly.

It is not for alms for the unfortunate that I plead: you may give a man a dime and a kick, and damn him to deeper degradation. But give him food, a word of cheer, a chance,—in the name of God, a chance—and you begin to save him. Let it be his fault if he remains a tramp. The fact that he begs for food without offering recompense does not argue necessarily that he is lazy. It may indicate that he is suffering intensely from hunger, or that the offer of his services has been so constantly met with contempt or suspicion that he has not the courage to offer them again; or it may indicate that he has worked and realized, as have many others, that in work there is only food and clothing and slavery, and that in tramping there is food, such clothing as is needed,

and no slavery. Which would you choose, assuming that you had never had such occupation as gives the higher "joy of the working"—work that creates something, work that leads to hope and ambition? "Coxey's Army" was made up of men who had found nothing in work but food, clothing, and slavery. In the spectacular march to Washington there was food, clothing, fame of a certain sort, excitement, a possible dream of spoils, and, at any rate, freedom. The man of high moral sense may prefer to be a slave; but there are many whose moral sense cannot soar so high. In some kinds of work there is something lacking; it may be variety, it may be hope, it may be freedom: in tramping, men find variety, they exchange hope for unconcern, and they are free.

Hoboes are products of industrial conditions and of the attitude of society toward unfortunate able-bodied men. It would be interesting to inquire how many hoboes have drifted into our regular army and made good soldiers, and how many responded to the President's call for volunteers. Tramps are tramps by natural bent, seconded by early training. You seldom find an old hobo: there are many old tramps. A hobo will not become a tramp if he can help it. The sad truth is that he can hardly help it in the present state of the minds of Mr. Rood's sensible people. You can hardly save a tramp: he is too far gone. Let him alone and save the hoboes, and the Tramp Problem will be, to a large extent, solved. Most of the 100,000 men on the road to-day are hoboes. They can be saved. But, before going into the remedy, suffer me to advert again to Mr. Rood's remarks.

Mr. Rood fears that tramps may become professional criminals. Never. The hobo may, but only as a last resort. The genuine tramp prefers the even tenor of his heedless way. Besides, if one should become criminal in his bent, he would most likely be detected before he became a professional. Just here let me say that a burglar does *not* "drop from one freight train" with chloroform in his pocket, jimmy in one hand and pistol in the other, and a knowledge of the neighborhood in his head, spot a particular house in the first hour, learn the habits of its occupants in the second, break into the house and murder the family in the third, and carry off his booty "on the next" freight train, as Mr. Rood appears to believe. Burglars ride in express trains. A remedy for tramps will not rid a town of burglars; nor will a remedy for burglars apply safely to tramps.

I did not set out with the purpose of proposing a remedy. I have mentioned the widely different species of the genus generally known as

tramp, to show that there must be different remedies. Let me, however, offer some suggestions.

The Rahway plan, even if it were possible of enforcement, would only serve to drive the tramps into country places or into the greater cities. It would be utterly inadequate, save for the riddance of the more or less native vagrants.

Mr. Rood's plan of starvation will not work. There are too many kind-hearted people in the world for that. There are some who, rather foolishly indeed, fear harm if they refuse to give food to strangers. And there are too many people who, having wandering sons or brothers, have, therefore, soft spots in their hearts for other wanderers. There are too many whose religion—whether right or wrong, I do not say—binds them to help tramps of all kinds.

I would advise that the genuine tramp be given up as a hopeless subject; that he be regarded as harmless at worst; that he be helped or turned away according to the impulse of those to whom he applies. I see no necessity for measures for driving him from a town, for the simple reason that he will leave soon enough without them. If disorderly, he will of course be arrested and sentenced to work at hard labor, or be expelled from the town.

The hobo may be saved. He is young; he can work; he is inclined to work. He simply lacks a brother. If the individual or community will give him an opportunity, there are ten chances to one that the world will gain a man. If he be under age, he may be put into a reformatory. At any rate, the individual and the community ought to treat him kindly, and, if possible, find for him work to which he is adapted. No young man should be turned away hopeless from the face of his brothers.

E. LAMAR BAILEY.

INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATING.

FOR many persons, nothing has a greater attraction than the various forms of intercollegiate contests. In the fall term, foot-ball is in vogue; during the winter, there are track athletics; and the college year is closed with base-ball and rowing. Among the conflicts, the great debates between rival colleges occupy a unique position; for they are virtually the only contests in which are exhibited to the public not physical power and endurance, but intellectual skill and grasp.

As debating fits well into the original purpose of college life, it is not surprising that it has so long occupied a place there. Between 1840 and 1860 it held a position of preëminence; receiving a greater share of attention than any other feature of undergraduate activity. Indeed nearly every student took some part in it.

Investigation shows that not a few of our great men acquired in this way their incentive to effort, and their earliest training for later achievements. Among the records of the debating societies of Williams College are found many accounts of the debates between the late President Garfield and Ex-Senator Ingalls. The occasions, when these two were pitted against each other,—occasions when even standing-room was at a premium,—are well remembered. It is interesting to note how plainly the characteristics of these distinguished men were already visible in this college work. A spectator at one of their battles describes Garfield as a "slow debater," but cool, reliable, showing excellent judgment, and descending with unerring accuracy and force on his opponent's weak points; while Ingalls was quick, brilliant, sarcastic, and lightning-like in thought and expression.

In the early sixties, debating began gradually to decline in interest. This may have been due to a general depression in educational work; for nearly every institution suffered a diminution in numbers and, consequently, a reduction of activity in all departments. About fifteen years ago, when matters collegiate were reviving, the great athletic contests came into being; absorbing the attention of the students. Debating, however, continued dormant.

It is only within the last few years that the great intercollegiate

debating leagues have been formed; giving to this work the stimulus of public notice. But, once revived, probably nothing in the world of education has made more rapid progress. At present there are no less than a score of collegiate debating leagues in all parts of the country. Yale, Harvard, and Princeton have annual contests; the University of Pennsylvania debates with Cornell; Williams, with Dartmouth; and Columbia, looking to the West, has found an opponent in the University of Chicago. The most novel arrangement, however, is that of Northwestern University and the Universities of Michigan, Chicago, and Minnesota. These, about a year ago, formed the Central Debating League,—the most comprehensive union of the kind yet produced. The four universities dispute in groups of two each; and, later, the winners of these two contests meet for a final battle. Additional leagues are continually being formed. Not many months ago Dartmouth started a new one with Brown; indeed, nearly every centre of learning takes part, at least once a year, in some affair of this sort.

This activity permeates the atmosphere of each college; and positions on the team of debaters for a great intercollegiate struggle are obtained only after a most rigorous and exhaustive competition. There can be no doubt as to the desirability of this competitive work. It produces good debaters; and a good debater must be an apt compiler of authorities and statistics, an expert thinker, and able to select the vital points on which the fate of an argument depends. Withal he must be a speaker of sufficient ability to put his whole spirit into the point he wishes to make, and thus arouse the interest and sympathy of his audience.

Usually the intercollegiate debating teams consist of three men, with an alternate or substitute. In most cases, one of these has the supervision of the preparation for the debate; though, necessarily, each must have a large degree of freedom in his individual work.

There are various methods of preparing and selecting these men. At Cornell they are chosen, ordinarily, from the seven debating societies, where they have the best opportunity for drill. Largely through excellent preparation, Cornell has defeated the University of Pennsylvania for two successive years. Princeton has two societies, the "Clio" and the "Whig," between which there exists a strong rivalry. At Harvard are the "Union" and the "Forum." Columbia, Williams, and the University of North Carolina also have each two rival societies for such training. Harvard and Columbia allow the greatest freedom of competition for places on the team. A public meeting is held, when a cer-

tain subject is announced for argument. Candidates may speak on either side; and from these, a committee of the faculty selects the successful debaters. As there are sometimes a large number of contestants, the meeting is not a brief one. At Yale there are preliminary trials in each of the several departments of the University. The successful men afterward compete before a committee of professors for final choice. The chief factor in training men at New Haven is the Yale Union, the debating organization of the academic departments. There is a separate union among the freshmen, which debates with the Harvard freshmen. The University of Michigan has, in its Literature Department, four societies which, by a series of trials, decide upon their best three men, who compete with representatives of the Law Department for places on the team. At Dartmouth each of the fraternities, as well as the "Neutrals," or non-fraternity men, presents its best speakers, from whom the choice is made. Several colleges, notably Harvard and Cornell, have made systematic training in debate a part of the regular curriculum. This work is always apparent in the final debate, and often results in victory where the opposing college has no such system.

After the debaters are selected, the first task in preparing for an intercollegiate contest is the choice of a question for discussion. This is done in accordance with the debating constitution which the opposing colleges have adopted. Often one party has the privilege of submitting several topics, of which its opponents select one; choosing the side on which it prefers to stand. These positions are reversed the following year. With Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, the home college selects the question; while the visiting debaters are entitled to choice of side. In other cases this point is decided by lot. The Central Debating League above-mentioned departs from the usual practice; the selection of both judges and question being made by a council composed of alumni of the institutions interested. These methods leave each college with well-defined positions approximately equal in desirability. In the case of a seemingly unfair question, such an equality is often produced by loading one side with conditions, or by giving it additional points to prove. For example: With the subject, "*Resolved*, That municipalities should own and operate plants for supplying gas," the difficulty of the negative side is enhanced by adding the proviso, "if such action would not increase official corruption"; and the burden of the affirmative is made heavier by including in the question not only plants for supplying gas, but also those for furnishing water, electricity, and surface transportation.

The questions chosen to-day are very different from those discussed in the local debates of forty years ago. At that time such subjects as the following were in vogue; viz., "*Resolved*, That ambition is a stronger incentive to action than fear." "*Resolved*, That the existence and attributes of the Supreme Being can be proved without the aid of divine revelation." These topics would hardly evoke the interest that was felt when Harvard and Yale recently discussed the annexation of Hawaii; Dartmouth and Williams, the city ownership of public franchises; Cornell and the University of Pennsylvania, the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes; and the University of Michigan and Northwestern University, the Government construction of the Nicaragua Canal. In short, at present a successful debate must involve a live issue.

The question having been chosen, the real work of preparation begins. Every book and authority pertinent to the subject must be thoroughly canvassed, every telling point secured, every probable argument of the other side investigated and answers prepared. In fact, each detail must be completely absorbed and understood in all its bearings. If the question be one involving a law or custom in any locality, numerous letters must be written and, sometimes, visits made to discover proof of its success or failure. A certain Wisconsin college, which was to argue the Prohibition Question, sent representatives to Maine for the purpose of observing the operation of the prohibitory law of that State. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that such long pilgrimages are not of common occurrence.

Frequently this preparatory labor is supplemented by practice in the home college, whereby the team is trained and strengthened by trial debates on the question; being opposed by the best debaters available. In some cases the three speakers and the alternate discuss the subject in public: two are on either side. They are thus given a better knowledge of the arguments they must meet. At Yale, a further improvement is proposed, by choosing not only the three regular debaters, but also three others who will act as a permanent "scrub" team, the members of which will have the hope of replacing the "Varsity" men by doing good work in these practice disputes.

Thus it will be seen that the preparation for an intercollegiate debate involves a large amount of work. In consideration of this the colleges have different methods of recognizing their representatives, on the same principle that they reward their foot-ball and base-ball champions by allowing them to wear the initial of the college on cap or sweater. For instance, Yale disputants are given handsome gold watch-

charms, bearing on one side the head of Demosthenes, and, on the other, the name of the owner, and the debate in which he is to take part. This college also offers several prizes to the best debaters; and, by agreement with Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, the winning team receives a trophy banner, which is hung in some conspicuous spot for future admiration. Similarly the Williams debaters are rewarded with pins or watch-charms; while Harvard and a number of the other colleges show their appreciation by the gift of "shingles," or certificates, to the effect that the owner has represented his *Alma Mater* in debate. These somewhat resemble college diplomas in appearance, though more ornate, and are sometimes elaborately engraved and beautified. The University of Michigan has a more practical mode of recompense. Her debaters receive \$75, \$50, and \$30 respectively. Money rewards are given in many other colleges.

Team-work is almost as important in debate as in foot-ball or rowing; and, as the aggregate amount of time allowed to each side is seldom over fifty minutes, a team, to win, must use every second to advantage. To secure this result, it is usually best for a team to maintain the special line of thought agreed upon beforehand, and shun the alluring challenges and interpolations of the other side. This was illustrated not long ago in a debate between two of our greatest universities having equal chances of victory. At the outset, one party challenged its opponent to answer several skilfully put questions. The bait was accepted; and several precious moments were used in the responses. As a result, the questioned side had to omit, or cut short, its own carefully prepared and important arguments. At the close of the debate, the questioners calmly showed that neither interrogations nor answers had any actual bearing on the subject; and, having employed their own time to advantage, they won the debate.

At times, also, the exclusive possession of some important information, withheld until the final moment and then emphasized to the greatest extent, will outweigh former arguments and secure the judges' decision. Cornell won from the University of Pennsylvania last March by throwing on the latter the burden of proof with so adroit and fierce an onslaught that they had to accept it, and place themselves on the defensive,—a position almost invariably leading to defeat. On the other hand, rebuttal work must not be neglected; only it should be reserved for its proper place, and should not interfere with the main arguments. To her excellence in such use of the rebuttal are attributed the successive victories of Yale over Harvard for the past three years;

and her defeats by Princeton were caused by the still greater superiority of the "Tigers" in this same particular.

Formerly aid from the faculty was a great factor. One distinguished instructor even claimed that the team of his college was triumphant because of superior learning among the professors. This would be hardly possible at present; for faculty assistance, except to a very limited extent, is considered a violation of ethics, as being to debating what professionalism is to athletics.

In spite of all possible labor and skill, the element of luck sometimes decides debating contests as well as other struggles. A sudden confusion or forgetfulness, or an attack of illness, has not seldom brought about an undeserved defeat.

The debates between two colleges are held alternately at each, in some hall on the campus or other public building. A speaker is allowed from ten to fifteen minutes; and each address on the affirmative precedes one on the negative. When all have spoken, the leader of the affirmative makes a rebuttal speech of about five minutes; summing up the entire argument and pointing out the weak points of the opposition. The leader on the negative then follows a similar course. With the larger universities all the speakers are allowed short rebuttals. Next comes the decision of the judges,—usually three in number,—who are prominent alumni of both colleges, or noted lawyers and statesmen.

As the debaters are becoming more expert, the public interest in their forensic battles is increasing. Those between important colleges are decided by men of the highest rank and ability, and are heard by thousands. Indeed, it is often difficult to secure a hall of sufficient size to accommodate the audience. Among the older alumni there is perhaps a stronger desire that their *Alma Mater* should be triumphant in an important debate than in an athletic contest. Also, from the undergraduates, in both Eastern and Western colleges, debating must continue to receive increasing attention; since, though involving much confining labor, it leads directly to the professions which many of them will pursue in after-life. To prospective members of the bar, especially, such work is of the greatest advantage; for "every law-case is a debate."

During the last few months some notable and instructive debates have taken place. In April occurred the annual contest between Yale and Princeton, at which Ex-President Cleveland presided. On that occasion, Yale defeated the New Jersey university for the first time in several years. Princeton's ill luck continued; for again, in May, she surrendered to Harvard, who supported the affirmative of the question, "*Re-*

solved, That the present restrictions on immigration into the United States are insufficient." The victory of the crimson seemed due to judicious combinations of prepared arguments and extemporaneous rebuttal. Probably a verdict was never more quickly agreed upon, as the judges required less than two minutes for consultation. Somewhat similar in this respect was the Williams-Dartmouth debate a few days later. The decision in that case was practically reached before the men had ceased speaking; although the formality of a consultation was observed. The victory came to Williams, which maintained the negative of a proposition to reform the laws of Massachusetts relating to taxation. This result was secured by careful selection of the important arguments and by clearness of presentation. Another interesting debate was held at Ann Arbor between the Universities of Michigan and Chicago. The former affirmed, "That the action of the Senate in rejecting the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and England, was wise." The decision was in favor of the University of Michigan on the ground of effective team-work and excellent delivery. The Chicago debaters lost in relatively unimportant objections the time necessary to advance constructive arguments to meet those of their opponents. The first debate of the new league between Dartmouth and Brown was won by the former because of superior work in rebuttal. All of these contests were characterized by a noticeably greater display of perceptive power, logic, and oratory than those of previous years.

In general, the present system of intercollegiate discussion can hardly fail to commend itself to all interested in educational progress; for, in this way, the powerful incentive of college spirit and rivalry, of individual competition and success, supplies what is so often lacking in the student's labor, and is so necessary to his advancement—the feeling of personal intimacy and personal enthusiasm.

CECIL FREDERICK BACON.

INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATIONS : FALLACIOUS STATISTICS AND ERRONEOUS GENERALIZATIONS.

THE creation of an industrial commission by Congress "to investigate the questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacture, and to business, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon the subjects," suggests the idea that Congress does not consider the information in its possession as satisfactory. The scope of inquiry is extensive enough. It covers, virtually, the entire economic fabric.

The Commission is created for the term of two years, when its final report is to be made to Congress. Five Senators, five Members of the House of Representatives, and nine other persons "who shall fairly represent the different industries and employments," to be appointed by the President, will compose the Commission. Much useful information can be gathered by a body of nineteen men, authorized to divide itself into subcommissions, to make investigations in any part of the United States, to travel, to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths and affirmations. The power is ample.

The usefulness of the information thus to be obtained will depend largely upon a proper classification of the subjects to be inquired into, and upon a limitation of the inquiry to what is germane to the subject itself. These considerations are important; for, under the law creating the Commission, the field of its inquiries is virtually unlimited, so that the Commission must guard against a diffuseness of effort apt to prove detrimental to the results. The subjects of Business, Agriculture, Manufacturing, and Labor are vast enough to be treated by themselves and by independent bodies of experts. To be sufficiently posted on any one of them, so as to be able to conduct an investigation with intelligence, requires no small amount of training. Insight enough into all four of these divisions of economic science to know on what parts to turn the searchlight of inquiry, is rarely found even among our best thinkers, whether in or out of Congress. Indeed, though it is not so expressed, the very act of creating this Commission betokens a dissatisfaction with the treatment these great economic questions have been

receiving from statisticians and political economists. The feeling manifests itself not in America alone, but in Europe as well.

During the last fifty years the science of statistics has made great strides. A great deal of information is collected, more reliably, perhaps, than formerly, when the means at the disposal of statistical bureaus were not so liberal as at the present time. In profuseness, statistical publications leave nothing to wish for. The critical expert would indeed rather see less matter and more scrutiny on the part of the officials in charge of the compilations. In our agricultural statistics the crop figures of the Department of Agriculture are often so far below what later developments prove, that few now accept them without allowing for their habitual shortcomings. As commercial houses have succeeded in establishing a reputation for gathering fairly satisfactory data on crops in which they are specially interested, it is difficult to see why the Department cannot organize a service which will prevent annual discrepancies in estimates of from fifty to one hundred million bushels in the wheat-crop alone.

In the statistics dealing with industrial matters the conditions for gathering correct data are certainly very favorable. The means placed at the command of the Census Bureau are usually so liberal that its figures ought to be quite reliable. But this is by no means the case. Our manufacturing industries for 1880 show \$5,369,579,191; those for 1890, \$9,372,437,283—an increase of four thousand millions, or 74%, in a period of ten years. Part of this increase is due to the fact that quite a number of new items are tabulated in the Census of 1890 which were never enumerated before in manufacturing industries. These belong to the retail trade, or represent finishing or refining processes which can hardly be called manufacturing industries, or relate to products for immediate consumption, like gasmaking, etc. They represent a total of five hundred millions. Besides this, the articles enumerated appear two, three, and four times; first in a raw form, and then again in a more or less finished form. As an index to the state and growth of industries, the method of enumeration would not call for criticism; but a wrong impression is created, and the basis for very erroneous deductions is laid, by the footing up of all into one general total. The cloth certainly loses its identity in the coat, as does the yarn in the cloth, and the wool in the yarn. A coat represented in the line of clothing at \$5 is the finality of all these industrial contributions; but in the various items of manufacturing industries, the Census would easily show \$10 of salable values.

As all the materials have originally been introduced in the condi-

tion in which they have been taken from the field, the forest, or the mine, they have all found enumeration under the respective headings of "Agriculture," "Forestry," or "Mining." The additional value produced by industry is, therefore, that given by the labor and expense necessary to the completion of an article of manufacture. If we deduct the cost of the materials from the totals, we have the additional values alone remaining which are germane to manufacturing industries.

In the Census of Manufactures the part occupied by wages, expense, and capital charges, which are all that can be rightfully credited to manufacturing industries, amounted to \$1,954,000,000 in 1880, and to \$4,035,000,000 in 1890. This is a growth of 100 per cent, even after deducting items in the last Census which had not been given place in that of 1880. But to call the sum of our industrial productiveness four thousand millions is quite a different thing from calling it nine thousand millions, as is stated in the Census.

That erroneous views on economic and sociological questions are created by these inflated Census figures is obvious.

The same can be said of wage statistics. The looseness with which such statistics have been collected is well illustrated by the clothing industry. More than any other, this industry, during the last ten years, has been brought to public notice by the frequent occurrence of strikes. In New York the spring and fall seasons have been ushered in by cloak-makers' strikes with remarkable regularity. The strikes in the men's clothing trade have been sufficiently frequent to mark the industry as a fit counterpart of the cloak trade. The public has an impression that such frequent occurrence of strikes betokens a state of depression and a low wage-rate. Not alone strikers, but also committees reporting to their respective legislative bodies, have furnished data from which we can readily understand why thousands of working men and women should subject themselves and those depending on them to the sinister effects of a long strike, rather than submit to conditions under which they believed they would sink still lower. This is the more remarkable when we consider that those engaged in the struggles had been but recently landed from countries where famine reigns in perennial frequency, where poverty is the general lot, and where a sufficiency of bread throughout the year for the family would be considered a blessing by 90 per cent of the population.

Now, let us see what the Census states with regard to the earnings of these workers.

In men's clothing we find the following figures: 9,235 adult males,

with average earnings of \$698; 8,349 piece-workers, averaging \$684; and 5,021 piece-workers, having "materials furnished," averaging \$478. In the manufacture of women's clothing we have 3,455 males, earning \$697; and 1,779 outside workers, earning \$598. The average annual earnings of 7,850 females employed in the clothing industries were \$404. A standing complaint concerning this industry is that it is season business, and that a great majority of the workers cannot count on employment for more than eight or nine months in the year. But, as few employments can show better average earnings under far more steady working conditions, it would seem, from the Census returns, that the workers could very well provide for the dull months out of yearly earnings which would be considered ample in industries with full working-time throughout the year.

The matter becomes still more difficult of comprehension when we compare the average earnings of 1890 with those of 1880, in which latter year the congested conditions of 1890 did not yet exist. As returned by the Census, the average earnings in 1890 of all employed in the men's clothing trade, including males and females,—58,105 in all,—were \$514. In the women's clothing trade they were \$498; the number of employees of all classes being 32,839. In 1880, the average yearly earnings of all employed in the men's clothing trade were \$300; while those in the women's clothing trade were \$320.

No more fruitful field could be offered to a commission clothed with ample power than is presented by this industry in the city of New York. Why this restiveness? Why these constantly recurring strikes? Why these complaints and outcries against the sweating system? Why this continual tightening of the lines against immigration? Were there in 1880 any such manifestations of unrest as were apparent in 1890? If the annual earnings of some ninety thousand workers in the clothing industry were from 50 to 75 per cent higher than they were in 1880, under all the baneful influences that had in the meantime arisen, then a great deal of shamming has been practised, and tens of thousands of workpeople have been acting the part of starvelings; living ostensibly in squalor and misery, while, according to the Census, their earnings enabled them to live in comfort and to lay by a goodly sum for a rainy day. This would at least apply to our native working population, who have not had the schooling in privation which the newcomers had in the land of their birth. It must be remembered that these people have strong family ties, and that their occupation enables them to work in family groups. If they do not work in groups,

they work separately, but live with their families. In the large majority of instances there are two, three, or four workers in a family, who combine their earnings; and the aggregate would enable such a family to make progress toward comfort at a rate which few other classes of workers enjoy. If the conditions are as we see them, and the evidence before commissions of inquiry is to be trusted, then there is but one alternative, namely, our Census figures are untrustworthy.

I admit the difficulty of obtaining reliable data when we are compelled to depend entirely on the willingness of the informant to give correct figures as to the details of his business. But this does not make the published figures any more reliable; and it is certainly very unsafe for economists to accept them, as a basis for their reasoning, without subjecting them to a careful analysis.

This, however, is precisely the danger to which we are exposed when we accept the figures of our economic writers. Few of them are able to deal with industrial statistics, because by their training they know little or nothing of the manner in which an industry is conducted, or under what conditions trade is carried on. The treatment of wages as a factor in production may serve as an example. Wages and the cost of labor are confounded almost without exception. Official figures of earnings, usually compiled in the loose manner described above, are taken indiscriminately, and, naturally, carry with them germs for the propagation of a great number of erroneous generalizations. As a rule, such generalizations leave the working-classes, to whom they are chiefly addressed, unmoved, because these people know that the statements are not based on the facts with which they are familiar. Earnings on paper do not fill empty stomachs; nor do time wages give an idea of the cost of labor.

Much uneasiness has of late been manifested by reason of the inroads made by the Southern States into the cotton industry of New England. The cause of this condition is attributed to the higher rate of wages prevailing in the Eastern States. A great deal of investigating has been undertaken by legislative committees, by manufacturers' delegations, and by special reporters despatched by newspapers to the South to write up the special phases of the industry. A writer in the June number of *THE FORUM* summarizes the situation; and, as he but reflects the general view as expressed in public print, I shall quote him here:

"These investigations have thrown a flood of new light upon the advantages of cotton-milling in the South, and caused New England capitalists to entertain a different view respecting the manufacturing possibilities of that section. They have

with one accord concluded that the South has an insuperable advantage in cheap labor, and that the mills of the East cannot at present compete with those of the South without cutting down wages. Hence the general precipitate reduction of wages in New England early in the year." ¹

The writer proceeds upon the assumption that the Southern operative is as well equipped as the Northern mill-hand, while living is as much cheaper as the amount representing the difference in wages.

"The lower cost of living, then, accounts for the difference in the wages paid. Let us see exactly how much this difference is. According to the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1893, the average income of cotton-weavers per family in the Carolinas was \$412.09: the average in Massachusetts was \$524.28, or 27 per cent higher than in the South. It must be remembered that a family in the South is upon the average larger, and that there is a larger percentage of workers to each family than in Massachusetts. The Arkwright Club reported that wages in Massachusetts were 40 per cent above those in the South, which is no doubt nearer the truth. In addition to the lower money-wages, the Southern mills have the advantage of an hour or an hour and a half longer work-day.

As the cost of labor is the chief item in cotton-manufacturing,—87 per cent, according to Mr. Atkinson,—and as the South has an advantage of 30 or 40 per cent in this particular, it is idle to expect New England to compete with the South unless this advantage is offset by some disadvantages." ²

In the opinion of this writer the latter are not great enough to counterbalance the advantages which the South possesses over New England; and I fully agree with him. The disadvantages certainly cannot overcome a difference of "30 or 40 per cent" in the cost of labor. But upon what is this statement of differences in the labor-cost based? Upon time wages and family earnings in the North and in the South. The cost of living is cheaper in the South than in the North: "the Southern operative can get more in return for his labor." He can live as well as the Northern operative on less money. This is all we receive as evidence in support of the statement that the cost of labor is higher in the North than in the South.

If we scan all the reviews and newspaper columns filled with articles treating this subject, we find little beyond statements of rates of wages, *i.e.*, time earnings, as evidence that the labor-cost is lower in the South than in the North; and these are sometimes accompanied with statements of living expenses in proof of the effectiveness of the economic advantage of low wages possessed by the South.

Now these statements may be ever so important to the social economist, and ever so interesting from a statistical point of view; but they

¹ Prof. JEROME DOWD, in "Textile War Between the North and the South." *THE FORUM* for June, 1898, p. 438.

² *Id.*, pp. 441-2.

fail entirely to give a clew to the all-important factor of the comparative cost of labor.

That the rate of wages and the hours of weekly or daily working-time furnish no basis for estimating the cost of labor in industrial production is eminently illustrated by the cotton industry. This industry is conducted on the same principle in all the industrial countries of Europe, but with varying results. The following are the average rates of wages and working-hours, as I found them on personal investigation in 1887:

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES AND LENGTH OF WORKING-DAY IN 1887.

COUNTRY.	Average Wages Per Day.	Number of Hours Per Day.	Wages Per Hour.
England.....	86 cents.	9	9.55 cents.
Germany.....	54 "	11	4.91 "
Switzerland.....	54 "	11	4.91 "
France.....	54 "	12	4.50 "
Eastern Bohemia.....	26 "	12½	2.08 "
Western Bohemia.....	36 "	12½	2.88 "

Judging by the general estimate, the low wages and long hours of Bohemia ought to be a menace to Germany. Saxony, however, does not feel the pinch of Bohemian competition even in unprotected or neutral markets; but it does feel the competition of England, where wages, reckoned by the hour, are about 100 per cent higher. In the plea for protective duties on cotton goods, at the time the present rates were fixed, German manufacturers were not particularly concerned about the competition they were subjected to on their own borders by labor receiving less than one-half the rate they were paying: but they were very much concerned in regard to the competition of English producers, in spite of the fact that the latter paid nearly double the German rate of wages; and no less were they concerned about American competition, conducted under a rate even higher than the English.

American cotton goods were able to compete successfully with German goods on German soil, and to pay in addition an import duty of \$7.50 per hundredweight, equal to about 20 per cent on the value at that time. These phenomena are inexplicable if we take the day-rate of wages as a gauge with which to measure the cost of production.

As a result of extended inquiry into the economy of production of different countries, it may in a general way be stated, of most of the great industries, that the cost of labor stands in an inverse ratio to the

daily wages of the laborer. And very direct proof of this statement can be found in the cotton industry. The proof, however, can be supplied only by statements of comparative cost, not by citing labor statistics. Statistics are of value only when dealing with specific kinds of cloth, in connection with out-put per hand, equipment, and working methods of mills; not by statements of day-wages, cost of living, and prices of commodities.

To make satisfactory comparisons of this nature it was necessary to select an article possessing the same specific characteristics in the countries manufacturing cotton goods in power mills, under systems of division of labor as nearly akin as possible. The article that offered these requirements was our print cloth,—a cloth 28 inches wide, and counting 64 threads to the inch, weft and warp alike. But, while this industry is supposed to be conducted everywhere on the same principles, we find, on closer examination, that many differences exist in the conduct of the mills of different countries. As I cannot, however, enter into technical details without exceeding the limits of this article, I shall speak here only of the loom practice. Looms can be run in one way only, that is, by the superintending of the movement of the shuttle by operatives. The cost of labor per 100 yards of print cloth, as described, I found to be as follows: In Switzerland, 60 cents; in England, 48 cents; in Lowell, 40 cents. The daily average of wages was: In Switzerland, 49 cents; in England, 65 cents; in Lowell, 85 cents. The average number of looms attended by one weaver in the mills of Switzerland and Germany was about $2\frac{1}{2}$; in England, about $3\frac{1}{2}$; and in America, about $6\frac{1}{2}$. The larger number of looms attended by one person explains the higher wages by the day and the lower cost of labor by the piece. The larger the number of looms run by one hand, the closer the attention required; and as fines for faulty places cut deep into the weaver's wages, it can be imagined that she generally keeps a watchful eye on her looms. The American's higher earnings are therefore realized at an expense of nerve-power which the European operative is not required to expend on her work. For every unit of pay received the American operative is obliged to turn out more yards, pounds, or pieces than the operative in England; the English more than the German; and the German more than the Austrian.

The high wage-rate is a prerequisite to cheap production. The free institutions of this country would, under all circumstances, offer opportunities unexampled elsewhere for the attainment of a generally high standard of wages. This high standard has been the great inducement

for the introduction of improvements in the economy of production, which would not be considered worth undertaking in countries of a low wage-standard. The replacement of machinery is necessarily connected with considerable monetary outlay. To condemn to the junk-heap sound machinery capable of turning out satisfactory work, would be thought of only if adequate results could be obtained by the sacrifice. The operative would have to see a prospect of better earnings in the change, or he would resist the lower piece-rate under which alone the improved device could be found a profitable investment by the manufacturer. The rate of progress at which improvements are introduced runs parallel with the rate of wages paid in the various countries.

In my work, "The Economy of High Wages," I have cited a number of facts illustrating the difference in methods, one of which may find room here.

After an examination of a cotton-mill in Switzerland, I exchanged notes with the superintendent on mill-management and cost of equipment. Finding the cost per spindle and per loom to be three times as high as what I knew it to be in England, and expressing surprise, I received the noteworthy reply, that they knew their mill outfit was far more expensive, but that it was "so much better and lasted that much longer."

In view of what we know of American mill practice, this is an advantage of very doubtful value. Recent experience is a clear demonstration of the revolutionary effect of improved machinery on trade conditions. The latest improvements introduced into cotton-mills have produced differences in cost of labor that far outweigh any possible advantages the South may have over the North by reason of lower wages. While the present price for weaving 100 yards of print cloth is 32 cents (against 36 cents a year ago, when the weaving-price for the same cloth in England was 44 cents), weaving in the same place, or, for that matter, even, in the same mill, is being done at 18 cents the 100 yards. And, what is no less remarkable, the operatives in the latter case earn more money per day than those working at the higher rate.

Now, by no possibility can the strain which the North could be subjected to by the South be so great as the strain the Northern mill has to sustain from Northern mill, and the Southern mill from Southern mill; for the same causes may be found in operation in the South that produce the differences in the North. The differences of this pronounced type are created by the introduction of the so-called "automatic" loom. When, by this change, 50 per cent in the weaving-cost

can be saved, it is obvious that it will not take long to convince mill-owners that it is profitable to discard the loom which was satisfactory until very recently and to adopt the new loom by which an expert weaver can turn out from two to three times as much cloth in a week. The pressure of tool on tool would be certainly greater than that of Southern wage on Northern wage, even were the differences as great as would be indicated by the numerous statements in circulation. The tool that can produce these results will either enter every mill as quickly as it can be put in, or the mill will be driven out of existence. The process will not take long in America, under conditions with which we are so familiar, and which have been described above. The causes of conservatism on the part of European manufacturers are not entirely due to lack of enterprise. The differences in practice simply accord with the varying conditions under which trade and the industries are conducted in the different countries. But, whatever the causes that lead to these differences, in America no one conducting an industrial enterprise can escape the consequences, if he fail to fall in with the pace his neighbor has set for him. Under such circumstances great disturbances are apt to sweep over trade centres, which disturbances are due, however, to causes quite other than differences in rates of wages, cost of living, etc. The South is no less subjected to these general conditions than the North.

It is clear, from what I have said, that the differences in cost of production are owing largely to the advantage which the South possesses over the North in the later construction of the Southern mills. A member of the editorial staff of the "New York Journal of Commerce," Mr. Mercer, was sent South last spring by his paper to inquire into this subject. As his observations are of recent date, and bear the stamp of being those of an expert, they may be cited here. He says:

"The mills of the South are, in the majority, new mills. The mills whose competition we hear about so much are the mills erected during the last five or six years. All such mills have new machinery, and of the latest type. There was a time when the South was a dumping-ground for the old machinery of the East; but it is so no longer. The new mills are built on the most approved plans; they are well built; they are fitted out with all the latest details, with due regard to economy in handling,—and in that respect the modern mill of the South will compare, without disparagement in any particular, with the very best mills in New England. The manufacturers are perfectly willing to try any new devices that may come out in the way of new machinery; and no better example of that can be given than the fact that the automatic loom has found its home in the South almost exclusively, and the advantages of the automatic loom are, by the Southern manufacturers, deemed to be very much in its favor, as against the ordinary running loom. Sev-

eral manufacturers said, in fact, that it was not hard work to secure 97½ per cent of the full possible production of the loom.”

How the introduction of this new loom affects the cost of labor may be shown by a comparison of two accounts of the cost of labor in print cloth, one taken by myself from a mill account of older date, but from one of the best mills in New England, and the other from the workings of recent date received from a mill but a few days ago.

COST OF LABOR IN ONE POUND OF PRINT CLOTH (28 INCHES, 64×64, SEVEN YARDS TO THE POUND).

ITEMS.	1887. Cents.	1898. Cents.	Differences 1898. Cents.
Carding.....	0.855	0.7	— 0.155
Spinning	1.137	1.1	— 0.037
Preparing for loom	0.697	0.7	+ 0.003
Weaving.....	2.8	1.6	— 1.2
Other labor expenses.....	0.239	0.25	+ 0.011
Total labor cost.....	5.728	4.35	— 1.378
Difference on account of improved loom .....	.....	.....	— 1.2
All other differences.....	.....	.....	— 0.178

The items covering all other manufacturing processes are scarcely worth noticing. The difference is almost entirely traceable to the new loom. But still we are told that

“the chief advantage of the South, and which the manufacturers themselves claim to be the only one, is in the wages they pay and the hours they run.”

Of how little consequence are these latter is shown by the further remarks of the writer:

“The difference between wages paid in the different parts in the South is much greater between Georgia and other States than between Georgia and New England ; but this has been no check to the growth in the State of Georgia itself.”

We are told this by a careful observer, who gathered his data from a number of books submitted to him while in the South taking ranges of wages. I shall introduce his list of wages here, and supplement it with an extract of the wages paid in Massachusetts mills in 1891 for the same employments, as stated in the Report of the Senate Committee on Wholesale Prices, Wages, Transportation, etc.

OPERATIVES.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	THREE MILLS IN MASSACHUSETTS.	
					Low Average.	High Average.
Carders.....	\$0.80	\$0.85	\$0.95	\$0.73	\$1.00	
Speeders.....	.75	.78	.90	.80	.85	\$1.12
Spoolers.....	.78	.78	.90	.60	.85	
Spinners.....	.65	.56	.75	.54	.84	1.20
Weavers.....	.85	.90	1.00	.90	.70	1.20

The differences in rates between the various mills of Massachusetts, as reported in the Senate Report, are, it will be seen, much greater than the differences between the rates of Georgia and the lower ones of Massachusetts. It must be remembered, besides, that the rates given for Massachusetts are for 1891, and that those given for the South are for 1898.

"The general precipitate reduction of wages in New England early in this year," has been called to our attention so pointedly that we must give this matter also due weight in the comparison. But after all has been said, and due allowance has been made for every claim in regard to differences in wages, what bearing has this upon the question? To measure the cost of labor in a given product by the rate of day wages is like an attempt to measure fluids with the yard-stick.

Mill work is paid by the piece, by the yard, by the pound, and not by the day; or it is paid by the number of machines run at a certain speed, attended by one operative, which is again the same as paying by the piece. A gentleman whose vast interests in cotton manufacturing enable him to speak with authority on the subject, estimates that "approximately four-fifths of the labor-cost of cloth is paid for by the pound." "I should estimate," he proceeds to say, "that one-half the carding, all the spinning, five-sevenths of the preparing yarn for looms, and the weaving is paid for directly by the pound."

It is not difficult to compare the labor-cost of different countries and different sections if we proceed on such lines as I have indicated. But we can never obtain intelligent results if we endeavor to measure the cost of production by the usual means; and we must be careful not to omit the equipment of the respective mills whose output is under consideration. It is of equal importance to bear in mind that the species of cloth made in the South differ from those made in New England, and that comparisons must be founded on similarity of product.

To take all this into account is a difficult matter. It is easy to pro-

ceed on lines of averages of wages, hours of labor, and to generalize on the Reports of the Labor Bureau and the Census. The other method requires technical and expert knowledge in special fields; but its results are much more satisfactory to those directly interested in the great controversies of the day—the capitalist and the laborer. The investigations must be analytical. We must not take anything for granted, but, before we proceed, must make sure of the ground on which we stand.

I may, in conclusion, repeat what I stated in my "Report on Technical Education in Europe," as it still applies to the present manner of proceeding in economic inquiries. I therein stated:

"Our literature is as full of the philosophy of industrial life as it is wanting in facts regarding it,—facts as they present themselves under the influence of modern development. We have, therefore, to gather the data and collect the facts of production with careful minuteness. The economy of production will have to be treated in the same analytical manner of investigation by which all the natural sciences have made such wonderful progress within the last fifty years. National biology is as truly a positive science as individual biology. Abandoning the hazy abstractions of the speculative past, science has, by the aid of the microscope, the balance, and the retort, brought to light some of nature's most deeply hidden secrets. Under the results of this great scientific upheaval, life has become a changed condition. Industrial life, conditions and means governing production, transportation, distribution,—all have experienced changes as pronounced as are the differences between the life and aspirations of the American mechanic and the life and aspirations of the Hindoo workman. The application of electricity and steam-power to production and transportation has revolutionized industrial and economic conditions and the lives and prospects of the working-classes to a greater degree than any other event in the history of man. Still it is not too much to say, that the economic generalizations of the day are largely founded on the facts of a past era."

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

THE BYRON REVIVAL.

It is now some years since the late Prof. Nichol, in his excellent life of Byron, declared that his hero was "resuming his place," and that the closing quarter of the century would reverse the unjust verdict against him pronounced by the second and third quarters. Shortly after this statement was made, Matthew Arnold, as though to confirm its truth, published his well-known volume of selections from Byron's poetry, and maintained in his preface, that when the year 1900 should be turned, the two chief names of modern English poetry would be those of Wordsworth and Byron. To the latter claim, Mr. Swinburne immediately replied, in what purported to be a critical essay on the two poets just named, but was really a marvellous exhibition of inveterate and unconscionable prejudice.

As might have been expected, Mr. Swinburne, too, had a pair of chief poets to set up—to wit, Shelley and Coleridge. The controversy thus begun received some attention from the critics; but the general public was more interested in reading Tennyson and in forming Browning clubs. If the tide of favor began setting toward Byron, its movement was practically imperceptible; for as late as 1896 Prof. George Saintsbury could maintain, without serious loss to his reputation as a critic, that Scott could not be ranked below Byron on any sound theory of poetical criticism, and that the latter could not be read in close juxtaposition with a real poet like Shelley without disastrous results to his fame.

Twelve months later, however, Byron was being more discussed, if not more read. The war between Greece and Turkey naturally induced men to ponder upon his disinterested devotion to the cause of Hellas and upon the glorious close of his wayward life. The newspapers took him up; and certainly those of Paris, where I happened to be at the time, did not bear out the opinion afterward expressed to me by a great French critic, who was doubtless in the right, that the influence of Byron had somewhat waned in France.

Close upon this transient notoriety, came an important proof that the great poet's fame was not destitute of champions in his native land

after the death of Matthew Arnold. The first volume of a critical edition of his complete works, under the editorship of Mr. W. E. Henley, was issued and cordially received; and it was announced that Mr. John Murray would shortly draw on his stores of manuscripts, and publish an edition which should be practically final. Accordingly we now have Mr. Henley's edition of the Letters from 1804 to 1813,¹ and two volumes of the Murray edition—one containing the earlier poems, edited by Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, and one containing Letters dating from 1798 to 1811, edited by Mr. Rowland E. Prothero.² Both editions are to be in twelve volumes; and the publishers promise to complete them without loss of time.

The simultaneous appearance of two such rival editions would be noteworthy in the case of any poet, but is particularly remarkable in the case of Byron. As Mr. Henley says, his own is "practically the first reissue on novel and peculiar lines which has been attempted for close on seventy years." There have been innumerable popular editions of Byron to satisfy a demand which some booksellers pronounce constant, but others declare to be falling off; yet, to the present year, if anyone wished to do critical work on the poet, he had to resort mainly to the seventeen-volume Murray edition of 1832. The general excellence of this may partly account for the fact that in an age famous for textual criticism Byron did not receive until recently an honor long ago paid to Shelley and Wordsworth and Keats; but one can hardly help believing that popular and critical indifference was chiefly responsible for the neglect. Now, however, that in this important particular he is receiving his own with interest, it may be well to take a nearer view of the rival editions. That of Mr. Murray is clearly the only one entitled to call itself complete: it is equally clear that he has been unfortunate in not securing Mr. Henley to edit it, with Mr. Prothero. The latter has done his work well; he prints eighty more letters for the same space of time than Mr. Henley; but, as he gracefully acknowledges, he cannot handle his materials in the attractive way his rival can. Mr. Henley's notes abound in errors, but they are almost as interesting as the letters he annotates,—which is saying a great deal; for Byron, with his dash, directness, and force, ranks near the very top of the world's great letter-writers.

Mr. Henley's editorial success has a twofold source—(1) his devotion to Byron, whom he considers to be "the sole English poet (for Sir Walter conquered in prose) bred since Milton to live a

¹ The Macmillan Company, New York. ² Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

master influence in the world at large," and (2) his intimate knowledge of the England of the Regency, whose hidebound, but corrupt, society could tolerate Castlereagh and Yarmouth and the Prince himself, but drove Byron into exile. His knowledge and love of his subject are indeed so great that one would almost acknowledge him as an ideal editor, in spite of his talent for unscholarly, if trifling, blunders, did not one discover in his work a certain lack of refinement that is disturbing. For example, there was really no necessity for him to denominate Pierce Egan an "ass," or the quack that tortured Byron's foot an "ignorant brute." But, notwithstanding such blemishes and the normal assertiveness of his manner, there can be little doubt that Mr. Henley's will long be a most interesting edition of Byron for the general reader.

This is not to say, however, that the handsome Murray edition is valuable only because it is complete and, apparently, final. Mr. Prothero has annotated the letters most carefully; and I cannot agree with those critics who think that he should have cast aside some of his materials. There are comparatively few of the social notes and letters included that do not throw light on Byron's character; and nearly all are interesting. The latter statement cannot be made, of course, for the early poems, which Mr. Coleridge has annotated with scholarly thoroughness. It will take the verve of Mr. Henley's notes to make the "Hours of Idleness" go down. I have re-read these youthful verses: and the only pleasure I could get from them lay in the fact that the various readings collated by the new editor seemed to show that, on the whole, when Byron altered a verse, he improved it—whence I derived a vague, but perhaps vain, hope that succeeding volumes will enable us to think a little better of him as a technical artist than most of us, whether we admire him or not, are now able to do.

The eleven fresh poems printed by Mr. Coleridge do not help matters out in the least; but this need not take the relish from the news that fifteen stanzas of "Don Juan" and a fairly large fragment of the third part of "The Deformed Transformed" are to be given us in due season. It is a pity, from the point of view of those who intend to use this edition to re-read their Byron slowly, that the publishers did not wait until two volumes of the poetry were ready. Even the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," though it be admitted to be the best strictly literary satire between "The Dunciad" and "A Fable for Critics," cannot neutralize the deadly effect of the "Hours of Idleness" and give life to this first of the six volumes that are to contain Byron's poetry. I know of

no other poet of eminence who is so handicapped by his youthful verses. Others have written stuff as worthless, or even worse; but no other that I can recall has barred the way to his great achievements by such a mass of uniformly immature and mediocre work. This has been said and thought thousands of times, to be sure, since the "Edinburgh" printed its needlessly harsh critique and stung Byron's genius into life; but it does not seem to have suggested, either to editors or to publishers, the propriety, in popular editions at least, of beginning the poetical works with the "English Bards" and printing the early verses as an appendix. We are constantly laboring to facilitate approach to our poets, we compile volumes of selections, we introduce them and annotate them; yet we seldom adopt this easy and useful plan of putting their *impedimenta* in the rear.

But have these two editions stimulated a real Byron revival, or can any rearrangement of his works make him genuinely popular once more among English readers? I cannot, with the best wish to persuade myself, believe that any permanent reaction has as yet set in in his favor, nor am I at all confident that he will ever be read with the old enthusiasm by all classes of people. My reasons for these opinions cannot be given without some discussion of his much-mooted rank as a poet; but, as the point in question is one of real critical importance, and as the present is a particularly opportune time, I shall not shrink from taking part in what may seem at first thought to be a hopelessly involved controversy.

Byron, as we all know, was acknowledged by his contemporaries, both at home and abroad, to be the master poet of his generation. He has practically lost this position in the eyes of English-speaking peoples, but has kept it among Continental peoples. Taine and Castelar and Elze place him at the summit of poetic renown, much as Goethe did over seventy years ago. No Englishman, however, not even Matthew Arnold, writes of him as enthusiastically as Sir Walter Scott could do in all sincerity. The reaction against him set in shortly after his death, Carlyle giving it potent voice; and to-day Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning can count their partisans by scores, where Byron can count one.

Nor is it merely a question of his relative rank among nineteenth-century poets. Such critics as Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Saintsbury, and Mr. Lionel Johnson have practically denied him any standing at all as a great poet; and even his staunch admirers feel called upon to qualify their praise. When Arnold extolled him at the expense of Shelley, the

critics, great and little, took a professional pleasure in charging their leader with being for once thoroughly erratic.

Many reasons have been brought forward to account for this change of taste and opinion among Englishmen. Byron's enemies say that we are more clear-sighted than our grandfathers were, that we have stripped the masks from his *Laras* and *Conrads* and *Manfreds*, and exposed the tawdry pseudo-poet beneath; that we know better than to receive a traveller's versified note-book as an inspired poem; that, if he has any merit at all, it is merely as a satirist and a rhetorician. Less rabid critics call attention to the fact, that, after the strenuous Revolutionary period was over, Englishmen felt the need of calmer, more moral, and more artistic poetry, and that what was Tennyson's opportunity was naturally Byron's extremity. In a critical, neo-Alexandrian age, they say, the poet who wrote just as passion and impulse dictated can find no appreciative audience save among the semi-cultured. On the Continent the case is different, because foreigners are naturally blind to artistic defects that are patent to every Englishman, and Byron's force and passion can produce their legitimate effects unhindered, much as they did among our forefathers, who were living in a transitional poetic period, and were, moreover, dazzled by the fiery personality of the man.

There can be little doubt that the moderate views just given contain much that is true. I will go further and say, that they are practically the grounds on which I rest my belief that no genuine revival of Byron will be possible among us for a long time to come. We are, as a rule, too sophisticated, too Alexandrian in our tastes, to enjoy greatly poetry that is thrown off at a white heat, save perhaps, for variety, the ballads with which Mr. Kipling has been favoring us. We prefer the artistic, the carefully wrought; and, even so, we do not desire that the poet's art should be as strenuous as it is in "Paradise Lost." Until something stirs us up as a race, Byron is likely to be a favorite only with youths who are naturally passionate and with disillusioned men who can get pleasure out of wit and satire.

But reasons that apply to the mass of readers do not necessarily apply to critics and men of more than ordinary culture. Such persons ought to be able to rid themselves, to some extent, of the prejudices of their own age and to fit themselves to enjoy genuine poetic merit of every sort. If it be true that Byron possessed a splendid personality, the force, the passion, the sincerity of which have been transmitted to his work, it is a sign of weakness when the cultured man of to-day fails

to enjoy these qualities, because, forsooth, he is offended by a false note here, a glaring patch of color there. There seems, too, to be an inherent weakness in our critical methods, if we can neglect, misunderstand, or treat with contempt a writer who was believed by his contemporaries to have dominated their age, and from whom foreigners have gathered literary inspiration for nearly a century. In other words, while there may be good reason to believe that a popular reaction in Byron's favor is not to be looked for shortly, is there any reason to believe that a majority of our critics and men of culture must continue to keep their faces turned away from him, as seems to be the case at present?

I am inclined to answer, No. Byron's case with the critics is by no means so hopeless as the comparative failure of Matthew Arnold's defence of him would seem to prove. This is, on the whole, an age in which criticism is in the hands of impressionists and scholars; that is to say, most men who write about literary matters are critics of taste or critics of knowledge. Above these two classes, unifying and correlating their respective qualities, are to be found the critics of judgment, who are naturally not numerous at any period. Matthew Arnold belonged to this last class; and some of his judgments, particularly those relating to Byron and Shelley, were unintelligible to Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Saintsbury, among others, simply because, as critics of taste and of knowledge, respectively, they were better fitted to play the advocate than to judge. Now judgment has always characterized the Continental critics, especially the French, more than it has the English; and when we find men like Taine, Elze, and Castelar practically agreeing in their estimates of Byron, it ought to make us pause. A cultivated taste means much; wide and accurate knowledge means much: but the impressionists and scholars have between them managed to get English criticism into an almost anarchical state; and the time is probably not far distant when the higher claims of the critics of judgment will be acknowledged with relief, even at the risk of the establishment of a dictatorial power like that of Dr. Johnson. Such a dogmatic reign as his will not, of course, be seen again; but chaos at least will not be long tolerated. And when anarchy ends among the critics, Byron may come once more into favor, for the following reasons, which I submit not as my own,—that would be presumptuous in view of what I have just written,—but as gathered by me from my reading of the critics, and tested by a recent reperusal of the whole of Byron's poetical work.

Mr. Henley calls Byron the "voice-in-chief" of his generation; and such was the opinion of contemporaries like Sir Walter Scott and Shel-

ley. Hatred of established conventions, political, religious, and social; love for nature in her wilder aspects; romantic fervor in personal attachments; lack of reticence in the expression of emotions,—in short, a fervid individualism, may be said to have been the leavening characteristics of the age; and they plainly received their fullest utterance in Byron's poetry. He may, therefore, be called legitimately the poet of an age; but we should not pay him the honors due to this high class of poets until we have measured him with Dante or Shakespeare or Milton, and determined whether he is also a poet for all time. His present obscuration does not absolve us from this comparison; for there have been times when even Dante's fame has been somewhat obscured in Italy.

The immediate effects of such a comparison cannot but be disastrous to Byron. He has not the high moral earnestness of Dante or Milton; he has not their intellectual scope; he has not their invariably perfect style. Whether as man or poet, he is at once seen to be far their inferior; and, if we were to confine our attention to his conduct or to his marvellously erratic judgments about men and books, it would seem to be an impertinence to mention his name along with those of such consummate masters. Yet he voiced the best of his age, and possessed a personality of transcendent force. Are we, therefore, quite sure that the comparison we are instituting is unnecessary? Have we not omitted to consider some essential element?

We have. The great poets, "not of an age, but for all time," have all left masterpieces in which their genius has taken a long and sustained flight,—masterpieces each in its way unapproachable. Has Byron left any such? He has, in "Don Juan," and its pendants, "Bepo" and "The Vision of Judgment." These great poems are, to be sure, vastly inferior to "The Divine Comedy," "Othello," and "Paradise Lost"; but "Don Juan," at least, is akin to them in being a work of sustained poetic imagination, perfect of its sort, unapproachable, and perennially fresh. It voices its author and his age; it is *sui generis*, the greatest of humorous epics, couched in a style that could not be changed except for the worse, and unique in its combination of wit, humor, and satire with a genuine and rich vein of romantic and descriptive poetry. It is, in my opinion, the single sustained work of poetic imagination produced in nineteenth-century England that keeps a level flight, the only one written in a style and verse-form as absolutely appropriated by its author as English blank verse is by Milton, the Latin hexameter by Vergil, and the Romantic Alexandrine by Victor Hugo. I will go further and say, that, to me at least, it is the single long poem in Eng-

lish since "Paradise Lost" that grows fresher with each reading and that gives me the sense of being in the presence of a spirit of almost boundless capacity. If this spirit does not soar into the heaven of heavens, it at least never falls to earth (save from the point of view of morals), but preserves a strong and middle flight.

What has just been claimed for "Don Juan" is practically what many critics have seen and said; but they have not, as a rule, made sufficient use of Byron's masterpiece to connect him with the great world-poets on the one hand, or to separate him, on the other, from his English contemporaries and successors. Elze, indeed, has placed him in a supreme position as representing "lyrical verse conceived in its widest sense as subjective poetry" ("die Lyrik im weitesten Sinne als subjective Poesie aufgefasst"); but this is a rather dangerous stand to take, both because the great world-poets have not won their position by their lyrical work, and because Byron's lyrical efforts, whether in a technical or a broader sense, are often so faulty that to proclaim him as a supreme lyrist is practically to assert that he was a great poet because he was a great personality. It is safer to argue that the poets of the highest class are always represented by sustained masterpieces, and that "Don Juan" is sufficiently such a work to warrant our placing its author, who also voiced the aspirations of his age and was a tremendous personality, among the world-poets, but beneath them all in rank.

Applying now this "masterpiece" test to the much-disputed question of Byron's relative position among the English poets of this century, we must perhaps conclude that even Matthew Arnold has not made sufficient use of it. He has had a discerning eye for the beauty and value of the poetical passages scattered profusely through Byron's works, just as he has had for the similar passages in Wordsworth; but he has seemingly failed to consider architectonics, and has thus given the palm to Wordsworth on the just score of the superior quality of the latter's work when at its best. But where is Wordsworth's indisputable sustained masterpiece? Even the "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality" has serious competitors, and, with all its beauty and power, does not connect its author with the world-poets. "The Excursion" has not won its way in England yet, much less on the Continent; and he would be a rash Wordsworthian who should assert that it ever will. And what have Keats and Coleridge to show in the way of masterpieces, such as we are considering? What has Shelley, whose "Prometheus Unbound" and "The Cenci," though in some respects won-

derful, are neither fully unique nor representative? As for the "Idylls of the King" and "The Ring and the Book," one can merely say, that they are still under the fire of the critics, and that the former, at least, is not likely to be pronounced unique or masterful, except by persons who know little about other heroic poetry.

According to the above reasoning, if the serried hosts of the partisans of other poets will allow the word to pass, it would seem that Byron is connected with the world-poets in three respects: (1) He has written a sustained masterpiece; (2) he is a representative character who has been accepted by the world at large; and (3) he possesses a tremendously powerful personality. No other modern Englishman is so connected with the world-poets; but Byron himself falls below them in respect to the inferior nature of his masterpiece and of his own moral, intellectual, and artistic qualifications. Yet there is also another, though a secondary, feature of his work that binds him to the masters, and distinguishes him from most of his contemporaries and successors—I mean the wide scope taken by his versatility. A discussion of this point will naturally lead us to take a rapid survey of his entire poetical achievement.

Passing over the "Hours of Idleness," it is to be noted that as early as 1808 Byron was capable of a fine lyric. "When We Two Parted" dates from this year, and breathes a spirit of passionate sorrow hardly equalled in literature; yet the major part of the lyrics of this and the next few years cannot be said to be of a high order. There are some good occasional verses, and "Maid of Athens," "I Enter thy Garden of Roses," "There be None of Beauty's Daughters," rank very high; the last-named being fully worthy of Shelley at his best: but, although the general level of the "Hours of Idleness" is surpassed, no solid foundation for fame has yet been laid, even if the verve of the "English Bards" be taken into account. In 1812 the stanzas to Thyrza, beginning, "And thou art dead, as young and fair," showed what Byron might do in the elegy if he had a mind; and in 1815 the "Hebrew Melodies," with their one supreme lyric ("She Walks in Beauty"), and at least three admirable songs, gave anyone the right to expect great things of him as a lyrist. A little later his domestic troubles occasioned the writing of "Fare Thee Well," and the three poems addressed to Augusta; but, after the later cantos of "Childe Harold," the dramas, the final tales, and "Don Juan" began to occupy his mind, lyrical work became a matter of minor importance. He did not eschew it, of course; for "Manfred" and other dramatic poems required it; and here and there he wrote an excellent,

though hardly a perfect, song. Even in "Don Juan" he made room for the eloquent "Isles of Greece"; and at Missolonghi itself he composed those stanzas on his thirty-sixth birthday which will be forgotten only when men cease to remember the nobly pathetic death that soon after befell him.

Taken in its totality, his lyric work must rank far below that of Shelley and Burns, to name no others; but it requires little critical discernment to perceive that he was capable of pushing any of his rivals close, if he had cared to put forth his full powers. It is idle to affirm that the man who wrote some of the doggerel in "Heaven and Earth" could never have been a true lyricist. The aberrations of men of genius, even of almost consummate artists, are not to be accounted for; and there are things perilously near doggerel in the mature work of poets like Shelley and Tennyson. Byron's aberrations in the matter of bad lyrical work are probably more distressing than those of any other great poet; but they are to be accounted for rather by the restlessness of his temperament than by his native incapacity to write a true song. He was much besides a lyric poet; but in gauging his versatility we must not overlook his undeveloped, but genuine, gift for singing, nor the absolute worth of at least a score of his lyrics.

Byron's contemporary fame took firm root with the publication of the first two cantos of "Childe Harold" in 1812. It is difficult now to understand how he could "awake and find himself famous" for such far from supreme work; but we must remember that people had had time to grow somewhat weary of Sir Walter's metrical romances of Scotland, and that the day had not come for popular appreciation of Wordsworth. And the first cantos of "Harold," with all their affectations and imperfections, have many decided merits which are still visible in this day of reaction against them. The invocation to the second canto, and such passages as that beginning, "Fair Greece, sad relic of departed worth," will attract readers long after Mr. Swinburne's contemptuous depreciation of the entire poem shall have been forgotten. Then, too, there is a foreshadowing of the descriptive power that was to make the third and fourth cantos memorable. In short, although Byron needed to work off his crude energies in the Eastern tales, to be disgusted with the licentious and frivolous society of the Regency, and to be stirred to the depths by his domestic turmoils, before his genius could be fully roused, there were abundant signs of the existence of that genius from the moment that Scott, with a prudent magnanimity, abdicated the throne of verse in his favor.

The Eastern tales that followed in quick succession, "The Giaour," "The Bride of Abydos," "The Corsair," and "Lara," naturally increased his reputation, because they were eminently readable and because they seemed to be partly autobiographic. None knew what the wild young peer had done in the East; therefore, everyone read the tales and speculated. The Byronic hero became quite a social personage,—a fact which has since led to not a little depreciation of this portion of the poet's works. We are now told that "The Giaour" is the only one of the early tales possessing a spark of life; and, while this is an exaggeration, it is impossible to deny that it was a good thing for Byron's fame when, by rapid working, he exhausted his Eastern vein. "The Bride" and "The Corsair," however, contain several passages of imperishable beauty; and, much as the mystery and gloom of "Lara" may be out of fashion, it is hardly fair to deny the power and the literary influence of that romance in the couplets of Pope. And besides the poetical passages, there was a vigor of narration that somewhat made up for the marked poverty of characterization, and that preluded the more successful later tales and the supreme achievement of "Don Juan." Indeed, Byron must have felt that he had a faculty for narration, since he wrote "The Island" as late as 1823.

"The Siege of Corinth" and "Parisina" appeared shortly after his marriage; while "The Prisoner of Chillon" and "Mazeppa" date respectively from 1816 and 1818. His mental and artistic growth was distinctly revealed in these pieces, the third of which has become classical. Although "The Siege" ends badly and contains much crude work, it is memorable for its descriptive strength; and there are some passages and scenes in both "Parisina" and "Mazeppa" that will perish only with the language. Even "The Island," which has been declared to be a total failure by so well-disposed a critic as Mr. J. A. Symonds, is such only in the first canto. It manages to throw a kind of Chateaubriand glamour over the South Sea Islands, and proves that, even after its author's hand had become subdued to the far from sentimental materials of "Don Juan," it had not entirely lost its early cunning in romantic narrative. We must, therefore, conclude, in despite of the critics, that Byron's tales count for something in his life-work, and are another proof of his wonderful versatility.

It is worth while to note, that, just as the unfairness of his early critics stimulated Byron to achieve the first stage of his fame, so the clamors of society against him after his rupture with his wife incited him to the still higher achievement represented by the third and fourth

cantos of "Childe Harold." The poet has now practically become another man, and has transported his readers to a new world. His intellectual grasp has become firmer and larger; his artistic powers have been strengthened and chastened, though not to the height of perfection; and his emotions and passions have been keyed to a point of intensity almost unparalleled. The result is a series of marvellous passages, which need only structural unity to make them a great poem. The Spirit of Nature has seized hold upon him, not through the influence of Wordsworth, as some suppose, but because of native propensity and enforced disgust with the world of men; and he rises to the supreme heights of descriptive poetry. Some of his stanzas devoted to the Alps are fairly sublime with passion. He does not penetrate Nature, as Wordsworth does: he appropriates her. And he almost manages to move without tripping over the fields of history and criticism, usually so foreign to him. He can characterize Rousseau and Gibbon, can comprehend the past of Italy and Rome, and can fairly conquer his normal ineptitude in matters of art. As for the noble and exquisite land in which he was to spend his exile, he almost appropriates her as he does Nature. The Italy of "Childe Harold," whatever artistic blemishes that poem may have, has dominated the world, certainly the English portion of it, in a manner not equalled by the subtler work of Landor or Shelley or Browning. It is this Italy that reappears in "Parisina," in "Beppo," in "The Lament of Tasso," in "The Prophecy of Dante," in the "Ode on Venice," in certain of the dramas—and lends charm to them all. "The Lament of Tasso" has, indeed, a power all its own that forestalls Browning and that makes one question why it is not more highly esteemed; but "The Two Foscari" would be almost unreadable save for the passages that describe its hero's passion for Venice, loveliest of cities.

We can now see that the later narrative and descriptive work not only furnishes fresh proof of Byron's astonishing versatility, but would suffice, without "Don Juan," to give its author a very high, though perhaps not the supreme, position among the English poets of this century. But the entire dramatic section of his writings, including no less than eight lyrical dramas and tragedies, remains to be considered.

It is usual to dismiss most of this work with positive contempt; but I, at least, must agree with Dr. Garnett in believing that he has, "like Dryden, produced memorable works by force and flexibility of genius." I will go further and say, that, after having just re-read them all, I should prefer to begin immediately to read them over again to being forced to go through once more the entire dramatic work of Ten-

nyson or Browning. I am well aware that Byron's blank verse is often execrable, whether through his carelessness or his incapacity to handle that measure; I know that only that precious product of open plunder, "Werner," succeeded on the stage; I admit that Byron's genius was essentially non-dramatic, that his chief characters are not real persons, but ideal personages;—I admit almost anything, in short, except the claim that the dramas are total, or nearly total, failures. Nearly all carry interest; all show force and versatility; not one is lacking in passages of passion; and at least three are, with all their faults, productions not to be matched in the works of any of Byron's modern rivals, save Shelley. These three are "Manfred," "Cain," and "Sardanapalus," which may be set beside the "Prometheus Unbound" and "The Cenci." The British critics have almost unanimously rendered their verdict in favor of Shelley; and, from the point of view of technical art, they are doubtless in the right. Yet I question whether the sheer vigor of Byron does not balance the art of Shelley in a class of compositions in which neither could attain perfection.

But, when the dramas have been added to the lyrical, narrative, and descriptive work, to vindicate Byron's claim to be considered the most versatile poetic genius of modern England, we are brought full upon the masterpiece which of itself alone might suffice to prove the truth of this claim, that wonderful "Don Juan," almost the only modern poem of which, adapting Shakespeare, it may be said, "Age cannot wither it nor custom stale its infinite variety." I shall say little more about it, save to remark that its poetical passages have a *richer* tone than can easily be found elsewhere in Byron's own work or in that of his rivals, and that its fierce denunciation and irresistible ridicule of cant and tyranny ought to make it and its pendant, "The Vision of Judgment," almost, if not quite, the master poems of modern democracy. Byron was a revolted aristocrat, it is true; but his acquired sympathy with democratic ideals, especially those of America, became a liberalizing force that can hardly be overpraised and should never be forgotten. We, at least, the countrymen of the Washington he extolled, should not be ungrateful to his memory; and the advocates of peace among the nations should hail him as their most effective champion.

But the reader may ask, What has become of the vicious, the irreligious Byron of our forefathers—the author of the blasphemous "Cain" and the licentious "Don Juan," which no self-respecting man ought to read? An obvious answer to this question would be the statement, that he never existed, save in the heated imaginations of his well-mean-

ing, but unintelligent, countrymen. Such an answer, however, would smack partly of disingenuousness. It is true that the "monster of wickedness" never existed; but it is also true that Byron, by his conduct and his writings, sketched the outlines of a caricature which his countrymen had only to fill in. The high praise I have just given him as an apostle of liberty and peace is thoroughly deserved; and he died a martyr for freedom. But his life was in many important respects unworthy and low; his character was soiled by traits of vulgarity and vice; and his writings were often impure. Time has naturally softened us toward him; and study of him and his age has convinced us that there was far more of good than of bad in him, that much extenuation can be found for his conduct and the impurity of his writings: but, while we judge the man as leniently as we can, it would not be just to ourselves if we were to make as much allowance for his literary work, the influence of which lives on. We may, indeed, easily dismiss the charge of blasphemy; for the word has various meanings at various periods and to various orders of intelligence. Byron did not mean to be blasphemous; and his attitude toward Christianity is at most wavering, not positively sceptical or defiant. To eschew his poetry on this account, in an age that tolerates Mrs. Humphry Ward, would be little short of ridiculous in any person of even semi-culture.

The charge of impurity cannot be dismissed so easily, although it would hardly be raised against a foreign writer. Some of his earliest verse was suppressed, on account of its tone, by his kind friend, Rev. Mr. Beecher. In the lyrical and narrative work written before his marriage he kept this vein under, but did not manage, and probably did not wish, to hide its existence. In the better portions of "*Childe Harold*," in the dramas, even in such later tales as "*Parisina*," it would require a prying purist to find anything seriously objectionable. In "*Beppo*" and "*Don Juan*," however, he gave himself a loose rein, in spite of the importunities of La Guiccioli. He took delight in shocking the sense of propriety of his countrymen, who had treated him with injustice; but, while his heartiest admirers cannot but wish that he had not gone so far, they find in this very fact not only an excuse for him, but a safe means of rescuing the two poems from the mass of objectionable literature. Certain scenes and passages of "*Don Juan*" are not deliberate efforts to corrupt: they are rather the ebullitions of a coarse, but thoroughly sincere, satirist, bent on shocking people he despises. The wit, the verve, the humor, the satire that are explicit or implicit in almost every stanza save "*Don Juan*" as by fire.

The London of the Regency naturally could not take this view of the matter, and sought to drown its own shame in the clamor that it raised over the alleged immorality of the new poem; but choice and wholesome spirits, like Sir Walter Scott, saw that Byron had struck his true vein, and cheered him on. As the cantos proceeded, he held himself in more and more, so that much of the poem is practically unamenable to censure. And now that time has removed us as far from him as he was from Fielding, it would seem that only those who are peculiarly sensitive to the coarse, and peculiarly insensitive to wit, need be warned away from the greatest masterpiece of its kind in any literature.

In short, just as an age that tolerates Mrs. Ward need not fear that Byron will sap its faith, so an age that reads without abhorrence certain chapters in "The Manxman," in "Jude the Obscure," and in "Evelyn Innes," cannot with consistency put "Don Juan" beyond the pale. Nor should an age that admires brilliant achievements of all kinds long withhold its praise from that wonderfully passionate, strong, and sincere soul which, after uttering itself in the master poem and poetry of a tremendous epoch, gave itself up a willing sacrifice to the cause of human freedom in the fatal marshes of Missolonghi. W. P. TRENT.

The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1898.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MY BELIEF.

WHILE belonging to the Ministry of February, 1889, which settled the accounts of Boulangism, I had good reason to believe that the Jesuits were constantly plotting against all the liberal institutions of France, and were seeking by every means to change it to a military republic of which they should have the inspiration and the mastery. The administrator of their establishment from 1882 to 1890 was M. Odelin, who had desperately contested my election to the legislature in 1889. When the "Libre Parole" was founded in 1892, M. Odelin was "president of the committee of parties in interest." The Jesuits took no trouble to conceal the fact that this journal was their journal, and that M. Drumont, who a dozen years before had begun the Anti-Semitic campaign, was their man.

Now on October 29, 1894, the "Libre Parole" asked "if proceedings had not been begun, looking to an important arrest for the crime of high treason."

The "Éclair"—a journal which had gone from the extreme of reaction to the extreme of socialism, and whose political leader, M. Alphonse Humbert, had been condemned to prison after the Commune for the odious articles of the "Père Duchêne"—replied the next morning that the fact was so.

On November 1 the "Libre Parole" published an article under the sensational title, "ARREST OF A JEWISH OFFICER."

The "Petit Journal" and the "Intransigeant,"—the latter the journal of Henri Rochefort, one of Boulanger's accomplices,—accused the Minister of War of desiring to stifle the affair because the officer was a Jew.

On November 5, 1894, M. Edouard Drumont published an article from which I take the following passage:

"Look at this Ministry of War, which ought to be the sanctuary of patriotism, and which is a cavern, the home of perpetual scandals, a *cloaca* which cannot be compared to the Augean stables, because no Hercules has as yet undertaken to clean it. Such a house should be perfumed with honor and virtue: instead it gives forth a constant stench."

The article concluded with threats to the deputies:

"To-morrow, doubtless, they will applaud the Minister of War when he boasts of the measures that he has taken to save Dreyfus."

The same day in the "Intransigeant" Rochefort published an article in which, after having heaped insults upon Gen. Mercier, he contrasted him with his "honest colleagues in the Ministry" who were forcing him to prosecute Dreyfus. On November 6 there was a new attack against Gen. Mercier. The next day Rochefort reported that

"an attaché of the Ministry of War, temporarily at Brussels, had described to him the stupefaction in which the entire *personnel* of the Ministry was plunged by the suspicious attitude of Gen. Mercier."

Who gave this information to the "Libre Parole," to the "Éclair," to the "Intransigeant"? Plainly well-informed men,—men, therefore, connected with the Staff.

Why? Gen. Mercier, Minister of War, was hesitating, had doubts. It was necessary to compel him by threats to advance. In civil life this is known as blackmail. Gen. Mercier saw that he had everything to lose, save honor, in resisting; and that, in yielding, he had everything, save honor, to gain. He surrendered. We have the exact date of this capitulation. It was November 7, 1894. It is shown by an article of Rochefort, in the "Intransigeant" of November 8. Gen. Mercier becomes, along with Gen. Boisdeffre, the patriot, the great man, "determined to go to the very end to cause Dreyfus to be shot." Those who checked him are "his colleagues of the Ministry and the President of the Republic, Casimir Périer." He is a new Boulanger.

Gen. Mercier, in an interview published on November 28 in the "Figaro," gives pledges in which he says:

"I have crying proofs of the treason of Dreyfus, and have submitted them to my colleagues of the Ministry. It is not permissible for me to say more, since the investigation is not closed. All that can now be repeated is that the guilt of this officer is absolutely certain, and that he had civilian accomplices."

These proceedings, this brusque change of attitude by the "Libre Parole" and the "Intransigeant," this inaccurate interview with Gen. Mercier, filled my mind with doubts, which were not dissipated by what the public was permitted to know of the discussions at the trial.

The trial commenced on December 19, under the presidency of Col. Maurel, of the 129th Regiment of the line. The interrogation of the accused took place in public. He declared that his name was Alfred Dreyfus; that he was thirty-five years of age, born at Mulhouse, and was Brevet Captain of Artillery, detailed as advocate in the First Bureau of the General Staff. Immediately after the summons of witnesses the Government commissary demanded an executive session. Maître Demange asked permission to submit certain conclusions.

"Since the single document——"

The President brutally interrupted him.

"There are other interests involved here than those of the accusation and the defence," said the commissary of the Government. Maître Demange insisted. The President rose abruptly and ordered the Council to withdraw. After a quarter of an hour of deliberation the Council ordered an executive session. On December 22 Dreyfus was condemned. It was thus established that he had been condemned upon *a single document*.

The next day I published in the "Siècle" an article entitled "Espionage," in which I pointed out the doubts which must weigh upon every impartial mind. In the "Siècle" of December 26 I returned to the subject; saying that in this whole affair it was felt, as the commissary of the Government had naïvely remarked, that there were "other interests involved than those of the accusation and the defence." There were others also than those of the country and of the truth.

I learned that, before going to the trial, Maître Demange, an advocate of high position in Paris, had said to one of his *confrères* :

"Even if the trial took place before the correctional police, which is a terrible condemning-machine, I should be sure of an acquittal."

Maître Demange, although he entertained exaggerated scruples as to professional discretion, remarked :

"A padlock has been put upon our lips. In the eyes of everybody, Dreyfus is guilty. But as for me, in my inmost heart, *I am still persuaded, in the most absolute manner, that he is innocent.*"

On January 5, 1895, occurred the frightful ceremony of the degradation of Dreyfus. He protested his innocence with energy, as was reported in all the journals, however prejudiced. To the crowd, which

cried, "Death, death to the traitor!" he replied, "I swear that I am innocent."

On the following morning appeared in the "Figaro" the conversation which Capt. Lebrun-Renault, who accompanied Dreyfus, had had with him. It was reported by M. Clisson, who, returning from a fifteen months' voyage in America, had met the Captain by chance at the Moulin Rouge. There was no reference in it to any confession. Some journals spoke of such reference; but they were those only which were bent upon the ruin of Dreyfus.

The Government then undertook an odious measure with reference to Dreyfus. It proposed, and the Parliament adopted, the law of February 9, 1895,—a special law for a single individual, relating to a crime already committed,—by virtue of which Dreyfus was deported to the Île du Diable, in the fatal climate of Guiana, instead of being sent to New Caledonia.

The Government violated the law of 1873, with reference to transportation, by refusing to permit his wife to join him. The "Libre Parole" and the "Intransigeant" danced a scalp-dance around the unfortunate wretch. That was their understanding of patriotism. Their words betrayed the most furious animosities of religion and of race.

But what could be done? Some friends had the greatest doubts in regard to the guilt of Dreyfus. A memoir which he had written was communicated to me. From beginning to end he protested his innocence, and brought forward very strong moral proofs. But I said to myself, "What is necessary is to find the real culprit. Until he is found every effort to secure the revision of the trial will be in vain."

Two years passed. On September 3, 1896, a despatch published in an English journal announced the escape of Dreyfus. Curious thing! As if the men who had secured the condemnation of Dreyfus thought that he was not sufficiently condemned, they seized the occasion of this false news to secure his condemnation a second time by public opinion and by Parliament. On September 14 there appeared in the "Éclair" an article in the course of which it was said:

"There can now be disclosed in broad daylight what could not be produced at the time of the trial, the proof—the irrefutable, the literal proof—of treason, the proof which determined the unanimous verdict of the officers composing the Council of War."

The "Éclair" gave the following description of this proof:

"It was a letter in the cipher of the German Embassy. This cipher was in the hands of the Government; and it can well be imagined that it was far too useful to

permit the publication of such a secret. This was the reason why the letter in question was not put upon record.

About September 20, 1894, Col. Sandherr, Chief of the Statistical Section, communicated to Gen. Mercier this letter which had been deciphered: 'Decidedly that animal Dreyfus is becoming too exacting.'

The "Éclair" closed its article with a paragraph entitled "The Proof before the Eyes of the Judges." After having stated that Dreyfus had always persisted in protesting his innocence, it added:

"It is true that Dreyfus did not know, and perhaps does not yet know, that the Ministry of War was in possession of a photograph of the letter exchanged between the military attachés of Germany and Italy, the only document in which his name figured. The letter that he wrote, and that he took good care not to sign, could be only a moral element in the case. In fact, if two experts in handwriting, Charavay and Bertillon, testified that it was indeed by Dreyfus, the three others were hesitant."

The unconscious revelation of this article was stupefying. If it was true, it proved that Dreyfus had been illegally condemned, for Article 101 of the Code of Military Justice is explicit. All the documents of the procedure must be included in the record. The minister who communicated this document to the judges, and the judges who received it and based their opinion upon it, were guilty of forfeiture and liable to civic degradation. Guilty or not, Dreyfus was the victim of illegality. M. Castelin, a deputy, the product of Boulangism, claimed the monopoly of patriotism. It was very clear in the month of November that the despatch published on September 3, announcing the escape of Dreyfus, was false. Nevertheless, M. Castelin seized upon it as a pretext to address an interpellation to the Government upon the Dreyfus Affair. The discussion was fixed for November 18.

M. Bernard Lazare, in a pamphlet entitled "The Truth About the Dreyfus Affair," had declared that the text of the *bordereau*, published by the "Éclair," had not been faithfully copied. On November 10, the "Matin" published a facsimile of the *bordereau* under the title, "The Proof. Facsimile of the Bordereau Written by Dreyfus." Here is the text:

"Being without word that you wish to see me, I address to you, sir, some interesting information.

1. A note on the hydraulic brake of 120 and the way in which it works.
2. A note on the troops at the frontier ports (*troupes de couverture*) (some fresh modifications will be made by the new plan).
3. A note on a change in artillery formations.
4. A note relating to Madagascar.
5. The project for field-artillery firing (14 March, 1894).

This last document is extremely difficult to procure. A certain number have been sent to the corps by the War Department, and the corps are responsible; after

the manœuvres, every officer possessing one must return it. If, then, you wish me to take from it what interests you, and afterward hold it at my disposal, I will take it, unless you wish that I have it copied *in extenso* and send you the copy.

I am about to leave for the manœuvres."

Cool-headed people noticed that, while the "Éclair" acknowledged that the experts had not agreed, and that the *bordereau* was not a sufficient proof of the guilt of Dreyfus, the "Matin" cited it as decisive proof. Their doubts continued to increase. They discovered, finally, that this publication, appearing on the eve of the Castelin interpellation, was a part of those shrewd manœuvres to influence public opinion which the Staff were constantly promoting. They continued to wonder that the mysteries of the Dreyfus Affair should be published by the men who had pretended, at the time of his condemnation, that nothing could be said about it without incurring the gravest dangers for France. Following upon these indiscretions, they were surprised to hear Gen. Billot declare, on November 18, to the Chamber of Deputies:

"The investigation of the affair, the discussion, the judgment, all took place in conformity with the rules of military procedure. The Council of War was regularly composed, and its deliberations were regular. We have, then, the *chose jugée*, and no one can be permitted to go back of the trial; but motives of a higher order, which in 1894 made necessary the judgment of the affair with closed doors, have lost nothing of their gravity."

People who were not blinded by passion said to themselves, "Then the history of the secret document published by the 'Éclair,' according to information evidently furnished by the Staff, may not be true? That would indeed be astounding."

The Minister of War pretends that secrecy is still indispensable. That is plainly not the opinion of his subordinates of the Staff, since they have related in the "Éclair" all the details of the accusation, and the "Matin" was able to publish a facsimile of the *bordereau*.

In his interpellation M. Castelin had but one purpose; viz., to declare anew, in declamatory terms, the guilt of Dreyfus, by means of a story about an attempt to corrupt the chairman of the Council of War (denied instantly by M. Charles Dupuy); a pretended proposition from M. Puybaraud to the "Hon. M. Teyssonnières," stricken from the list of experts of the civil tribunal; the recital of pretended and romantic attempts at escape; and accusations of espionage against M. Hadamard, the father-in-law of Dreyfus.

The Chamber of Deputies voted, with only five opposing votes, an order of the day from M. Castelin, inviting

"the Government to examine, if occasion required, the *responsabilités* which had

been disclosed on the occasion of the condemnation of the traitor Dreyfus and since, and to persist in the repression thereof."

This was a part of those manifestations, including the articles of the "Libre Parole," the "Éclair," the "Intransigeant," and the "Petit Journal," which were intended to act upon public opinion, and to show Dreyfus surrounded by the civilian accomplices of whom Gen. Mercier spoke in his interview of November 28, 1894, and who have since vanished.

Mme. Lucie Dreyfus had addressed to the Chamber a petition protesting against the condemnation of her husband and praying for justice. This petition was rejected. In reporting it, M. Lorient said: "This lady, relying upon an article in the 'Éclair,' complains that neither her husband, nor his counsel, was allowed to become acquainted with the secret documents communicated to the Council of War," and he added: "One consideration dominates everything, that is, respect for the *chose jugée*."

Men who had any care for the respect due to the law said to themselves, "But if there were secret documents, as the 'Éclair' has said, there could not have been respect for the *chose jugée*, since the *illegality committed annuls the judgment of December 22, 1894*."

On October 29, 1897, an article appeared in the "Matin," containing this declaration by M. Scheurer-Kestner:

"I am convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus; and I am more than ever resolved to undertake his rehabilitation."

These words of M. Scheurer-Kestner produced a profound impression. The Anti-Semites could not accuse M. Scheurer-Kestner of being a Jew; for he is a Protestant. They could not say that he had any interest in taking up the Dreyfus Question. He had no need to seek notoriety. As Vice-President of the Senate, he had no ambition; and, as events have proved, he could only compromise his situation. A rich man, he could not be accused of pecuniary corruption. Finally, this Alsatian could not be suspected of indulgence for a traitor. If this man gave up his quiet life to take in hand a cause which was bound to loose against him so much fury and hatred, it must be recognized that his sole motive was the love of truth and of justice.

M. Gabriel Monod, Professor in the École des Hautes Études, and a former pupil of the École des Chartes, declared that he shared the opinion of M. Scheurer-Kestner.

M. Bernard Lazare published a new pamphlet. He rested his argument upon moral proofs, and upon the opinions of experts in writing

who denied Dreyfus' authorship of the *bordereau*. To this the partisans of condemnation said, "What value have these opinions?"

But if these opinions had no value, how can those of the opposing experts have any more?

The "Libre Parole" and the "Intransigeant," the papers which had first been informed of the arrest of Dreyfus, and which had waged war upon Gen. Mercier until he consented to the prosecution, broke out in insult, cries of indignation, and calumnies against M. Scheurer-Kestner.

On November 14 Scheurer-Kestner wrote that on October 30, in an interview with the Minister of War, he had demonstrated, with the documents in his hand, that "the *bordereau* attributed to Capt. Dreyfus was not by him, but by another." Gen. Billot asked him for a fortnight in which to make an investigation. Instead of making it, he incited an attack in the papers upon his old friend Scheurer-Kestner, and did not produce for him a single document establishing the guilt of Dreyfus.

This was the moment at which the journals devoted to the Staff started the phrase, "Dreyfus Syndicate." In reality Scheurer-Kestner did not know any members of the Dreyfus family. It was only on the eve of the interpellation of Le Provost de Launay in the Senate, that Mathieu Dreyfus, the brother of the prisoner, presented himself at Scheurer-Kestner's house:

"You know the name of the real author of the *bordereau*?"

'Yes,' M. Scheurer-Kestner replied, 'but I have no authority to speak it.

'But if I should speak it, you would not deny it?'

'No.'

'Esterhazy.'

'That is the name,' replied M. Scheurer-Kestner. 'How did you know it?'

'A banker, M. de Castro, bought the facsimile of the *bordereau* on the street. He instantly recognized the handwriting as that of one of his former customers. He compared it with the letters which he had received from him. The writing was identical; and on November 7 he came to me to give me this name, and the proofs.'"

On November 15 Mathieu Dreyfus denounced Esterhazy to the Minister of War as the guilty man.

Immediately the Chief of the Staff, Gen. Mouton de Boisdeffre, sent his chief clerk, the Commandant Pauffin de Saint-Morel, "to place the flag of the army" in the hands of Rochefort, who had continually poured out upon it and upon his superiors the most disgraceful insults. There was general amazement. The Minister of War sentenced the Commandant Pauffin de Saint-Morel to thirty days' confinement. This appeared like a mere comedy. Gen. de Pellieux was charged with proceed-

ings against Esterhazy; but this man, though accused of treason, was not arrested. He went about peddling the queer stories concerning "the veiled lady," trying to make people believe that this was a woman who, having become an enemy of Col. Picquart, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Information, had given to him (Esterhazy) a document that had been confided to her by Picquart, and which would now be proof of his (Esterhazy's) innocence.

At the same time the Government did not decide to recall from Tunis Col. Picquart, who had discovered the guilt of Esterhazy and the innocence of Dreyfus. When it finally consented to do so, Gen. de Pellieux treated him as if he were the accused, while treating Esterhazy like a *protégé*. He caused a search to be made of Picquart's apartments in his absence. No one was surprised when Gen. de Pellieux reported in favor of Esterhazy; and, although Gen. Saussier ordered that he should be prosecuted, I, with many others, was convinced that we were witnessing a shameful parody of justice.

Interpellations had been made in the Senate on November 18 and December 5 and 7, as well as in the Chamber, in the course of which M. Méline had declared that there "was no Dreyfus Affair"; that the Government rejected revision "in order not to impair the authority of the *chose jugée*"; and that Gen. Billot had repeated that "Dreyfus was condemned legally and justly."

All these facts confirmed me more and more in the convictions that Dreyfus was innocent. I made, however, one reservation; but on December 25 I became acquainted with the *acte d'accusation* which the Commandant Besson d'Ormescheville had prepared against Dreyfus. Then my conviction of the innocence of Dreyfus became absolute. This document showed the passion with which Du Paty de Clam had conducted the prosecution; and it also showed that M. Gobert, the handwriting expert of the Bank of France, had agreed with another expert, M. Pelletier,—that is, two out of five,—that there was no resemblance between the two handwritings. It undertook to establish moral proofs which completely contradicted the proposition that it was desired to prove. It established the fact that there had been only a single document introduced in the discussion—the *bordereau*. I published this in the "Siècle" of January 7 with this conclusion:

"Either Dreyfus was condemned upon documents other than the *bordereau*, and in that case his condemnation was illegal; or he was condemned on the *bordereau*, and in that case he was condemned without proof."

Three days later came the Esterhazy trial.

THE ESTERHAZY TRIAL.

The trial commenced on January 10, 1898. Gen. de Luxer presided over the court martial. The first part of the proceedings was public. The *acte d'accusation* against Esterhazy was read by the Commandant Ravary. In reality it was a plea for the author of the *bordereau*, and a formal accusation against Col. Picquart. On January 11 Esterhazy was acquitted. Gen. de Luxer grasped him by the hand and the Anti-Semites gave him an ovation, crying: "Hail to the Martyr of the Jews!" Nevertheless, it was known that this man, a former Papal Zouave, was a detestable personage, ruined by debts, retired under pretext of temporary infirmities, but in reality because his presence had become intolerable in any regiment; that he had deserted his wife and children, after having ruined them, to live with a person of the vilest sort, the woman Marguerite Pays.

Letters were produced from Esterhazy to Mme. de Boulancy in which he breathed all his hatred against the French army and its chiefs. He described his ambition to be a "Captain of Uhlans, sabring Frenchmen in Paris—taken by assault and given over to pillage to one hundred thousand drunken soldiers. Amen!"

Then, on January 13, there appeared the letter of Émile Zola to the President of the Republic—a magnificent and powerful cry of indignation over the Dreyfus and Esterhazy trials. Amid the applause of the Chamber, the Government announced that Zola would be prosecuted. We owe to Minister Méline the happy idea of sending the Staff before the Criminal Court.

M. Méline undertook to limit discussion. He chose two paragraphs in Zola's letter. To every witness who could make any revelation whatever in regard to the Dreyfus Affair the President, Delegorgue, declared, "The question will not be put." True, he permitted the officers of the Staff to speak with entire freedom; and when Col. Henry said to Col. Picquart, "You have lied," he contented himself with saying gently, "I think you do not agree."

Never did a trial proceed under more scandalous conditions. *Cedat toga armis!* In the Hall Du Harlay (where the trial was held) M. Max Regis, President of the Anti-Jewish League of Algiers, caused the arrest of people who ventured to cry "*Vive la République!*" M. Jules Guérin, President of the French Anti-Semite League, whose name could not be admitted to any registry list of voters, was allowed without in-

terruption to shout, "Down with the Jews!" "Death to Zola! Death to Yves Guyot! Death to Travier!" Lawyers, led by M. Jules Auffray, secretary to M. de Mackau during the Boulanger campaign, blended the cries of "Vive l'Armée!" and "Vive Esterhazy!"; and he arranged with Du Paty de Clam and Gen. Gonse to fill the audience-hall with officers "intended to sustain the Advocate-General" and to intimidate the jury.

Gen. de Pellieux had command in the Palace. A commandant of guards, Perret, was entirely willing to let loose his municipal guards against Zola and his friends. The Palace of Justice was allowed to be invaded and surrounded. Zola and his friends were exposed to peril of their lives in leaving it. The jurors were indicated by name for vengeance if they did not convict. One of them became ill in the course of the proceedings. They would indeed have been heroes had they brought in a verdict of acquittal under the threats which were rumbling about them.

Zola was found guilty without mitigating circumstances; and the Court inflicted the maximum penalty.

The "Écho de Paris," one of the Staff's newspapers, thus describes the hall of the criminal court during the proceedings:

"A flood of insults drowns the voice of the advocate. The audience rises to its feet. There is whistling, groaning; and canes are pounding the floor in cadence. If one closes one's eyes, the illusion is complete that the Palace is about to tumble to pieces. Each minute the audience becomes more excited. Finally, it breaks out. The most offensive cries and shouts mingle with hisses and whistles. One by one, under the fixed stare of the spectators, the jurors quit the hall."

This took place under the Ministry of M. Milliard, Keeper of the Seals; M. Perivier being the Chief Judge of the Court, and M. Delegorgue actually presiding. These names will go down to posterity with those bequeathed us by Tacitus and Victor Hugo.

Zola was condemned to the maximum penalty of one year in prison; and on April 2, 1898, the order of the Criminal Court was annulled by the Court of Cassation, because the Minister of War had replaced the Council of War in the prosecution. The Government reconvened the Council of War which had judged Esterhazy, but took good care not to reconvene the Council of War which had judged Dreyfus, although it had accused its members of having condemned Dreyfus illegally. Zola was sent before the Criminal Court at Versailles, but allowed himself to be condemned by default; expecting, with good reason, that new facts would justify him. They have since appeared.

THE FORGERS.

I should not have believed it possible to accumulate so many proofs of the innocence of Dreyfus and of the guilt of Esterhazy; but I have been amazed and grieved to see the blind passion, the fanatical obstinacy, with which the great majority of people reject all proof, and stubbornly persist, without reason, in cynical defiance of morality, in keeping an innocent man in the Île du Diable, and the real traitor on the roll of officers of the French army. It seems as if all the old hatreds of the wars of religion of the sixteenth century had been re-awakened. Politicians, who ought to enlighten public opinion, become accomplices; and even the most independent remain silent.

At the last election Joseph Reinach was defeated in his district. At Paris I could not even be a candidate. The Méline Ministry fell on June 14. M. Brisson permitted the "Libre Parole" and the "Intransigeant" to impose M. Cavaignac upon him as Minister of War. On July 7 a new interpellation occurred anent the Dreyfus Affair. M. Cavaignac had not a word to say about the *bordereau*, but cited two mysterious documents, one, the document produced by the "Éclair"—"Cette canaille de D."—and a letter dated two years later than the condemnation of Dreyfus, written by M. de Schwarzkoppen, military attaché of the German Embassy, to M. Panizzardi, military attaché of the Italian Embassy:

"I have read that a deputy is about to make an interpellation as to Dreyfus, if [here is a phrase that I cannot read] I will say that I never had any relations with this Jew. That is understood. If you are questioned, speak in this way, because it is necessary that no one shall ever know what took place with him."

Of this M. Cavaignac guaranteed "the material and moral authenticity." Moreover, he cited a pretended report of Capt. Lebrun-Renault, written to order three years after the degradation of Dreyfus, according to which Dreyfus had made a confession. The Chamber offered an ovation to M. Cavaignac. Of the five hundred and eighty-one members, the five hundred and forty-five who voted gave a unanimous vote for the "official posting" of M. Cavaignac's speech.

On July 9, Col. Picquart wrote to the President of the Council:

"As the Minister of War has cited in the tribune of the Chamber three of these documents, I hold it to be my duty to inform you that I am in a position to establish before any competent tribunal that the two documents which bear the date of 1894 cannot possibly refer to Dreyfus, and *that the one which bears the date of 1896 has all the marks of forgery.*"

The only response was a search of Col. Picquart's house, in his absence, on July 11. The next day he was arrested.

The evening of the day when M. Cavaignac delivered his speech I took as the title of my article in the "Siècle" "The Necessity of Revision." The facts smote and carried away the dike which M. Cavaignac had sought to raise against them. His discourse had amazed everyone who expected "the crushing blow" with which Gen. Billot had constantly menaced us. They showed that the proofs of M. Cavaignac proved nothing. He had affirmed that there were a thousand documents in the record, whereas in the Criminal Court Col. Henry had said that there were only eight or nine; and of these thousand documents only three could be produced.

At the very moment when M. Cavaignac caused the arrest of Col. Picquart, M. Bertulus, *Juge d'instruction*, being presented by Col. Picquart with a complaint of forgery against Esterhazy and the woman Pays, ordered their arrest. While Picquart was at Soussa in Tunis, at the moment when Scheurer-Kestner opened communication with M. Méline and Billot, it was shown that the despatches that had been sent to him signed "Speranza" and "Blanche," for the purpose of compromising him, had been gotten up jointly by Du Paty de Clam, Esterhazy, and the woman Pays. Day after day the "Siècle" publicly charged M. Du Paty de Clam with forgery, and challenged him to prosecute it. M. Du Paty de Clam, a cousin of Cavaignac, kept silent.

On August 6 the lower Court released Esterhazy, the woman Pays, and Du Paty de Clam. By an order of September 1, the Court of Cassation decided that this act was in violation of the law. On that day the public learned the decision of M. Bertulus, which shows the relations existing between Col. Henry, Chief of the Bureau of Information, Col. Du Paty de Clam, the Commandant Esterhazy, and the woman Pays.

Two days previously a despatch of the Agence Havas had announced the arrest of Col. Henry, and his confession that the third document read by M. Cavaignac in the Chamber—"If ever I had, etc."—was a forgery, as Picquart had declared, and as had been foreseen by everybody possessing a little sense and coolness.

M. Cavaignac had said that "the moral authenticity of this document resulted from the correspondence carried on. The first wrote to the second, who responded." Now, a forgery cannot be embodied in a correspondence, unless the rest of the correspondence is also forged. Consequently there was not merely one forgery: there were several. The document avowed and exhibited by Gen. de Pellieux and by Cavaignac demonstrated that if there had been any proofs against Dreyfus

in 1894, Col. Henry would not have been obliged to commit forgery two years after the condemnation in order to prove guilt. One rotten apple in a basket renders all the others suspect. Officers who have committed forgeries are capable of committing others. Du Paty de Clam was convicted of forgery the moment that Henry acknowledged his. What weight, then, could be allowed to the investigation against Dreyfus conducted by Du Paty de Clam? Here are two officers on the Staff who are forgers. Why may there not be others in the company? What was the part played by Gen. Boisdeffre and Gen. Gonse, who made use of the forgery confessed by Henry; of the Commandant Lauth, who had so falsely accused Picquart of forgery, and the Archivist Gribelin, who was mixed up so actively in all these manœuvres?

Public opinion was violently agitated. The deputies who had voted for the posting of M. Cavaignac's speech were subjected to the mortification of seeing on the walls of their own districts copies of the forgeries to which they had rendered that honor. From that moment a revision appeared indispensable. Nevertheless, M. Cavaignac announced that he rejected it; and he resigned with the declaration, that he was more than ever "convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus." He did not appear to suspect that his opinion was discredited. This served only to give a little courage to the adversaries of revision, who were all the more desperate because that procedure might have the most terrible consequences for Gen. Mercier, who had brought about the condemnation of Dreyfus, and for all who, before or after, had joined in that job. Gen. Zurlinden offered to take the place of Cavaignac, and almost immediately hastened by the same manœuvre to try to save the compromised officers of the Staff. It is incredible how many people there are who seem to make it a point of honor to become the champions of officers who are forgers in order to save the real traitor, and to keep the innocent man at the ^{Île} du Diable.

The President of the Republic, the former tanner, now possessed of a military establishment, and proud of being surrounded by generals and saluted by them, thought that he also ought to declare against revision. He is the more inexcusable, because he knew at least that the condemnation of Dreyfus was illegal. The President of the Council, M. Brisson, was obliged twice to recall to his attention the constitutional limit of his powers.

On September 17 the Council of Ministers finally decided to lay before the commission instituted by the Keeper of the Seals a revision of the trial. This commission has only a consultative voice. It was

with amazement that we learned on September 24, that the commission was equally divided. The Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation has full power. It can make a full inquiry, compel the submission of all documents, and hear witnesses. As soon as it is charged with the case, the Keeper of the Seals may suspend the penalty of the prisoner. The new Council of War, before which Dreyfus will be sent, cannot render its judgment behind closed doors. The revision must be loyal. Had it been held a few months ago, it might have been merely a new crime. Col. Bougon, one of the judges of the Council of War, remarked, with cool cynicism: "Revision is only a matter of two steamers, one to bring Dreyfus over, and the other to take him back."

THE INNOCENT MAN AND THE TRAITOR.

The demonstration of the innocence of Dreyfus has been complete for a year; for not only is it proved that there were not any proofs against him, but the real culprit has been found—Esterhazy.

Against the latter there are abundant charges. French law admits five methods of proof: (1) literal proof; (2) proof by testimony; (3) by presumption; (4) the confession of the party; (5) by oath. Let us rapidly apply those to Dreyfus and Esterhazy.

(1) *Literal proof—the bordereau.* First examination by experts, five in number. M. Gobert, the expert of the bank, and M. Pelletier declared that it was not in the handwriting of Dreyfus. M. Teyssonnières, an expert whose name had been expunged from its list by the civil tribunal, M. Bertillon, author of the system of anthropometry, and M. Charavay agreed upon the resemblance of the handwriting.

These experts had no chance to compare the handwriting of the *bordereau* with the handwriting of Esterhazy. In the Esterhazy trial the three experts, MM. Belhomme, Varinard, and Couard, declared that the *bordereau* had been traced from the writing of Esterhazy. Now, if it was traced from the writing of Esterhazy, it was not Dreyfus' handwriting. Out of eight experts five, then, have concluded that it was not Dreyfus' handwriting.

As early as November 16, 1897, Esterhazy confessed "the frightful similarity" between his writing and that of the *bordereau*.

"That there existed between the writing of the *bordereau* and the writing of Esterhazy a resemblance, a similitude equivalent to identity," was testified not only by M. Franck, a doctor of law, an advocate, and an expert in writing at Brussels, by M. Paul Moriaud, professor of law

at the University of Geneva, and by Dr. Héricourt, chief editor of the "Scientific Review," but by MM. Paul Meyer, Member of the Institute, Director of the École des Chartes, Giry, Member of the Institute, professor in the École des Chartes, Auguste Molinier, professor in the École des Chartes, Émile Milinier, archivist and paleograph, professor in the École du Louvre, Louis Havet, professor in the College of France, and Bourmont, archivist and paleograph. They added: "The handwriting of M. Esterhazy is absolutely individual and very characteristic. It has what may be called idioms that are peculiar to it." The method and proofs by which these conclusions were reached may be seen in the stenographic report of the Zola trial. As to MM. Bertillon, Teyssonnières, Charavay, Couard, Varinard, and Belhomme, they refused to explain the origin of their opinion.

Moreover, Col. Picquart proved in his deposition before the Criminal Court "that the author of the *bordereau* must be an infantry officer like Esterhazy, and not an officer of the Staff." (Vol. ii, page 102.)

All artillery officers have noticed the incorrect terms which prove that the text could not have been written by an artilleryman. Among other things, an artilleryman never speaks of the way in which "*une pièce se conduit*" but in which "*elle se comporte.*" He never speaks of a "hydraulic brake," but of a "hydropneumatic brake," etc.

There is a second literal proof against Esterhazy. In May, 1896, the same agent who had sent the *bordereau* to the Ministry of War sent to Col. Picquart—at that time Chief of the Bureau of Information—a telegram-card (*petit bleu*) torn into some sixty pieces. M. Picquart entrusted it to the Commandant Lauth to reconstruct. Of itself this little paper had no value. Here is the text:

"I am waiting before all for a more detailed explanation than you gave me the other day in regard to the question in suspense. I beg you therefore to give it to me in writing, in order that I can judge whether or not I can continue my relations with the house of R.

The Commandant ESTERHAZY,

27 Rue de La Bienfaisance, Paris. "

This little paper, if it had been seized in the mail, or at Esterhazy's house, would have been without significance. What gave it its value was the fact, that it had the same origin as the *bordereau*. It was not a proof: it was an indication which prompted Col. Picquart to make an investigation.

An agent declared that a superior officer about fifty years of age was furnishing to a foreign Power such and such documents. "Now

these documents," said Col. Picquart, "were precisely those which had been mentioned to me by the comrade to whom I addressed myself when I discovered the *petit bleu*." Col. Picquart requested the colonel of the regiment in which Esterhazy was serving to furnish him with certain letters. Compared with the *bordereau*, and submitted to the inspection of M. Bertillon, the latter instantly said to Col. Picquart: "It is the handwriting of the *bordereau*."

The discovery of the *petit bleu* was regarded as so serious by all the officers who were determined to save Esterhazy,—Col. Henry, Du Paty de Clam, Gen. de Pellieux, Commandant Ravary,—that, in order to weaken its effect, they accused Col. Picquart of forgery. As Chief of the Bureau of Information, Col. Picquart was prefect of police for the army; and this is the way they treated him. Commandant Ravary, at the hearing on February 11, said: "There are many other charges." At the same time, Gen. Zurlinden, feeling that Picquart would be acquitted of the ridiculous charge of revealing documents to M. Lellois, and being Minister of War, gave an order, against the judgment of his colleagues, to the Governor-General of Paris, to lodge a complaint against Picquart; and when Minister Brisson weakly reappointed Gen. Zurlinden Governor of Paris, the latter hastened to execute the order which, as Minister of War, he had issued.

Is this the way that they would protect the honor of the army and advance its *prestige*?

They use two arguments which are mutually destructive. On the one hand, they say that Picquart forged a document to ruin Esterhazy. In that case the document must have some force. On the other hand, they say that the telegram is a matter of no significance whatever. This argument then destroys the former. But, if this telegram is of no consequence, how comes it that, up to the very day when Henry confessed that he was its author, they cited as proof against Dreyfus the pretended letter of Schwarzkoppen to Panizzardi of November 16, 1896?

(2) *Proof by testimony.* There were twenty-seven witnesses against Dreyfus, including the five experts in handwriting. Their testimony was so insignificant that the commissary of the Government brushed them aside; saying to Maître Demange, "Nothing remains but the *bordereau*: that is sufficient." But, outside of the hearing of the Court, there is testimony of the first importance.

At the time the Dreyfus Affair first arose, the Emperor of Germany demanded that he should be told the exact truth. After examination, the German Staff assured him that Dreyfus had never been, directly or

indirectly, in communication with any German agent. This information was conveyed to Count Münster, who transmitted it to M. Casimir-Périer, then President of the Republic, and to M. Charles Dupuy, President of the Council. M. Hanotaux, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs, was absent; but he could not have been ignorant of this communication, since on November 12, 1894, Col. Schwarzkoppen declared that he had never had direct or indirect relations with Dreyfus. On November 13 there was a denial not less categorical from Italy; and on the following day one not less formal from Austria.

On January 24, 1898, a despatch from Berlin reported the following words used by Von Bülow to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag:

"I shall confine myself to declaring in the most formal and categorical fashion, that between Ex-Captain Dreyfus, at present confined on the *Île du Diable*, and any German organ whatsoever, there has never existed any relation or connection of any kind. As to the story about a letter of a mysterious agent, said to have been found in a waste-paper-basket, it might perhaps show well in a romance. Naturally, it is wholly imaginary, and never took place in reality."

A despatch of January 31 reported the following declaration of Count Bonin Longare, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Italian Chamber of Deputies:

"I can affirm in the most explicit manner that neither our military attaché nor any agent or representative of the Italian Government has ever had any relation, direct or indirect, with Dreyfus."

In his interviews with Count Casella, Col. Schwarzkoppen, the German military attaché, declared in the most distinct manner that "Dreyfus was not guilty."

On the contrary, these interviews and the "Letter of a Diplomat," published in the "*Siècle*" of April 4, give precise details as to the relations between Esterhazy and Col. Schwarzkoppen. These relations continued up to the publication of the facsimile in the "*Matin*" on November 10, 1896.

Col. Schwarzkoppen discovered at that time, with dismay, that the *bordereau* was by Esterhazy, who did not dare to continue his relations with him any longer. He returned only on October 16, 1897, to demand—a revolver in his hand—of the Colonel that he should go and declare to Mme. Dreyfus that he had had relations with Dreyfus.

Col. Schwarzkoppen was recalled to Berlin before the name of Esterhazy had been mentioned. In the conversation with Count Casella, he declared in the plainest manner that "Dreyfus is not guilty." He said of Esterhazy: "He is capable of anything." The account of "The Diplomat" was confirmed by a German official note. This, as

well as the deposition of Count Casella, was published by all the foreign papers without being disputed.

When Von Bülow made his declaration, he confined himself to saying that he had known the name of Esterhazy for only a few weeks.

(3) *Presumptions.* Those that are contained in the *acte d'accusation* of D'Ormescheville show only a disposition to turn against the accused even his good qualities. He is reproached with being "curious"; and it is added "that this attitude has seriously counted against him." The successive reports made in regard to Capt. Dreyfus are generally good, sometimes even "excellent," with the exception of those of Col. Fabre:

"He speaks several languages, notably German. He is extremely well informed. He is gifted with a very supple character. Capt. Dreyfus was therefore a most suitable agent for the wretched and shameful mission."

In reality, there was only one grave presumption against Dreyfus. *He was a Jew, and the first Jew officer to enter the Staff.* The Ravary report confesses that the information as to Esterhazy is deplorable: "Commandant Esterhazy lived with great difficulty, and in great need of money." It is known that he was accustomed to gamble on the Bourse; that he did not pay his differences; and that he used to threaten his creditors with sword or revolver.

Col. Dubach informed Col. Picquart that

"Commandant Esterhazy in 1882 was involved in a matter of malversation, which should have sent him before a council of inquiry, if not a court martial."

This was confirmed by Commandants Sainte-Chapelle and Zickel. When Col. Picquart reported the result of his preliminary investigations as to Esterhazy, the answer was: "As for Esterhazy, we know him better than you do"; but nothing was said about that in the report.¹

(4) *The confession of the party.* Dreyfus incessantly protested his innocence before and after his condemnation. We have not only the testimony of Maître Demange, and of M. Forzinetti, Commandant of the Prison of Cherche-Midi, but here is the letter which Dreyfus himself wrote to Maître Demange the evening of his degradation:

"I have kept the promise that I made to you. Innocent as I am, I have faced the most frightful martyrdom that can be inflicted upon a soldier. I have felt about me the scorn of the crowd. I have suffered the most terrible torture that can be imagined. How happy should I be in the tomb. All would then be over; I should no longer hear talk of anything; there would be peace and oblivion of all my sufferings. But, alas! duty will not permit me that."

Since that time all his letters have been one long cry of protest against his condemnation.

¹ Stenographic report of the trial, Deposition of Col. Picquart, vol. i., p. 295.

As for Esterhazy, he has confessed, in spite of himself, that he is the author of the *bordereau*. After the denunciation by Mathieu Dreyfus, the "Libre Parole" of November 17, and the "Écho de Paris" of November 19, announced that they had recognized in their respective offices the "terrible resemblance" between the writing of the *bordereau* and Esterhazy's. Before his name had even been mentioned he told Mlle. Pays that he was ruined, and that he was going to kill himself. After the "Récit d'un Témoin" and the deposition of M. Henri Casella, in the "Siècle," he remained silent. He did not dare to utter an audible protest.

(5) *By oath.* Dreyfus did not have to take a legal oath. Esterhazy was heard as a witness by the Criminal Court. He was sworn, but would not answer any questions which M. Albert Clémenceau put to him. Silence is an alternative to perjury.

THE DREYFUSARDS AND THE ESTERHAZYSTES.

All doubt vanishes before such evident proofs of the innocence of Dreyfus and the guilt of Esterhazy. Whence, then, this obstinacy of the Staff, of the Ministers, and of the President of the Republic, with the complicity of the greater part of the Republic, in maintaining the condemnation of Dreyfus?

In the Staff, Col. Sandherr, a passionate Anti-Semite, guided and prompted by the Jesuits, who saw an opportunity to expel the Jews from the army,—and he has in great part succeeded, for the majority of Jew officers have since that time resigned,—did everything he could to secure the condemnation of Dreyfus without proof. Col. Picquart gave the solution of the enigma when he declared in the Criminal Court:

"The managers of the preceding affair intimately connected with the Esterhazy Affair, those who have worked conscientiously I believe, thinking that they were in the right,—Col. Henry and the archivist Gribelin, aided by Col. du Paty de Clam, under the directions of Gen. Gonse,—received from the lamented Col. Sandherr (who already at the time of this affair was seriously attacked by the general paralysis from which he has since died), as a sort of testament at the very moment when he quitted the service, the care of defending against all attacks this procedure which involved the 'honor of the Bureau.'"

The public are asked to take the "honor of the Bureau" for the honor of the flag; and, in order to defend it, Henry has committed forgery, Du Paty de Clam has committed forgery; and they caused forgery to be committed by Lemercier Picard, who was found a few months ago hanged in a hotel to the crossbar of a window. Commandant Lauth took peculiar steps to prove that Picquart had relations with Schwarzkoppen; and the

parts played by Gen. Gonse, Gen. de Pellieux, and Gen. Mouton de Bois-deffre will doubtless be established in the course of a revision. They made the blunder of accusing Picquart of forgery and consigning him to secret confinement in the Prison of Cherche-Midi. And the conditions were such when he declared, "If the cord of Lemercier Picard, or the razor of Henry, is found by my body, know that it is murder. I shall not commit suicide," that the president of the tribunal before which this declaration was made did not utter a single word to protest that the prisoners referred to were not assassinated. This silence constitutes a terrible judgment on the course of the Staff.

Before the arrogance of these persons Ministers have surrendered the supremacy of the civil power. They believed that the honor of the army consisted in saving these men by clinging to a judicial error which is a judicial crime. The President of the Republic, although knowing very well that Dreyfus had been illegally condemned, thought that he owed it to his military family, to the generals among whom he loves to parade, to oppose revision with desperation. Moreover, the President of the Republic is not without fear as to the attacks of the "Intransigent," of the "Libre Parole," and of the "Petit Journal"; and he is always ready to obey the demands of the Rocheforts, the Drumonts, and the Judets. Most politicians share this cowardice. They have been afraid of being accused of having been sold to the Jews, who in this affair have bought nobody. If they had really formed the syndicate of twelve millions which they are accused of having formed, we should have found on Dreyfus' side most of the tarnished publicists who have fought revision with the greatest energy. All the men who hoped for an overturning of the Republic thought that here was a chance to prepare the army to make a *coup d'état*. Prince Henri d'Orleans embraced Esterhazy as a hero of patriotism. The pretender, Philippe d'Orleans, on September 20 issued a most grotesque manifesto. Not a single priest has dared to let his voice be heard in favor of mere humanity and pity. Those people who prefer to become the protectors of the traitor, to cover him with their sympathy, have very properly received the name "Esterhazystes."

Among those who are called the intellectual there has been a splendid movement of generosity. Duclaus, Director of the Pasteur Institute, Friedel, and Grimaux, the chemists; the scholars, Paul Meyer, Paul Viollet, Giry, the Brothers Molinier, Georges Séailles, Louis Havet, Paul Stapfer, and many professors of the various faculties—all, with one or two exceptions, pupils of the École Normale Supérieure,—took sides in

favor of the revision at a time when there was danger in doing so, as is shown by the measures of which Grimaux and Paul Stapfer have been the victims. In the Provinces, all the merchants, doctors, and notaries suspected of being Dreyfusards have been persecuted and denounced. These persecutions have only strengthened their convictions. I know thousands of people who have been simply heroic with love of truth and justice. It is they who have saved the honor of France; and to all men who have a moral ideal Col. Picquart appears as the hero of duty.

As to the Esterhazystes, they have not saved themselves. De Boisdeffre has resigned from the staff; Gonse will follow him; Mercier is about to quit the army. De Pellieux wished to resign: it was wise on his part. They should deem themselves very happy if their responsibilities stop there. Henry cut his throat; Du Paty de Clam has retired from active service, and feels the hand of justice always on his shoulder; Lauth has quitted the Staff, and awaits with terror the fate which he merits; Archivist Gribelin must shudder when he thinks of his own complicity; and there are still others. As to Esterhazy, he felt that the moment Dreyfus should come back to France he could no longer remain there, so he fled to England. There he confesses, among a mass of unlikely falsehoods, that the *bordereau*, on which, legally, Dreyfus was condemned, was written by himself, notwithstanding the assertions of the experts, Couard, Belhomme, and Varinard.

Méline and Billot have dishonored themselves: they are nothing but wrecks. Cavaignac, who considered that the Presidency of the Republic was a part of his inheritance, is disqualified. He will never be pardoned for having covered the walls with the Henry forgery, of which he certified "the material and moral authenticity."

By laying the matter of revision before the Court of Cassation, M. Henri Brisson, despite the weaknesses and hesitancy of his Ministry, appears as the great justiciary; and the Court of Cassation, in annulling the Zola verdict, has proved that there are still magistrates whose sole care is for justice and law.

YVES GUYOT.

SHALL WE KEEP THE PHILIPPINES ?

DEWEY'S victory has changed our attitude before the world. We took no part in international questions. We had no standing in the councils of the nations. We were a *quantité négligéable*. So far did the idea that we ought to take no part in foreign questions extend, that some of my colleagues at Peking, when I undertook to make peace for China and Japan, deprecated any intervention whatever of the United States in the affairs of the Far East!

The position of absolute indifference to what is happening in the world is difficult of maintenance; and when it is maintained it is humiliating.

I recognize the existence of a national sentiment, in accordance with the supposed teaching of Washington's Farewell Address, which is against the acquisition of foreign territory; but the world has moved, and circumstances are changed. We have become a great people. We have a great commerce to take care of. We have to compete with the commercial nations of the world in far-distant markets. Commerce, not politics, is king. The manufacturer and the merchant dictate to diplomacy, and control elections. The art of arts is the extension of commercial relations,—in plain language, the selling of native products and manufactured goods.

I learned what I know of diplomacy in a severe school. I found among my colleagues not the least hesitation in proposing to their respective Governments to do anything which was supposed to be conducive to their interests. There can be no other rule for the government of all persons who are charged with the conduct of affairs than the promotion of the welfare of their respective countries. If it be ascertained, or believed, that the acquisition of the Philippines would be of advantage to this country, then mere sentiment must give way to actual benefit.

It is well known that prophecies of evil have preceded every acquisition we ever made, from the Louisiana purchase to that of Alaska; and, judging by the results of the various annexations, these prophecies have been misleading.

There is no reason whatever why we cannot administer the Philip-

piners in a manner satisfactory to their people as well as to ourselves. We have recently annexed the Hawaiian Islands. They lie at what are called the "cross-roads of the North Pacific." They are near the centre of the great lines of commerce from the East to the West. There is little dissent from the policy of their annexation. It is not imagined that their peaceful people will require a great army to control them. If it could be ascertained to-day that no army would be necessary, or that a small body of troops at most would be sufficient, to safeguard the Philippines, opposition to their annexation would be greatly diminished. It is simply the dread of a large standing army that causes the body of the people who oppose annexation to withhold their approval. I do not believe that a large army will be necessary in the Philippines; and I am sure that, imitating the policy of England in East India, native troops would serve all purposes.

We have the right as conquerors to hold the Philippines. We have the right to hold them as part payment of a war indemnity. This policy may be characterized as unjust to Spain; but it is the result of the fortunes of war. All nations recognize that the conqueror may dictate the terms of peace. The first answer I received to a telegram sent by me, asking on the part of China that peace negotiations should be commenced, and offering to concede the independence of Korea and to pay a reasonable war indemnity, was: "Japan is willing to enter on peace negotiations; but she will dictate the terms."

I am in favor of holding the Philippines because I cannot conceive of any alternative to our doing so, except the seizure of territory in China; and I prefer to hold them rather than to oppress further the helpless Government and people of China. I want China to preserve her autonomy, to become great and prosperous; and I want these results not for the interests of China, but for our interests. I am not the agent or attorney of China; and, as an American, I do not look to the promotion of China's interests, or Spain's, or any other country's—but simply of our own.

The whole world sees in China a splendid market for our native products,—our timber, our locomotives, our rails, our coal oil, our sheetings, our mining-plants, and numberless other articles. We are closer to her than any other commercial country except Japan. There is before us a boundless future which will make the Pacific more important to us than the Atlantic. San Francisco, Seattle, and Tacoma are in their infancy. They are destined to rival New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

If we give up the Philippines, we throw away the splendid opportunity to assert our influence in the Far East. We do this deliberately; and the world will laugh at us. Why did we take Manila? Why did we send 20,000 troops to Luzon? Did we do so to emulate the French king who marched his men up the hill and down again? There was no purpose in the conquest of Manila, unless we intended to hold it.

The Philippines are a foothold for us in the Far East. Their possession gives us standing and influence. It gives us also valuable trade both in exports and imports.

Should we surrender the Philippines, what will become of them? Will Spain ever conquer the insurgents, and, should she do so, will she retain the islands? To her they will be valueless; and if she sells them to any Continental Power she will, by that act, light the torches of war.

It is perfectly certain, I think, that England will not stand by, and see any other European Power take the Philippines. They are on the line to Australia and India. England has stood by, and seen Germany, Russia, and France seize portions of China. There is not an Englishman nor an American in the Far East who approves her policy. The taking of the Philippines by any European Power other than England would create an explosion in the latter country, and, if unresisted, would lead to the destruction of the Ministry and, perhaps, the Throne. By holding the Philippines we avert the partition of China, and we postpone at least a general European war.

There is, perhaps, no such thing as manifest destiny; but there is an evident fitness in the happening of events, and a logical result of human action.

Dewey's victory is an epoch in the affairs of the Far East. We hold our heads higher. We are coming to our own. We are stretching out our hands for what nature meant should be ours. We are taking our proper rank among the nations of the world. We are after markets, the greatest markets now existing in the world. Along with these markets will go our beneficent institutions; and humanity will bless us.

CHARLES DENBY.

THE MORAL OF THE CUBAN WAR.

SETTING aside American party questions, with which a foreigner cannot presume to deal, the Cuban War has given birth to momentous questions which affect not only the American Commonwealth, but Great Britain, Canada, and humanity at large.

The American Commonwealth, as it was in the minds of its founders, as it was in the mind of Abraham Lincoln, as it is in the mind of the world in general, which intently watches the great experiment, appears to be threatened by two hostile forces; viz., Socialism, which, in different forms, more or less disguised, is the predominant element of Bryanism; and Imperialism, an access of which, combined with an access of militarism, has been brought on by the recent war with Spain. Both these forces are alien; Socialism being an importation from Europe, while Imperialism is an infection wafted from the same quarter. Socialism assails one fundamental principle of the Commonwealth, which is, that every man shall be free to do the best he can for himself under the law. Imperialism attacks another fundamental principle, formulated by Washington, which is, that America shall keep clear of Old World complications, with the wars and the military expenditure which they involve, and be dedicated to industry and peace.

Have we seen in the Cuban War and its sequel the finger of Destiny pointing to the decease of the original Commonwealth and to the opening of a new order of things? Was the mission of the Republic for herself and for humanity then for the first time revealed? Was the war made by the deep and hitherto latent instinct of the American people?

To an onlooker in the United States at the time, who did his best to ascertain the state of opinion, it did not appear that the American people showed any desire for war. They seemed to show a generous sympathy with the Cuban insurgents, about whose character a great misconception then prevailed. Probably they had also an underlying desire, which, to the present writer, appears most just and most certain of ultimate fulfilment, that all the European Governments should in course of time withdraw from this hemisphere and leave it to work out

its own destiny. But, so far as could be seen, they neither desired nor expected war. Not even in the West, unless the writer was misinformed, was there a general demand for anything beyond diplomatic intervention.

The causes of war apparently were: the peculiar composition of the Senate, leading members of which, as Senator Platt said, were evidently bent from the outset on bringing about that result; the prospect, which party politicians would not fail to have in view, of the probable effect on their coming contests; the influence of the "Yellow Press," about which it is needless to say anything, except that its founder and principal proprietor is stated to be not an American; and, finally, the destruction of the "Maine." The publication of the De Lome letter may also have played a part, as, according to some American authorities, did the emission of Cuban bonds.

That which fired the popular heart, and at once brought on the war, beyond doubt was the destruction of the "Maine." Of this, history will have evidence perfectly decisive in the shape of editorials, odes, battle-cries, signals, badges, buttons, and stamps on Government goods; while the allusion in the President's Message, though guarded, was none the less effective. That the "Maine" was destroyed by an accidental explosion of the kind by which the "St. Paul," the "Oregon," and the "Obdam" have since narrowly escaped destruction, is the opinion of independent experts, and may yet be the verdict of history. At all events, history will assuredly acquit the Spanish authorities of a crime of which there is not a particle of evidence, and which, whatever it might have been, if committed by a Cuban desperado seeking to embroil the United States with Spain, would, if committed by the Spanish authorities, have been an act of manifest suicide. Spain offered arbitration. It would even appear that the American people themselves began to doubt the justice of the charge; for the cry, "To Hell with Spain! Remember the 'Maine'!" presently grew faint, if it did not entirely die away. Thus, in the outbreak of the war which has led to the acquisition of transmarine possessions and to the belief in the opening of an Imperial era, we seem to see, not the finger of Destiny pointing to empire, but the consequence of a popular misapprehension, largely due to the influence of the "Yellow Press," whose red extras are hardly a sufficient warrant for a total change in the character, aims, and aspirations of the American Republic.

To an onlooker it appeared that even when the war had commenced there remained opposed to it a section of American citizens, large and

respectable enough to furnish an indication of the real interest and destiny of the country not less trustworthy than that furnished by the war party. But the advocates of peace are always muzzled. "The country, right or wrong," becomes the accepted creed; and anyone who gives pacific counsel, though his patriotism may be unquestionable, gives it at his peril.

Of the prevalence of the Imperialist sentiment there cannot be any doubt. "Expansionist" and "Contractionist" are the current terms,—the first of praise, the second of reproach. One who should propose to extend the American Commonwealth over the north of its own continent, taking in a population mainly identical in all respects with its own, might with reason style himself an Expansionist; he would really be expanding the Republic by increasing its extent without change of its substance. But it is difficult to see by what propriety of language the name can be given to one who proposes to annex distant provinces inhabited by races totally alien and incapable of assimilation. For the advocate of such extension, "Dispersionist" would seem a fitter name. In truth, the Expansionist in name is in reality a Contractionist in deed, since he renounces that which would really be expansion. No man of British race, though he were desirous of union with the American Commonwealth, would desire union with a scattered empire embracing an indefinite number of people of inferior races, Negroes, Hawaiians, Chinese, and Malays. Nor would a man of any race wish to share the burden of everlasting and ever-increasing pension-lists for wars in which he had no concern; especially when he is told that they are largely the work of fraud which the Government has no power to control. Imperialism, in short, is likely to be the death of Continental Union.

America, we are told, is at last to come out of her isolation. In what has her isolation consisted? She has been receiving the most various elements of population, with ideas ranging from those of the devout and submissive Catholic to those of the Atheist and Anarchist. She has fully shared the general march of intellect and science; appropriating and reciprocating all discoveries and all the products of human thought. The world is full of her mechanical inventions. Her political example has had its due influence; and even her political vocabulary has been adopted in Great Britain. European cities are full of Americans; too full, indeed, for the good of their own country, from which their social leadership and the performance of their social duties generally are withdrawn.

The certain effect of Imperialism on home principles and institutions begins already to be seen. The principle of universal suffrage, hitherto deemed vital to the Republic, is being disparaged, if not openly discarded. To wean the people from allegiance to it, attention is directed to the Territories, which have not the full franchise, and to the Southern legislation, which is practically subverting the Fifteenth Amendment and withdrawing the franchise from the Negro; two precedents, of which the first is manifestly irrelevant, while the second is relevant indeed. Thus assailed in its political basis, Equality may give way at other points. We see the union which is being formed through intermarriage by American millionairism with European, and particularly with British, aristocracy, and the growing eagerness of American wealth to find admission to the courts and the court circles of Europe. Between militarism and aristocracy there is a subtle bond; and militarism may open the door through which aristocracy will find its way.

Still more open disregard is being shown for the American principle, that the necessary foundation of government is the consent of the governed. The Philippines are in some quarters treated as a piece of property which the American Republic has acquired by the sword, and which it may either retain, hand over to another Power, or perhaps barter for the West Indies, at its pleasure, without reference to the wishes of the people; and Hawaii has practically been treated on the same footing.

If you have an empire, you will have an emperor; not perhaps in the Old World form of a man crowned and sceptred, yet in the shape of centralized and practically autocratic power. War conferred upon President Lincoln, without departure from Republican forms, a virtual dictatorship, which, in his hands, was safe and which ended with the return of peace. The German Emperor owes his autocracy to leadership in war. Even in Great Britain the tendency of the present policy of aggrandizement to increase the power of the Executive begins to be observed.

Expansionism calls at once for an army of a hundred thousand men. When it had those hundred thousand, it might call for more. With the army might come militarism and a military caste. We see what the ascendancy of an army is in France. We see how military distinction is eclipsing all other distinction at this moment in the minds of the American people. To prove that any army in the United States is not dangerous, we are reminded of the ease with which the army was disbanded and fused with the general population at the end of the Civil

War. Nothing, certainly, could be more striking or a more signal confutation of sinister predictions than that result. But the Imperial army would never be disbanded. It would probably consist largely of foreigners, as the native American would hardly be attracted by a soldier's pay and a life without scope for individual enterprise or much promise of advancement. The soldier would be apt to be a man thinking that—as one of them has just said in Europe—his conscience ought to be devoted to his commander as well as his sword. After all, is not the Grand Army of the Republic drawing a hundred and forty millions of dollars in pensions thirty-two years after the termination of the war? To an empire, however, a great standing army is indispensable. An empire is always challenging war. The British Empire is hardly ever free from wars, great or little, though it is the sincere desire of its rulers to remain at peace. What it is to enter on war with an extemporized army of volunteers has been plainly seen in the recent conflict.

The creation of a powerful navy is a different question. This may be necessary in order to place the coasts of the United States out of the reach of insult, to put an end to all the threats of bombarding New York, and to guarantee against European ironclads the independence of these Western waters. In a fleet there is no political danger; while the highly scientific character which the naval calling has now assumed might tempt and worthily employ native Americans, who, as this war has shown, are supreme in mechanical skill.

To Great Britain the maintenance of an immense navy is a matter of absolute necessity. In extending her dominions over the globe, she has resigned the advantage of her insular position. It can no longer be said that the sea is to her as a moat. She is, consequently, obliged to expend vast sums in securing to herself a complete maritime ascendancy, though at the risk of awakening the jealousy of other nations and of causing them some day to combine in vindicating against her the freedom of the seas.

In the constitutional objection to the acquisition of an empire there perhaps is not much weight. If Imperialism is desirable in itself, the forms of the Constitution may be adapted to it. But the purchase of Louisiana is hardly a precedent for what is now proposed. Louisiana was conterminous; and her population, so far as the whites were concerned, was similar, or capable of assimilation. We need not here inquire whether unmixed good was done by an acquisition which added greatly to the extent of the slave power and to the ultimate certainty of disruption and civil war.

A more solid objection than the want of a constitutional provision for the acquisition of dependencies is the want of an apparatus for their government. The British Crown, for the government of its Indian Empire, has an Imperial service attached to it as a monarchy, and separate from the services which are under the immediate control of Parliament. British India, in fact, is an Empire by itself, governed by a Viceroy who is a delegate of the Crown, exempt as a rule from the influence of home politics, and reciprocally exercising little influence over them. Before the Mutiny, which broke up the army of the East India Company, India was still the dominion of that Company; and the transfer of it to the Crown, though inevitable, was not unaccompanied by serious misgiving as to the political consequences which might follow. Even for the government of other dependencies Great Britain has men like the late Lord Elgin, detached from home parties and devoted to the Imperial service. In her dependencies Great Britain is, in fact, still a monarchy, though at home she has become practically a republic. In the case of the United States, it would seem hardly possible to keep the Imperial service free from political influence, or, reciprocally, to prevent the influence of the Empire on politics at home. Imperial appointments would almost inevitably be treated as diplomatic appointments are treated now.

In what, after all, does the profit or bliss of Imperial sway consist? The final blow has just been dealt to the miserable and helpless remnant of that empire on which, in the day of its grandeur, the sun was said never to set, and to which Spanish pride has always desperately clung. It may safely be said that not the expulsion of Moriscos or Jews, not even despotism or the Inquisition, did so much to ruin Spain as the Imperial ambition which perverted the energies of her people; turning them from domestic industry and improvement to rapacious aggrandizement abroad. The political and religious tyranny was, in fact, largely the consequence of the Imperial position of the monarchy, which, by the enormous extent of its dominions and its uncontrolled sources of revenue, was lifted above the nation. It is remarkable that Spain, while she was accumulating in both hemispheres distant dependencies which she was fated in the end to lose, missed the natural and really profitable mark of her territorial aspirations, which was the unification of the Peninsula—an object which she might almost certainly have accomplished had she steadily bent her energies that way.

It is said, and by some to whose opinion great deference is due, that

American commerce needs new markets, and that new markets for it would be opened by the proposed extension of American dominion. It can only be said that this view requires specification. The extension of political power has in itself no tendency to create trade. Would any particular barrier to American trade be removed? Would any further security be afforded the trader? Would the purchasing power of any customer of the United States be increased? Would not the Chinese, like the Japanese, learn to manufacture for themselves, and, instead of purchasing, compete? These are questions which seem to call for a specific reply.

If trade with China is the mark, the first question seems to be, what will become of China? When the Mogul Empire in India fell, it broke up into its satrapies, each of which formed an independent state with a government, though rude and despotic, of its own, till one by one they were all taken over by Great Britain. But if the Chinese Empire falls, it seems unlikely that the local mandarins will have independent authority or *prestige* enough to make themselves heads of separate states. The partitioning Powers will then find themselves in face of that formless and anarchic, but fanatical, nationality which gave birth to the Taeping Rebellion; and a state of things may ensue in which commercial interests will for the time be of small account.

In India Great Britain has unquestionably found a magnificent field for military enterprise and administrative skill. The Empire is an unequalled monument of both. That the political occupation of the country has been commercially or financially profitable, seems not so clear. The account is one which it is difficult to balance. England draws a large tribute in the way of salaries and pensions; while a part of her army is maintained at India's cost. On the other hand, she has the constant expense of guarding India and the approaches to it. That burden is always weighing on her foreign policy. It cost her the Crimean War. Under her auspices manufactures are there springing up which supplant the native productions and compete with her own. One of her ablest servants advised her long ago to be content with fortified factories which would have secured her trade. An Act of Parliament in 1793, when Pitt was Prime Minister, declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honor, and the policy of this nation." It would be heresy, perhaps, now to doubt whether the framers of that Act were entirely in the wrong.

If empire is to be regarded as a field for philanthropic effort and

the advancement of civilization, it may safely be said that nothing in that way equals, or ever has equalled, the British Empire in India. For the last three-quarters of a century at all events, the Empire has been steadily administered in the interest of the Hindu. Yet what is the result? Two hundred millions of human sheep, without native leadership, without patriotism, without aspirations, without spur to self-improvement of any kind; multiplying, too many of them, in abject poverty and in infantile dependence on a government which their numbers and necessities will too probably in the end overwhelm. Great Britain has deserved and won the respect of the Hindu; but she has never won, and is perhaps now less likely than ever to win, his love. The two races remain perfectly alien to each other. Lord Elgin sorrowfully observes, that there is more of a bond between man and dog than between Englishman and Hindu. The natives generally, having been disarmed, cannot rise against the conqueror; and their disaffection is shown only in occasional and local outbreaks, chiefly of a religious character, or in the impotent utterances of the native press. But the part of the population which was armed, that is to say, the Sepoys, did break out into what was rather an insurrection of caste than a military mutiny, and committed atrocities which were fearfully avenged by the panic fears of the dominant race. It is a perilous business all round, this of governing inferior races. Nor is it clear that the work is better done by the highest race than by one upon a lower level, to which it is not so impossible to sympathize or even fuse with the lowest. "Some of the tribes of the Philippines are said to be as fierce as Apaches. If that is all, Uncle Sam will handle them in his accustomed style." Is not a warning conveyed in such words? Dire experience has shown that the character of the master suffers as well as the body of the slave.

War, the almost certain concomitant of empire, is alleged to have a most blessed effect on the internal harmony of nations. This we are told not only in the press, but from the pulpit; some going even so far as to intimate that the restoration of national harmony was a sufficient object for this war. The moral world would be strangely out of joint if a nation could cure itself of factiousness or of any internal disorder by shedding the blood and seizing the possessions of its neighbors. War has no such virtue. The victories of the Plantagenets in France were followed by insurrections and civil wars at home, largely owing to the spirit of violence which the raids on France had excited. The victories of Chatham were followed by disgraceful scenes of cabal and faction as well as of corruption, terminating in the prostration of patri-

otism and the domination of George III and North. Party animosities in the United States do not seem to have been banished or even allayed by the Cuban War. Setting party divisions aside, no restoration of harmony appeared to be needed, so far as the white population was concerned. Not only peace, but good-will, between the North and the South had been restored in a surprising degree. The Blue and the Gray had fraternized on the field of Gettysburg. It was to harmonize White and Black that some kindly influence was manifestly and most urgently needed. But all through the war and since the war American papers have been almost daily recording cases of lynching, sometimes of such a character as to evince the last extremity of hatred and contempt. The Negro is lymphatic, apathetic, patient of degradation and even of insult. But San Domingo saw that he had a tiger in him; and when the tiger broke loose hell ensued. There has been at least one instance of the retaliatory lynching of a white man; and now we have a bloody battle of races at Virden. Why should the American Commonwealth want more Negroes?

Some of those who most ardently sympathized with the North in the struggle for the restoration of the Union have since, looking to the apparent hopelessness of the Race Problem, been inclined to doubt whether, after all, the restoration of the Union was entirely to be desired. Re-annexed the South has been: assimilated or thoroughly incorporated, it has not been and, apparently, never can be. Though slavery is formally abolished, the structure of society in the South, with a dominant and a subject race separated by an impassable gulf from each other, is radically different from its structure in the North; and where there is a radical difference in the social structure, though the forms of political institutions may be identical, their spirit and their real working can never be the same. A line of cleavage, though not so marked as slavery, will remain between the North and the South. If to the Southern element large tropical extensions, with fresh instalments of the Negro race, or other races unfit for political enfranchisement, are added, will there not in time be danger of another disruption? There is talk already, and naturally enough, of an annexation of the West Indies by exchange with Great Britain for the Philippines. Hayti cannot be said to be less of a scandal or to afford less of a pretext for philanthropic conquest than Cuba, where, at all events, under Spanish rule, commercial cities had grown up, wealth had been acquired, Christianity of a certain kind prevailed, and there was civilization, if not of the highest grade.

What is this mood styled "Imperialism," "Jingoism," "Expansion-

ism," "Greater Britain," which has suddenly come over the world? How is it that all at once moderation, regard for right and what was deemed common prudence, are discarded, and in their place we hear avowals of thirst for aggrandizement, and proclamations of the law of force, far more philosophic in form, but hardly more moral in spirit, than would have been the utterances of Attila or Timur. Europe has become an arsenal and drilling-ground. The bread is taken from the mouths of toil to furnish destruction with its implements; the toiler himself is pressed into its hosts; mad competition in armaments has gone on till the Czar himself stands aghast and appeals to reason and humanity. The people everywhere groan. Socialism and Anarchism, as a natural consequence, prevail. America at last catches the infection, and, as might be expected, from her receptivity and vivacity, in its extreme form. Lord Salisbury, casting the world's horoscope, predicts that the weak nations will all be devoured by the strong, and apparently that the process will go on till, instead of the community of nations, each contributing out of its special treasure to the common store, there will be left only one great predatory Power. That Power, we flatter ourselves, will be the Anglo-Saxon; and we think that the nations ought to look forward with gladness to its sole domination. But the nations may differ from us in taste: at all events they may prefer variety. What, again, we would ask, is the explanation of this paroxysm of aggrandizement? Is it the sudden opening by exploration of Africa and other regions hitherto unappropriated by civilized man? Is it the intense thirst of gain? Is it mere restlessness and satiety of peaceful industry and life? Is it the removal of religious restraints on self-aggrandizement by the decadence of Christianity? It seems not altogether to be the last, since one mode of expansion is to send a missionary in advance, and, when he gets into trouble with the natives, to follow him up with a "punitive expedition."

One consequence of this singular tidal wave of aggressive sentiment seems likely to be a general destruction of the wild stocks of humanity, or at least of their native properties and characteristics. Yet history appears to tell us that it is from the wild stocks, rather than from off-sets thrown out at a high level of civilization, that the trees which bore the grandest fruit have come. The Greater Greece bore no comparison with the little Greece in anything but territory and population.

Of the theory, that the Eastern races are incapable of raising themselves, and require to be elevated by philanthropic conquest, whereof the Anglo-Saxon race is the divinely appointed agent, the case of Japan,

who has raised herself without any external aid but that of example, seems to be a sufficient confutation.

To any Englishman with strong ties to the United States nothing could be more welcome than the improvement of American feeling toward Great Britain, which the Cuban War has incidentally produced. So far as the anti-British sentiment was merely a historical tradition, it has received a salutary shock, the effect of which, it may be hoped, will be lasting. In the West, however, the sentiment appears to be not merely a historical tradition, but a living antagonism to the capitalist and plutocratic society of the East, which is identified with British influence and connection. Hatred of England, as the land of Gold and of everything that Gold is supposed to symbolize, glowed in all the speeches and manifestoes of Bryanism. Protectionists, of course, have a special interest in fostering it; while the Irish have a quarrel of their own in which by their vote they enlist the politician, so far at least as his public utterances are concerned. The more intelligent classes in the East, who read history and visit England, have for the most part ceased to be anti-British. We shall presently be able better to estimate the extent and probable permanency of the change.

International friendship is one thing: alliance, which some propose, and which seems to be the latest in the brilliant series of Mr. Chamberlain's political ventures, is another; and before so close a connection is formed it may be well carefully to forecast its ultimate influence on friendship. What would be the basis or the objects of such an alliance? Neither community of origin and language nor community of character, which last has been considerably qualified by change of abode, is necessarily accompanied with community of interest; and it is on community of interest practically that any alliance, to be lasting, must be based. No other two nations in the world are so manifestly each other's commercial rivals as Great Britain and the United States. American goods are seriously competing with those of England in the British market. Would not commercial rivalry be apt to prevail over the endearing influence of race and language? In the case of the English and Dutch of former days it prevailed not only over affinity and sentiment, but over the most pressing motives of common interest and peril. At present the policy of America is Protectionist; while that of Great Britain is Free Trade.

Diplomatic coöperation between the British and American Governments would be rendered difficult by the difference between their administrative systems. The foreign policy of Great Britain is tolerably

continuous; tradition being preserved by the Permanent Under Secretary always at the side of the Parliamentary Minister; while ex-Ministers remain in Parliament, continue to give expression to their views, and retain a certain portion of their influence. But the Foreign Office of the United States undergoes a complete change at the end of each Presidential term; the President going out of public life, while the ex-Secretary of State, as a rule, does not take a seat in Congress or become one of the leaders of a party.

When we talk of "the great commonwealth of English-speaking people," and think of it as pursuing a common policy, it is as well to remember that the British part of it comprises two hundred millions of Hindoos, who, with other alien races comprehended in the Empire, form about four-fifths of the whole. Its interests, relations, and liabilities are not likely to coincide very closely with those of the United States.

It is with the Imperialist party in England, which is also in the main that of aristocracy and militarism, that the alliance would practically be formed. By that party it is that the prospect of an Anglo-American combination for the purpose of common aggrandizement is so eagerly hailed. At present, thanks to the recoil from Home Rule which threatened the dismemberment of the United Kingdom, Imperialism is completely in the ascendant. But, when Home Rule has been fairly buried, there may be a Liberal and Moderatist revival. Already there have been symptoms of it in more than one of the recent by-elections.

For the propagation of Anglo-Saxon ideas and institutions no diplomatic or military combination is required. Ideas are propagated by the press; while parliamentary government and trial by jury have made the round of the civilized world without the firing of a gun. To impose peace upon all nations by the fiat of the two great Anglo-Saxon Powers, we are sometimes told, would be the beneficent object of the combination. The nations would presently object to having peace or anything else imposed upon them by anybody's fiat; they would take arms to assert their independence; and the end, instead of universal peace, might be a general war.

Even if the general conclusion to which this article points is wrong, as it certainly is at present unfashionable, the points mentioned, or some of them, may be not undeserving of consideration. They are, at all events, not suggested by jealousy of American greatness.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

NAVAL LESSONS OF THE WAR.

To obtain any definite lessons from the late war, it is necessary to look at details rather than at larger results. There was no violent upsetting of preconceived ideas, and little sweeping away of theory by stern fact: the war produced no great surprises; nor could it have been expected to do so. Despite the strictures of ill-informed critics, naval architecture is now very nearly one of the exact sciences: every type of ship has certain advantages and counterbalancing disadvantages of which the designers were fully aware when the ship was built. In fine, it is a truism, that "every warship is a compromise." Further, she is the result of intelligent evolution; and the efficiency or non-efficiency of a type is, consequently, easily gauged by its age. Hence, the lessons produced by the war with Spain have been mostly of the nature of demonstrations rather than of discoveries, so far as naval architecture is concerned; and what is true of the *matériel* is, to a very great degree, applicable to the *personnel* also. In both cases it is to side-issues that we must look for lessons—lessons, that is to say, as opposed to demonstrations of points very little obscure before.

For instance, there is the lesson of the necessity of preparedness. This is and was sufficiently obvious; and that the war found neither side fully prepared to act at once, cannot be considered as more than a demonstration of the fact. Possibly the war has done much to force this matter home. Indeed, it cannot fail to impress one how ships may actually exist and yet be no more than a "paper" fleet; for, so far as paper was concerned, the Spanish fleet, at the outbreak of hostilities, ought to have been capable of giving the American fleet a great deal of trouble, to say the least. That it failed in any way to do so, must be attributed to absolute unpreparedness of *matériel* and gross defects of *personnel*.

Possibly neither side expected that there would be war. It is idle to question Spanish movements before the war: the unconquerable objection to doing to-day what can be put off till to-morrow, so characteristic of Spaniards, may account for almost anything. But, save on the supposition that war would not occur, it is difficult to understand why the American Navy Board did not so arrange that a fleet should be ready

at once to blockade Cervera while he lay at Cape Verde and to destroy him when he came out. That is obviously enough the thing that *ought* to have been done at once. That it was not done can be attributed only to inability to perform the task; and it is equally obvious that this inability was due to unpreparedness. But, however great the unpreparedness of the United States, it was as nothing compared with that of Spain.

Excluding torpedo-boats and small and obsolete craft, the "paper" forces of the rival Powers at the outbreak of the war may be stated as follows:—

Description.	The United States.	Spain.
First-class Battleships.....	4	1
Second-class Battleships, including armored Cruisers used as Battleships..	1	9 (including 2 old battleships reconstructed).
Coast-defence-ships not to be considered available for distant operations.....	6, and a number of old monitors practically floating-batteries only.	None.
Cruisers of all classes for cruiser duties	16 (two only of which were armored).	3 (one only of which was armored).
Large Gunboats, or Cruisers of very limited value.....	12	14
Sea-going Destroyers.....	None.	6

Assuming anything like equal preparedness and equal ability on the part of the *personnel* (a very large assumption, of course), this comparison makes out a very good brief for Spain; especially when we remember that, of the four first-class battleships of the United States, one, the "Oregon," which was in the Pacific, was for a considerable while out of the reckoning. In the same way, the numbers of American cruisers and coast-defence-ships given above include vessels that were far removed from the immediate scene of action; whereas every Spanish modern vessel was presumably at hand for use. Furthermore, on paper, the speed-advantage lay with Spain.

What, however, was the actual condition of affairs? The Spanish armored cruisers, the "Cisneros," the "Cataluna," and the "Princesa de Asturias," though two of them had been launched nearly two years, were still so incomplete as to possess no fighting-value at all. It is doubtful whether the first-class cruiser "Carlos V" had her big guns; and it appears certain that the ironclad cruiser "Cristobal Colon" had not. The "Pelayo" was in a half-reconstructed condition; and, besides the only partially armed "Cristobal Colon," three armored cruisers and

some destroyers were the only vessels of fighting-value fit to put to sea. On the other hand, with the single exception of the "Chicago," which was undergoing reconstruction, the American ships were all ready for immediate use. Certain essential accessories may have been lacking; but the fleet, as a fleet, was certainly one *in esse*.

Spain's proper strategy was, therefore, clear enough. Being so unprepared, and knowing the real condition of affairs, Cervera's move to Cape Verde was absurd, save as a temporary ruse. Much has been said to the effect, that he might have gone on to Manila and given battle to Dewey before the "Monterey" or other vessels could arrive to reinforce him; but, after such a voyage, Dewey unsupported would probably have easily destroyed him. Spain, knowing how little reliance could be put on her ships, would have done better if she had kept them together and determined to postpone action. By that means she must eventually have drawn a large American fleet to the coast of Spain, where, if determined to fight, she would at least have had all that was to be had in her favor.

Or, presuming her to have grasped the elementary fact that engines, to be of use, need care and attention, she could have sent her best ships to demonstrate against the American coast, if it were possible—as it should have been easily enough—to elude the coming fleet. With fast colliers and storeships accompanying, this could have been effected by swift vessels.

The actual harm that would have been done to American interests could not possibly have been great. The probability of a stop being put to the affair by the American fleet would have been near enough; but, none the less, an intelligent *guerre de course* would have been attempted, and a valuable moral effect on the enemy obtained. By this means she would have had at least a *chance* to make America willing to patch up a peace whereby some shadow of her sea-empire might be retained. The exploits of the "Huascar" in the war between Chile and Peru showed what might be done this way against a stronger force; and the Chino-Japanese War demonstrated the futility of an incapable Power attempting other and more orthodox methods. But Spain plunged wildly into a *via media*, a hopeless struggle, apparently without ideas, without intentions, without plans; and one is almost tempted to ask whether her Government had not decided that "saving face" was the aim and sum of war, and its duties merely to see that sufficient men were killed.

Passing from generalities to details, we find the war divisible into

two distinct operations—the Pacific and the Cuban. Dewey at Manila wrote “Finis” to the one within a week of the outbreak of war: Cervera himself closed the other when he allowed his squadron to be blockaded in Santiago.

Dewey’s exploit at Manila is not to be passed over lightly because it resolved itself into mere target-practice on certain obsolete Spanish hulls. That rush for Manila, and the forcing of the bay, demanded what may be termed the higher quality of an admiral—ability to gauge his enemy. The fighting-value of the Spanish ships at Manila was almost *nil*, as Dewey was, of course, aware; but there were mines and forts to be considered. Of these he doubtless knew something; although his knowledge must have been relatively imperfect. It is hard to believe that anything short of an accurate estimate of Spanish personal incapacities could have led him to force the place; and this probably told far more in his favor than good fortune.

As regards details of the battle off Cavité, which, in one way or another, are now fairly complete, Dewey’s preparations were both ample and instructive. The armoring of the ammunition-hoists, by winding the cables round them, was a novel and decidedly good idea. There are no records of such protection having been extemporized at Yalu or elsewhere in the Chino-Japanese war. As things turned out, the precaution was quite unnecessary; but, had the Spaniards possessed any ability to get on the target, it might have made a considerable difference. Leading, as it does, to the magazines, an ammunition-tube represents a very vital portion of a ship. If the chances of a shell bursting in one are not large, yet the disaster that such an explosion might entail is sufficiently serious. It is too closely connected with the magazines to be pleasant; and, whatever precautions may be devised, they are not to be too much relied on in war. In any case, too, the supply to the gun or guns served by the tube which is hit is cut off. Hence the value of armored hoists and of Dewey’s extemporized article. It would be extremely instructive could we but learn how the Spanish ammunition supply fared at Manila and Santiago: that we ever shall know is, however, doubtful. None the less, it is likely enough that, with the knowledge of what was deemed necessary on board the American cruisers, ship-designers may condescend to give a little more attention to a matter which hitherto, in cruisers at any rate, they have very generally ignored.

There is little else to learn from that May morning in Manila Bay. The failure of those mines which exploded harmlessly in front of the “Olympia” scarcely taught a lesson, or demonstrated anything new.

Like the automobile torpedo, the mine has but one period, and that a very short one, when it can be employed with success. As I pointed out in a previous article¹ in this review, the dread of losing the supreme moment is likely to cause a torpedoist to fire too soon; and the same condition obtains with a mine. And so, the more the daring of a commander renders it necessary to restrain him, the more likely he is to run a mine-field with impunity.

As for the two Spanish torpedo-boats, their easy destruction was only to be expected: slow and inefficient, they never had a chance. At night, at the mouth of the bay, they might possibly have done much; but they were not there. It is idle to discuss their failure: it is equally idle to ask why Montejo did not seek to ram. Stories of such attempts have been circulated; but it is difficult to credit him with any serious effort.

It is said that American ammunition was getting scarce at the close of the day; but this is merely a new chapter of an old story. Speaking broadly, the more guns a ship carries in proportion to her size, the less her ammunition. America has always chosen guns rather than big magazines; so have all other nations save England and (in certain of her ships) France. The war has shed but little light upon the debatable point as to which of these systems is the better.

The main contest upon the Atlantic side of the continent ran on different lines; for both combatants had modern ships. If nothing has been actually learned, certain points, hitherto more or less obscure, have been forced into considerable prominence. But the failure of American cruisers to find Cervera cannot be held to teach much, unless it be to draw attention to the fairly obvious fact, that America had not enough cruisers to cover the Atlantic Ocean and to attend to the Cuban blockade as well. The Ocean is a big place, with certain very well defined roads across it outside of which a ship may travel and meet nothing. Further, the very excellent system of spreading false information—the sole thing the Spanish Admiralty was able to do well—made searching for Cervera as difficult as hunting the proverbial needle in a bundle of hay.

We did not need the war to learn that scouting successfully is a difficult operation. Peace manœuvres have taught that; and the elaborate and highly scientific “curves of search,” with which the French recently experimented so largely, produced very indifferent success even in a circumscribed area. A fleet leaves no trail to mark its path; and scouting cruisers may cross and recross that path in vain, if only a few hours too

¹ “Naval Warfare: Present and Future.” *THE FORUM* for October, 1897, p. 234.

late or too soon. What the desolation of the ocean a few leagues from the recognized sea-road is, and how hard it is to hear of a fleet thus off the road, was shown conclusively enough so far back as 1890. In that year a large British manœuvre-fleet disappeared for three weeks. It took a straight course and kept all lights burning (both things that would not be done in war); yet nothing was heard of its whereabouts. In all the three weeks only two vessels were sighted, and those toward the end of the cruise. Cervera's historic evasion is, after this, hardly a thing to be wondered at.

Just about the time that Cervera appeared in West Indian waters, the distribution of the American fleet into two divisions that were anything but homogeneous held out to him certain faint prospects of success. Had he met with either Sampson's or Schley's squadron,—the two were then widely separated,—a runaway fight, supposing him to have had his speed, might have enabled him to destroy his pursuers in detail. The "might" is perhaps doubtful, even apart from consideration of bad gunnery; because, despite the evergreen article on dimensions in "Brassey's Naval Annual," one good ship has tremendous advantages over several inferior ones, for the simple reason that one brain, instead of several brains, is controlling. A perception of this may have prevented Cervera from making an attempt upon the "Oregon," then between Rio and the West Indies.

As a matter of fact, however, the Atlantic passage appears to have tried Cervera's ships to the uttermost; and a place where he could coal and rest was his sole objective. So to Santiago he went, to be shut in by a force vastly superior in every way. It has been said that he merely intended to make a short stay at Santiago, and that circumstances, either in the shape of defects in his ships, or orders from Spain, prevented his leaving as intended. Presuming it to have been his intention to leave, the supposition must be that he intended making for Havana after a battle with, or evasion of, one of the squadrons hurrying to Santiago. By his information, the Flying Squadron would have been supposed to consist of the "Indiana," or some other battleship of that class, the "Texas," the "Brooklyn," the "New Orleans," the "Minneapolis," and the "St. Paul." By a judicious disposition of his destroyers, he might have looked to neutralize the last three. Given his "paper" speed-advantage, and gunnery at all equal to the American, he here had some prospects of success. Lacking these, it is evident enough now that he would have been beaten. Indeed, with his defective engines and well-nigh useless guns, he was impotent. He, or

rather those who sent him, must have been dense indeed to be unable to calculate, without need of the practical lesson, how futile hole-and-corner evasion must be. Had Camara's squadron appeared off the New England coast at or about the same time, or had the Spanish Government merely circulated a report that it had started thither, some gleam of intelligence might be shed into the plans of Cervera, and an instructive naval lesson might, perhaps, have been learned.

As things went, the sole lesson to be gleaned from this stage of the proceedings is in connection with the reputed reason for Schley's delay in arriving off Santiago. He is said to have made out the masts of Cervera's fleet in Havana harbor, and to have delayed off there, watching those mythical vessels for some time before his error was apparent. If this be true, there is food for considerable reflection in it, and possibly a useful hint for some admiral of the future. Indeed, had the Spaniards hit upon the idea of rigging up a dummy Cervera's fleet,—and it would have been a simple enough task quickly to convert merchant-steamers into very passable imitations of the "Vizcaya" and her sisters,—some most extraordinary developments might have been obtained. However, it is idle to speculate on such things now; and the matter is only mentioned because at one time, when Cervera was heard of as being in half a dozen different latitudes at the same moment, an impression was abroad that something of this sort had actually been done. The Nelson of evasive war—if one may use such a paradoxical term—will certainly employ such ruses when, if ever, he arrives.

And here one may well digress for a moment, to refer to one very unpleasant lesson of the war. I refer to those difficulties which a free press and a free democracy are apt to create in a campaign, through the thirst for information and the competition to impart it. Time after time in the early stages of the war, secrets of the plans of operation were ferreted out and divulged. It is idle to blame the newspapers for doing their best to supply the popular hunger for news of what was to be done: equally idle is it to blame the public for wanting to know. Rather must the thing be recognized as a new problem added to warfare. Further, as popular liberty grows, it may be expected to grow also. A rigorous censorship is difficult to enforce in a free country, especially in the early stages of a war. This light of publicity, this searching out of secret plans, may rob naval warfare of much or all of the benefits conferred by steam; and there is the further complication, that only the more advanced nations will be sufferers by it. Russia, for instance, would labor under no such disadvantage.

As matters turned out, the loss to the United States by this publication of its plans probably did not amount to much; but, had the Spanish Government possessed more ability, it well might have done so. And since the strategy of a war is of infinitely greater importance than the mere battle-fighting part of the business, with opponents anything like equal, there is scarcely any limit to the harm that might ensue from this satiating of public curiosity upon the plan of campaign. Hence, in the early lucubrations of "Our Own Correspondent" we may read the greatest lesson conveyed by the war.

To return to Cervera, "bottled up" in Santiago harbor. Unable to touch the enemy's ships, the American ironclads here, as elsewhere, expended ammunition upon the land-defences.

These bombardments, from the killing of the historic mule at Matanzas down to the blowing to pieces of islands in Santiago harbor by the pneumatic guns of the "Vesuvius,"—I refer to these events as they were reported to us in the newspapers at the time,—created considerable astonishment in Europe, especially in England. For, so long ago as the bombardment of Alexandria by British armorclads, American naval officers had laid down the dictum that ships were futile against forts.

Almost daily, however, came reports from Cuba of a terrific bombardment and of the total destruction of forts—always followed, a day or two later, by accounts of further equally destructive bombardments against the selfsame forts. From this it quickly became apparent that, save to the "copy-hunting" eye of the special correspondent, little if any harm was ever done,—exactly the orthodox theory of bombardments. People, therefore, were considerably puzzled as to whether Sampson was foolish enough to believe he was doing anything at all proportionate to the energy expended, or whether the operation was intended to keep public opinion (which is very susceptible to the word "bombardment") up to the mark. It now appears established that Sampson's object was neither the one nor the other; but that he seized gladly upon the excellent opportunity for the best possible target-practice. A shot or two at long range soon showed the miserable quality of Spanish gunnery. After that, at a shorter distance the men could fire away at targets more difficult than ships, and with just enough risk to make the firing "under battle conditions."

Granted, therefore, that absolutely no damage of serious value was done upon the Spanish defences,—and this seems to be pretty well established,—it cannot be said that any American vessels were unduly risked and exposed. Possibly, too, these bombardments were of value

as creating in the Spanish mind a powerful impression of American naval energy. Sampson's bombardments may be cited as a lesson how to improve and train a fleet's gunnery; though against more efficient artillerists such practice might be dearly purchased. "Un canon sur la terre vaut un navire sur la mer," says the French proverb; and nothing that happened in the recent war went to gainsay it. But, through the continual practice on Morro Castle, it is little wonder that, when Cervera's ships came out of Santiago, the American gunners at once found the range, and kept it.

Picturesquely appalling as the results of the dynamite-gun at Santiago perhaps were, it is extremely doubtful whether we have learned anything from its use. It is useless to blow holes in land or sea if the holes are nowhere near the enemy aimed at. We are rather wanting in any details of its use, beyond the picturesque verbosity of newspaper accounts: probably the war has left it *in statu quo*. I believe that among the many reasons put forward as to why Cervera emerged in the daytime, is the statement that at night the "Vesuvius" was to be found shelling the forts, and that he feared destruction by her in the channel. Certainly a dynamite-shell hitting any of the "Vizcaya" class amidships should have pretty effectually destroyed them; but the chances of being hit would have been very slight. After all, a 12- or 13-inch high-explosive shell from any of the battleships would have been sufficiently disastrous, and the chance of being hit infinitely more probable. Possibly enough, this reason also was a fabrication.

It has long been recognized, through experience gained in manœuvres,—which in the matter of blockades can be made to simulate war closely enough for all practical purposes,—that (1) isolated vessels can with difficulty be prevented from slipping out unobserved during any dark night; (2) a squadron of ships has a fair chance to do so, given a suitable night; and (3) the blockaders are exposed to such a risk from torpedo-craft that the maintenance of a blockade must be exceedingly difficult. There are other premises also; the sum total being that the blockading fleet must have a heavy superiority, or else must be content to watch the enemy with its light craft only, while the battleships lie ready at a convenient base to pursue.

Having a heavy superiority, Sampson adopted the blockade; but there were many who doubted whether Cervera could be with certainty shut in. Possibly Sampson doubted it himself, since he attempted, though vainly, to block the channel with the "Merrimac." The method of watching the harbor-mouth at night, so much admired by Capt. Mahan,

is said to be the Spanish reason why no night attempt to get out was made. The means adopted were certainly instructive; but the theory, that they were the cause of Cervera's inaction, cannot be quite divested of a suspicion of sentiment. What were the Spanish forts dreaming of, not to fire at such an easy mark as a ship's search-light? Again, unless American ships are fitted with search-lights of altogether abnormal power, how could they have so flooded the channel with light, from their distance of three or four thousand yards, as altogether to preclude the torpedo-craft from creeping out? The fixed beam is ever a fragile defence against torpedo-boats; for, once having passed through it, they are very difficult to pick up again. The sole use of the "Furor" and "Pluton" being to harass the blockading fleet, the destruction of one American battleship would almost have paid for the loss of both. No attempt seems to have been made; and it is difficult to think of this inactivity save as gross incapability.

So, too, with the ships. For instance, had a man like Dewey been in command of Cervera's squadron, it is hard to think that Sampson could have kept him in. Like Dewey at Manila, so Sampson at Santiago recognized the calibre of the man with whom he had to deal, and made his dispositions accordingly. Brave Cervera no doubt was; but bravery is a very minor quality in an admiral. Of ability he appears to have had little or none. We cannot learn much from operations conducted so foolishly as his; and the fact that Sampson correctly gauged him does not add to our knowledge of naval warfare.

So far as can be gathered, Cervera came out of Santiago harbor at a speed of ten knots at the most, with his ships four cables apart, *i.e.*, with a good half-mile between each of them. Such a distance made it hard for them to support each other. The destroyers, instead of being under cover of the big ships, were three-quarters of a mile astern of the last of them. And coming out, the 20-knot "Cristobal Colon" managing to work up to a little under 14 knots, there was a purely runaway race, without any attempt to fight a battle with the ram, in which weapon, at least, the two fleets might be presumed to be on an equality. Could anything have been more suicidal? What wonder that Admiral Sampson said in his report "the duty of the American fleet was clear." From a display of such crass stupidity, heightened, rather than redeemed, by the individual bravery of the Spaniards, what knowledge can be gleaned?

A good stand-up fight would have been better not only for the naval scientist, who would thus have learned valuable lessons as to the relative efficacy of type, but also for the American sailor as a man, and for

the nation as a people. How would the "Indiana" type have answered under a searching fire? How would the American gunners have shot under a hail of death such as Cervera's men fought under? To have known this would have been much. As it is, the war has left America little wiser on these points than she was a year ago.

Much has been written about the ease with which the Spanish ships were set on fire; and lessons about the danger of woodwork have been drawn therefrom. Exactly the same thing occurred after the Yalu. It was subsequently found that in that action the Chinese methods of painting ships were responsible for it. It is possible enough that the same may obtain now. Santiago is not very likely to cause wood to disappear from ships. In a properly found and managed vessel the danger of fire is probably far less than is now made out: it gave the Japanese no particular trouble at Yalu; nor in the very few hits sustained by the Americans in the late war did it give any. A wooden deck has a rigidity that no steel one has; and there are various other portions of a ship for which wood is by far the handiest material. We are likely, therefore, to draw eventually but a small lesson from the fate of the Spanish woodwork.

A more important thing about this setting on fire is that it was done almost or entirely by the ordinary "common shell" with powder-charges, not by any of the more recent explosives. We appear, indeed, to have learned from the war nothing about the action of high explosives.

It was particularly noticeable at Santiago that it was the medium quick-firers of 6-inch calibre and thereabouts which did the most execution; only one hit from a big gun being traced. The deduction from this can, I think, hardly be read rightly—as so many appear inclined to read it—that the modern sea-fight is an affair of moments.¹ Surely it should teach us that a modern naval battle, properly conducted, will be a long affair, and for this reason: The destruction of the "Vizcaya," the "Oquendo," and the "Maria Teresa" was brought about entirely by small or medium-sized shells, which, bursting on the main or lower decks amidships, set the vessels on fire, and so drove the men from the upper-deck guns. A few guns, an exceedingly small proportion, may have been actually disabled by hits; but fire underneath did nearly all the mischief.

Now the construction of the "Vizcaya" was peculiar, and on an obsolete model,—that of the British "Undaunted" class, of which she was a mere servile enlargement, save that her belt was a good deal longer. Her 5.5-inch guns were protected only by shields; all underneath them

¹ I refer, of course, to popular opinion, which appears eager to batten on this particular delusion.

being quite as exposed as in an unarmored cruiser. There was some armor to the big guns, but only a strip just round the barbette. Below there was nothing; and around the gun there was only a thin shield, bound to become a mere shell-trap.

This sort of construction has now entirely gone out, save in French models, where a development of it is retained. The thin armor to the "Indiana's" lower deck is enough to keep out all *shell* of 6-inch or less calibre. The "Kearsarge" and "Alabama" classes have the same sort of protection better developed: six-inch shell, or even most eight-inch, can do nothing to them, save wreck the ends. A ship like the British "Majestic" is proof against even the largest shell entering the lower deck, except at the bow and stern, where she is weaker than the "Alabama." A ship like the "Monterey" might be attacked by 6-inch shell for a week without suffering any very grievous harm therefrom. In fine, the modern type is built to defeat shell-fire, and is very capable of doing so. Solid shot, or shell from more or less monster guns, are all that most modern designs have to fear.

This rehabilitates the big gun as the only piece able seriously to hurt a modern ship; and Santiago, like the Yalu, showed that big-gun hits will be few. In consequence of the recent war, we may look to see the medium quick-firer ultimately lose, rather than gain, in importance; indeed, the 8-inch is likely to become the minimum for the future.

Now the "Cristobal Colon," with 6-inch Harvey armor almost all over her, was not set on fire, and really but little hurt: had she only been able to make anything like her trial speed she would assuredly have escaped. Her position in the line may partially account for her survival, but her construction a good deal more; and in efficient hands she might have done much. Instead, she was forced ashore; but the fault did not lie with her construction.

Consequently, we may from this infer, with considerable prospect of accuracy, that the ship of the future, for battle purposes, is the ship with plenty of armor. Since the bigger she is, the more armor and guns can she carry, virtue may well seem to lie also in size. For the economical ship, either ironclad proper or cruiser proper, the future seems to have no use, so far as epoch-making battles are concerned. To this, naval opinion has gradually been trending, and will now perhaps trend more rapidly. An ironclad must ever be a compromise in details of construction; but there neither need nor should be any compromise as to her uses. For that which she is intended to do she should be built and used, and for that alone.

FRED. T. JANE.

SOME WEAK PLACES IN OUR PENSION SYSTEM.

THE war with Spain will add some thousands of names to the pension-roll of the United States, and a large amount to the sum total of pension expenditures. There is no subject in which the people are more deeply interested than this. No other country has dealt so liberally and ungrudgingly with the survivors and widows and other dependents of its wars. The official figures bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the Republic has not been ungrateful. In the last thirty-three years it has paid to its pensioners the vast sum of \$2,251,555,921, besides \$14,775,794 in fees for the medical examinations of applicants, and \$60,690,157 for other expenses on account of the administration of the pension laws; making a grand aggregate of \$2,327,021,872. The amount paid to pensioners last year was \$145,859,395.

A small portion of the money required for the payment of navy pensions is derived from the income of the Navy Pension Fund, which is on deposit in the National Treasury and on which interest is allowed by the Government at the rate of 3 per cent. The principal of the Fund consists of the share, less 2 per cent, of the United States of moneys received on account of war prizes captured by the navy; and it amounted on June 30, 1898, to about \$14,000,000. The net proceeds of the Navy Pension Fund applicable to payment of pensions last year amounted to \$345,000; and the total amount paid to navy pensioners amounted to \$3,724,000. It is expected that the principal of the Navy Pension Fund will be increased by several hundred thousand dollars within the current year, on account of the sale of prizes captured by the navy during the war with Spain.

Since the beginning, in 1818, the names of 1,475,121 persons have been placed on the pension-roll, of whom 992,961 were survivors, and 482,160 widows, minors, and other dependent relatives. The number of names on the roll on June 30, 1898, was 993,720. Of these 12,034 were survivors, and 14,629 widows of wars prior to 1861; 331,919 were invalid survivors, and 95,500 widows, of the Civil War and of the Indian Wars, etc., since that time; and 413,909 were survivors, and 125,729 other beneficiaries, under the law of June 27, 1890, sometimes

called the Dependent Pension Act. During the last year 98,574 new certificates were issued to pensioners; and, after deducting those on account of increase of rate, reissues, etc., the total number of names added to the roll was 64,351. The total number of names dropped from the roll in the same year was 46,651; and the net increase of the roll was 17,700. The number of claims pending on June 30 was, in round numbers, 635,000, of which 435,000 were claims for increase, and 200,000 were original. Of the latter, however, it was estimated by the Commissioner of Pensions that 125,000 were duplicates and triplicates. The actual total number of pending claims, therefore, was about 510,000.

The administration of the pension service requires the employment of a large force of officials, clerks, etc. The organization of the Pension Bureau in Washington consists of a commissioner, two deputy commissioners, and about 1,740 subordinate officials, clerks, and messengers. The field force consists of 300 special examiners, whose duty it is to investigate and report on all cases referred to them by the Commissioner of Pensions, and 4,663 examining surgeons, whose duty it is to make a thorough medical examination of every applicant for a pension and to ascertain and describe the origin, nature, and extent of his physical disability. For the payment of fees of examining surgeons last year Congress appropriated the sum of \$950,000.

All appeals from the decisions of the Commissioner of Pensions—and all of these are on motion of claimants or their attorneys—are carried to the Board of Pension Appeals, whose conclusions become decisions when approved by the Second Assistant Secretary of the Interior. Last year the decisions of the Commissioner of Pensions were sustained in 3,326 cases of appeal, and reversed in 393.

The pension laws are liberal; and they have been supplemented by a vast number of decisions of commissioners and secretaries and assistant secretaries of the Department of the Interior, by which the virtue of liberality has been broadened to an extent which has sometimes exceeded the intent of the lawmakers. Since July 10, 1862, more than one hundred Acts have been passed by Congress affecting pension claimants, pensioners, or the manner of paying pensions; and during the same period it has passed no fewer than 6,490 private pension laws for the benefit of claimants who were dissatisfied with the rulings of the Pension Bureau, or who were unable to establish their claims under existing laws, or who desired larger pensions than they were entitled to receive under such laws.

About one-fourth of the public enactments have been in the shape

of riders to appropriation Bills,—always a vicious and dangerous mode of legislation. That some of the pension legislation of Congress has been ill-considered and improvident, comparatively few persons will deny; but that the veterans of the Union, as a body, are primarily responsible for it, cannot be shown. Whenever the gratitude of the nation has been abused it has not been by them. Of course, it has not always been difficult for designing men, whose pecuniary interests as attorneys were involved, to get up large petitions in favor of this or that measure, and, having obtained them, to impress Congressmen with the belief that opposition to, or failure to advocate, the measure would be resented by the old soldiers and their friends. In the earlier days of the Republic such means were not used. There was not then a grand army consisting of some seventy-five thousand pension-claim agents—an army one-fourth as strong numerically as the Grand Army of the Republic, and infinitely more potential than that great organization could be in shaping pension legislation. In those days pension legislation was less frequent and less liberal.

The first general pension law for the benefit of the soldiers of the Revolutionary War was not enacted until 1818—thirty-five years after the declaration of peace and after the second war with Great Britain. Its benefits could be enjoyed only by men who had served at least nine months in the continental line on land or sea, and who were in indigent circumstances. Only two years later Congress repented of its liberality; and, the number of applications for pensions having reached the enormous total of 8,000, that body passed what was known as the "Alarm Act," under which pensioners were dropped, and the applications of others rejected, some of whom owned property of a value not exceeding \$150. It was not until 1836 that any widows of the Revolution became entitled to pensions for a period of five years, and then only such as were married to soldiers before the expiration of their term of service; said service to have lasted at least six months.

These and other pension laws enacted prior to the Civil War might be cited as evidences of an illiberal spirit in Congress; but it would hardly do to assert that that body was composed of less patriotic men in 1820 than in 1890, when the so-called Dependent Pension Law was enacted. Some observations on that Act will be pertinent here. The theory and intent of the Dependent Pension Bill, which passed the Fiftieth Congress and was vetoed by President Cleveland, was to grant a pension to every honorably discharged soldier, sailor, and marine of the Civil War who had served ninety days or more and who, being depend-

ent on his daily labor, was unable to earn a living by reason of physical or mental disability not originating in the service. This Bill, according to Chairman Matson, of the House Committee which framed and reported it, provided for "but one pension, and that pension is one of \$12 a month and is given for a total inability to procure a subsistence by daily labor." The Committee estimated that the number of beneficiaries could not exceed 100,000, nor the annual cost \$12,000,000.

The so-called Dependent Pension Law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress differed radically from the one passed by the preceding Congress. Inability to earn a support by manual labor was prescribed as the first condition; inability to earn a partial support was recognized as entitling the claimant to a proportionate fraction of the full pension of \$12 a month; and widows and minors were included among the beneficiaries of the Act. These changes broadened the scope of the measure indefinitely. Instead of 100,000 beneficiaries, the number on June 30, 1898, was 539,638, including 125,729 widows who would not have been entitled under the original Act; and the expenditures, instead of being \$12,000,000, amounted in 1897 to more than \$66,000,000. The total disbursements for pensions under this Act have amounted to \$431,908,000. Thousands of men who are beneficiaries of it earn incomes amounting to \$3,000, \$5,000, and even \$15,000 a year by other than manual labor; while hundreds, if not thousands, of other beneficiaries are men of independent means.

Reference has been made to frequent changes in the pension laws by means of riders to appropriation Bills. An example is found in a provision inserted in the Pension Appropriation Law, approved June 7, 1888, which granted arrears of pensions to widows and minors during the period of widowhood or minority, irrespective of the date of filing of the application. So far as can be ascertained, this provision was inserted without the knowledge, certainly without the recommendation, of the Secretary of the Interior or of the Commissioner of Pensions. How it operates in some cases will be pointed out further on.

More than one effort has been made in Congress to secure a revision and codification of the pension laws: but influences have always been successfully brought to bear to prevent such action; and this body of legislation still remains what it has been for twenty years—a piece of patchwork to which additions have been and are constantly being made. Rates of pension have been prescribed or changed by a large proportion of the enactments; and every change has marked an increase. In the main, however, the rates are fixed, under general provisions, by the ad-

ministrative officers. More than one hundred and fifty different monthly rates of pension are paid to pensioners; and more than one hundred of these rates are so fixed. For loss of both hands \$100 a month is paid; while for loss of both feet, or total disability of both hands, \$72 a month is allowed. The same allowance is made for total blindness, and for disabilities of a nature entailing upon the pensioner "the constant aid and attendance of another person." If the disability be such as to require the "frequent aid and attendance" of another person, the allowance is \$50 a month. The number of pensioners on the roll on June 30, 1898, whose pensions were at the rate of \$72 each was 2,680. Of course, \$72 a month offers a strong temptation to many persons; and there is reason to believe that the law has sometimes been stretched to cover cases outside the intent of Congress. For example, it is difficult to conceive that the disabilities of a pensioner who is able to perform and does discharge the duties of a Government clerk of the third class, at a salary of \$1,600 a year, are of such a nature as to require that he shall have "the constant aid and attendance of another person." It is equally difficult to understand how he could obtain an allowance of \$72 a month without a stretching of the law,—especially after his case, having been thoroughly investigated, had been rejected by the Commissioner of Pensions.

The decisions on appeal have been numerous and sometimes exceedingly important, not only because they have affected the construction and interpretation of the law, and set precedents which have been far-reaching, but also because they have given a pensionable status to claims which had theretofore been barred. One such decision, it is said, had the effect of adding thirty thousand or more to the army of pension claimants; and another gave a pensionable status to an unknown, but very large, number of persons who had never been mustered into the military service of the United States. Every decision on appeal has been on the application of a claimant or his attorney; and as often as it has been in his favor it has been set up and urged, usually with success, as a precedent governing all analogous cases, no matter what may have been the peculiar circumstances and facts involved.

In view of the foregoing facts and practices, and of others which might be cited, the statement is true in the main that in the administration of the pension system regard is paid not to the letter of the law, but chiefly to the decisions of the Commissioner of Pensions and of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior and to the "established practice of the office" thereunder. In his Report for the present year, the Commissioner of Pensions, who is one of the most energetic, efficient, and con-

scientific officers in the service of the Government, expresses the opinion that, "in order to secure reliable, intelligent, and uniform practice in the future, a commission should be appointed" to revise the pension laws, rules, and regulations; and he justifies this opinion by the following observation:

"Since the passage of the general law of July 14, 1862, there have been numerous laws, amendatory, special, and general, with the many rulings and decisions interpreting the laws, until the whole system is a most complex and wonderful network or labyrinth of laws and legal opinions, to the end that a precedent may be cited for any action of this Bureau."

One of the serious difficulties met with in the adjudication of army invalid pension claims arising out of the Civil War has been that of obtaining conclusive or satisfactory evidence showing that the disabilities on account of which the claims were based were incurred in, or traceable to, military service. There was not in existence any record showing the physical condition of the soldier at the time of his discharge; and the medical and hospital records were defective in many important particulars. The lack of such a record has been not only a serious obstacle to the prompt and equitable adjudication of pension claims, but a prolific source of pension frauds. It is well known to every official who has had to do with the administration of the pension laws, as well as to many others, that thousands of men who were perfectly sound at the date of their discharge, having incurred no permanent disability whatever in the military service, have been induced to become applicants for pensions on account of disabilities alleged to have been thus incurred. The fact, that the medical records will not support these claims in any respect, does not by any means defeat them, because, to insure the allowance of the claims, it is only necessary for the claimants to produce testimony of comrades and others to the effect that the alleged disabilities were incurred in service, and have continued since discharge therefrom. The facility with which testimony of this kind can be obtained by claimants or attorneys, and the extent to which such fraudulent practices are carried, can hardly be appreciated by those who are not conversant with the administration of the pension laws. The greater number by far of the fraudulent and unworthy claims that have been allowed under those laws, as well as of those that are now being persistently urged by the introduction of new testimony after repeated rejections, have been allowed, or may yet be allowed, because the Government has no record which shows the actual physical condition at the time of discharge of the men on whose service the claims were based.

Having these and many other facts in view, the Secretary of War, on the suggestions of officials familiar with the administration of the pension laws, and having the interests of the soldiers and their widows as well as of the Government at heart, has taken steps to have a record made and preserved of the physical condition at the date of his discharge of every volunteer soldier enlisted since the declaration of war against Spain. This record, which will be of inestimable value, consists, first, of the soldier's own declaration of his belief as to his physical condition, and if it has been impaired as a result of his military service, how and when; second, of the statement of his company or other immediate commander; and, third, of the certificate of a surgeon, who is required to make a thorough physical examination. If the soldier claims to have a disability of which the examining surgeon can find no evidence, or claims to have a disability incurred in the line of duty, whereas the medical officer is of the opinion that it was not so incurred, he will not be discharged until after he shall have been examined by a board of three other medical officers, who shall make a full report on the case. All the papers in the case of each soldier are to be preserved among the permanent records of the War Department.

If such a record had been made and preserved in the case of every volunteer soldier discharged from the army during and after the Civil War, the claims of survivors and widows of that war might have been settled years ago, and millions, if not tens of millions, of dollars saved to the national Treasury. Within the last year the Commissioner of Pensions has taken measures which, if successful, will greatly facilitate the adjudication of future claims of widows and minors. A circular has been sent to each invalid pensioner of the Civil War, requesting him to furnish a statement containing the full names of his wife and children (if any), with dates of marriage and birth, and such other information as will facilitate the settlement of their claims for pensions in case of his death.

The foundation of the pension system, so far as invalid pensioners under the general law and survivors under the Act of June 27, 1890, are concerned, is the medical examining board. In all the States which furnished large numbers of Union troops there is at least one such board in every county; and in some counties there are several. Every claimant under the Act of June 27, 1890, or any other general law, or who is an applicant for an increase of pension, or who, having been dropped from the roll, applies to be restored thereto, is required to appear before one of these boards for examination; the report

of the board furnishing the basis of his claim. Copies of the various laws, together with detailed instructions, are furnished to each examining board, and are supposed to be conscientiously observed and obeyed by them. Inasmuch as the members of these boards are physicians and surgeons of good standing in their respective communities, it might, perhaps, be assumed that their reports and recommendations would be reasonably uniform; but such is not the case. It may be that doctors more frequently disagree in regard to the cause and degree of a physical disability, especially if it be of long standing, than they do in regard to its proper treatment. Moreover, the members of medical examining boards, especially in the rural districts, are more or less susceptible to local sentiment and influences. In some parts of the country reputable physicians have declined, or have reluctantly consented, to serve on such boards, on the ground that, if their examinations and actions should not be satisfactory to applicants, the results would be injurious to their professional practice and reputation.

Even when local sentiment and sympathy cannot be supposed to affect in the slightest degree the conclusions and reports of the medical examining boards, the results are at startling variance. A single example will suffice to illustrate this. Several months ago a pensioner who had applied for an increase of rating complained of unfair treatment by the medical board before which he had appeared for examination. The complaint was lodged in a very influential quarter, and was made the subject of official inquiry and action. The complainant was permitted to appear before four different medical boards in succession in one of the larger cities. All these examinations were within the space of forty-eight hours. Each board was composed of three physicians of excellent reputation; and all were in the classified service. The report in each case was unanimous. What were the findings? One found no ratable disability whatever; another found a ratable disability according to which the complainant (who was already receiving a pension of \$16 a month) was entitled to a pension of \$8 a month; a third found a ratable disability on account of which he was entitled to \$17 a month; and the fourth found a ratable disability according to which he was entitled to \$24 a month. The total amount of fees paid by the Government for these four examinations was \$24. Now, after remarking that all these boards were acting under the same laws and instructions, further comment would be superfluous,—especially in view of the fact that there are nearly fifteen hundred medical examining boards of pensions scattered throughout the United States, passing on an innumerable variety of

cases, and that these boards dealt with a total of about 225,000 cases last year.

To remedy this radical defect in the administration of the pension laws, it has been suggested that the existing boards be discontinued, and that a sufficient number of medical examining boards be appointed in each State, which shall sit from time to time at each county seat for the purpose of examining all pension applicants in said county. These boards would be composed of physicians and surgeons who, by devoting all their time to the work, would become thoroughly versed in the pension laws and decisions; and a uniformity of results would be obtained which is impossible under the present system. Moreover, the boards would be less susceptible to local sentiment and influence than is now the case; and many honest pension claimants, as well as the Government, would be gainers by the change.

It is a somewhat startling fact that of the 745,828 invalid and dependent pensioners on the roll on June 30, 1898, no fewer than 435,000, or more than 58 per cent, were applicants for an increase. One of the causes of the tremendous flood of such applications is the inequality of ratings due to the lack of uniformity of findings by medical examining boards. A pensioner receiving \$7.50 a month, who finds that his neighbor (whose disability is the same, or even less) is receiving \$15 a month, is naturally dissatisfied; and, however honest and conscientious he may be, he will not often repulse a suggestion that an application for an increase of his own pension will place him on an equality with his neighbor. And a pension attorney is always at his elbow to offer the suggestion and to lend his aid—for a consideration.

The pension attorney is at the bottom of and behind a very large proportion of the applications for increase of pensions. He is omnipresent and, as the projector, promoter, and frequently the framer, of new pension legislation, well-nigh omniscient in all matters relating to that branch of human knowledge. What he does not know about pension laws and decisions, and the "established practice" of the Pension Bureau, as well as of precedents furnished from week to week by the reviewing officials in the Department of the Interior, is not worth the knowing. His original applications are skilfully, not to say artfully, drawn with a view to future applications for increase. An ingenuous applicant, who ascribes his physical disability to rheumatism or some other single cause, is surprised (if he reads the application prepared for his signature) to find that he is also afflicted with heart disease, malarial poisoning, jaundice, chronic diarrhoea, deafness, and a score of other dis-

eases,—all the result of his army service. But it does not end there. Having succeeded in securing an allowance on one or two of the disabilities, and thus establishing the pensionable status of his client, the attorney then has an application for increase filed; and other applications of the same sort follow in steady succession as long as the diseases hold out, or increase of disabilities which have been recognized can be shown.

A very large proportion of the applications—probably a majority of them—have no fairer basis than the ingenuity of pension-claim agents. In what other way could such a case as the following, for example, be explained? A pensioner's application for increase was granted on March 25. On April 6, just twelve days later, he secured an order to appear before an examining board on another application for increase, which was granted on August 11. This pension was advanced twice in five months! It would seem only just that the frequency of examinations for reratings and advances of pensions should be limited, say, to one a year in any one case; but, thus far, outside influences have prevented this.

Among the provisions of the pension laws, which are found most difficult to execute with exact justice both to claimants and pensioners and the Government, are those which affect the widows and children (minors) of men who served in the army or navy. Some of these difficulties arise from the laws themselves and the decisions under them; others are due to evasions and non-observance of the laws by claimants and pensioners as well as by notaries, magistrates, and other officials before whom pension-vouchers are executed. The pension of a widow ceases in case of remarriage, and at the date of that event. The difficulty of enforcing this provision of the law is very great. Experience has shown that little or no attention is paid to it by officials before whom widows' pension-vouchers are executed, and that in many cases the pensioners themselves are unaware of or ignore the provision. An official investigation, set on foot a few months ago, disclosed the fact, that it was the exception, rather than the rule, for notaries and other officials to observe the law requiring that the voucher of every widow shall be attested by two witnesses, who shall certify under oath that they are personally acquainted with the person, and know her to be the widow of the soldier as represented, and that she has never been remarried since his death. In one case noted, one of the witnesses to the vouchers of more than a score of soldiers' widows was a clerk in the office of the notary public before whom the vouchers were executed. Under examination, the clerk admitted that he was not personally acquainted with any of the persons, and, of course, did not know whether or not they had been remarried, or

whether they were the widows they represented themselves to be. The widows—most of them colored women—also testified that they were not acquainted with this witness, and that the witnesses “were always furnished by the ‘squire.’”

An examination of the records of several pension agencies disclosed the fact, which was also supported by investigations made by the pension agents themselves, that there was general among notaries and other officials before whom pension-vouchers were executed a practice of having “stock witnesses” to certify those of widows whom they did not know, and in regard to whose past or present remarriage relations they knew and could know absolutely nothing. In the rush of business attending the payment of pensions it is exceedingly difficult, if not absolutely impracticable, for the pension agent closely to scrutinize or compare the names of witnesses on hundreds, or thousands, of widows’ vouchers. It will at once be seen that here is not only a weak point in the administration of the pension laws,—even when the officials before whom vouchers are executed are simply careless, or ignorant of the law, and not dishonest,—but that the door is opened wide for fraud, by false personation and otherwise, of which dishonest persons are quick to take advantage.

These frauds are sometimes detected and punished; but the disagreeable probability is that thousands of them are not discovered. Only a few months ago an investigation by a special examiner of the Pension Bureau unearthed one of these frauds in Providence, Rhode Island, the beneficiary of which had been for years receiving a handsome yearly income from the certificates of pensioners who were dead. Against this scoundrel, who is now serving a term in the Penitentiary, more than twenty indictments were found. He was a pension-claim agent as well as a notary public, and was thus enabled to carry on the fraud with greater success.

Since the enactment of the provision in the Appropriation Act of 1887, authorizing a woman who was the widow of a soldier during any period of time to apply for, at any time, and obtain a pension from the date of death of her soldier-husband, a flood of claims of that sort has poured into the Pension Bureau through the hands of the claim agents who were instrumental in having the legislation enacted. In many cases allowances of \$2 a month each have been applied for and obtained on account of children (minors) who at the time of such allowance had reached the age of manhood or womanhood; some of them being thirty to forty years of age and in good circumstances. Of course, the sole

intent of the law, under which an allowance of \$2 a month was made to each widow pensioner on account of each child under sixteen years of age, was to assist in its support and education until it had reached a self-supporting age. That intent has been largely frustrated by the provision referred to; and the same remark applies with equal force to the cases of many widows. Take a case in point, that of a widow whose husband had died in August, 1861, about a month after his enlistment in a regiment of home guards in which he saw no actual military service. She had five children, the eldest of which was born in 1852, and the youngest in 1860. In 1893 the widow applied for a pension on her own behalf and on account of the support and education of the children during their minority; and it was granted. At that time the eldest child, if living, was 41 years old, and the youngest 33. The total payment of arrears to this widow amounted to \$4,728,—\$3,408 on her own account, and \$1,320 on account of the children. Another case was that of the widow of a man who had been a captain in one of the volunteer regiments, and died in 1871, never having applied for a pension. He left a widow, who was remarried in 1887, sixteen years after his death. In 1893 she applied for and received a pension for the period of her soldier widowhood, at the rate of \$20 a month. The total amount paid to her for the benefit of herself and her second husband—who was never a soldier—was \$3,840.

In his last Annual Report the Commissioner of Pensions strongly recommends legislation providing that no pension be granted to any widow who was not married to the soldier before the date of its enactment. This would be in harmony with all the earlier legislation of Congress on the subject of widows' pensions, as well as with the Act of 1890; and there are sound reasons, grounded in private and public morals, why the recommendation should be approved, without regard to the heavy future demands on the public Treasury which the continuance of the existing system would involve. The latter, however, is by no means a matter for slight consideration. The longevity of soldiers' widows is proverbial. For example, while the names of only three survivors of the war of 1812, which ended eighty-three years ago, were borne on the pension-roll on June 30, 1898, the same roll bore the names of no fewer than 2,407 widows of that war, seven of which were added in 1897. The inference is irresistible that many of the soldiers of 1812, when well advanced in years, married wives who were young and possessed of robust health and strong constitutions. Women who entered into the bonds of wedlock with the aged veterans of that war were not tempted

by an expectation of receiving life pensions after the lapse of a few years. Unless official and other observers are mistaken, and their assertions worthless, such an expectation leads to the marriage of many young women every year to aged and decrepit veterans of the Civil War, who have only a few months, or years at most, to live. In fact, a number of death-bed marriages have been recorded, where the only possible motive of the brides could have been to qualify themselves to receive pensions as soldiers' widows. The woman who was the wife of a soldier in the field during the Civil War suffered untold anxiety; and, in many a case, her life was one of constant struggle for existence,—especially if she had small children. If her husband lost his life in the service, or subsequently incurred disabilities therein, or died, her burden was made still heavier. The intent of the lawmakers, in granting pensions to soldiers' widows, was to recompense them in some degree for the anxieties, suffering, and privations they had been called upon to endure. At the last session of Congress the proposition, that pensions should not be granted to any soldier's widow unless she had been married to him prior to 1898, was defeated in the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, by a vote of 8 to 7, solely by the efforts and influence of pension-claim agents.

Pension-claim agents and their influence have been referred to several times in the course of this article; but a further word in regard to them will be pertinent. Many of them are honest, high-minded, patriotic men; many more belong to the "shyster" breed, whose sole object in life is to line their own pockets at the expense of both the Government and their unfortunate clients. They are shrewd and untiring; they understand every twist and turn of pension administration; they are adepts in pension laws and decisions; and many of them are as unscrupulous as they are ingenious. Some of them are languishing behind prison bars to-day because their zeal in the pursuit of pension fees led them to break the law. Every man of them is a loud and lusty patriot, a devoted friend of the soldier and of the soldier's widow and fatherless children. In their view, a commissioner of pensions who rejects any pension claims is an "enemy of the soldier"; and, by vituperation and misrepresentation, they succeed in impressing this view on the minds of many persons, including some Congressmen, whose demagogic instincts, or timidity, or desire to conciliate and capture the "soldier vote," make them easy prey. Because a candidate for the Presidency once righteously said that the claims of the veterans of the Union and their widows should not be weighed in the apothecary's scales, these

zealous attorneys have since insisted that every pension claim, good and bad alike, should be allowed for the full amount.

The business of the pension-claim agent has been a lucrative one; and he is naturally opposed to surrendering any part of it. Some of such agents have accumulated large fortunes within the space of a few years; and thousands have enjoyed handsome incomes, many of which have been largely derived from "shady" or unlawful practices. They have led hundreds of claimants into paths which ended in prison. Every dollar that has been paid to pension attorneys has been contributed by pension claimants, many thousands of whom have thus been unmercifully fleeced. In fourteen years, 1874-1898, the total amount of legal fees paid by the Government to pension attorneys out of the pensions allowed to their respective clients has been \$14,945,317,—an average of more than \$1,067,000 a year. Probably, these sums, large as they are, do not represent more than 60 per cent of the total amount actually received from pension claimants by attorneys and their "drummers" and "dummies," who are scattered throughout the country. In other words, the claimants were compelled to pay in fourteen years nearly \$10,000,000 in illegal fees.

If the average yearly fees, legal and otherwise, collected by the attorneys and their agents during the six years for which no record of the legal fees was kept, equalled those during the other fourteen years of the period, the aggregate revenue of the pension-claim agents and their assistants and dummies for the twenty years, 1879-1898, amounted to more than \$35,000,000. It has paid them pretty well to pose as the friends of the soldier and his widow and fatherless children; to shout at Grand Army encampments and political conventions; to get up petitions in favor of the enactment of more "liberal" pension legislation; to coax and persuade or "bulldoze" Congressmen, as necessity might require; and to get on the "blind" side of easy-going pension officials whenever it was practicable to do so.

No man can make an estimate of the pension cost of the recent war with Spain, which will be even approximately accurate. All such estimates in the past have been very much too low. Gen. Garfield, who favored a just and liberal pension policy, once said that if the expenditures should ever reach \$50,000,000 per annum the system would break down under its own weight. The annual pension-roll and the cost of administration already amount to about three times Gen. Garfield's estimate, which he regarded as an exceedingly liberal one; and the expenditures are steadily increasing. His estimate is exceeded now by

the annual expenditures under the so-called Dependent Pension Act alone. When that legislation was pending in Congress no Member who either favored or was opposed to it was rash enough to assert, or even to suggest, that the expenditures on account of it would ever reach \$50,000,000 a year.

In a recent conversation a Government officer of high rank, who for many years has had much to do with the administration of the pension laws, and has devoted close and careful study to the subject, remarked:

"It is impossible for anyone to make even an approximately correct estimate of future pension expenditures, because no one can predict what changes will result from future legislation, or how the cost of the pension-roll will be affected from year to year by changes in administrative practice, by the allowance of pending or new claims, by disproportion in age between deceased veterans and their surviving widows, and by increase of the average annual rating on account of increase of disability."

He added, that, assuming that none of the foregoing causes would operate, and taking as a basis the War Department estimate of the number of survivors of the Civil War, the minimum total possible expenditure for pensions on account of that war, between now and 1945—when it is assumed that the last survivor will have disappeared—would amount to \$2,011,140,298.

He continued:

"Of course, the assumption upon which the foregoing calculation is based is unwarranted. The number of pensioners will not decrease nearly as rapidly as the number of survivors will decrease; the average pension-rating will increase, because of gradual increasing disability, even if no new pension laws shall be enacted; the ratio of widows to surviving veterans on the roll will constantly increase; there will be many widows on the roll after the last veteran shall have passed away; and, sooner or later, there will certainly be some legislation that will increase the annual expenditure. It will be seen, therefore, that the foregoing estimate is very much too low, and that it has no value except as a basis for the statement that the total expenditure will certainly equal the amount named, and will undoubtedly largely exceed it."

S. N. CLARK.

GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN.—I.

"WE Germans wish to put no one in the shade. All that we desire is a place in the sunshine by the side of others." Such was the sentiment recently expressed in the Reichstag by Freiherr von Bülow, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the occasion being the occupation of Kiao Chou. His words voiced the feeling of the whole German nation. The assurance that we do not wish to encroach on the rights of others is absolute; while the desire of the greatest military Power of Europe for a place in the sunshine of prosperity is certainly not unreasonable.

If German affairs have been conducted upon this principle since 1870, surely no nation—revengeful France excepted—can find cause for rancorous sentiments against the German people. Such, however, is the case among our habitually cool cousins across the Channel; and the national feeling of Germany has been aggravated in consequence. It cannot be denied that a tension exists between the two countries—so far, at least, as the political leaders are concerned; and this tension cannot be increased without seriously endangering the vital interests of both, and possibly precipitating the dictatorship of Russia in the eastern hemisphere.

What has led to this condition of affairs? Have we been true to our pledge, or have we, since the great victories of Wörth, Metz, and Sedan, endeavored to damage British interests and to increase our *prestige* at the expense of others? The most searching introspection will, I think, fail to convince us that we have been overbearing toward Great Britain,—a country to which we have long been united by many ties, and to which we shall always be drawn by interests of the first order.

Germany did not raise a finger to further the designs of Russia and France against English dominion in Egypt; nor did she, after the peace of San Stefano in 1878, assume the *rôle* of arbitrator, but rather that of the "honest broker." Indeed, she refrained from using her influence against England even at the risk of incurring the enmity of Russia. Six years later, during the controversy on the Congo Question, when the right of establishing colonies in Equatorial Africa was discussed, Germany unhesitatingly endorsed Lord Salisbury's policy of "open doors,"

and emphasized the equal right of all nations to establish intercourse with the barbaric and semi-civilized tribes of Africa; insisting that, for several decades, such a policy had proved efficacious in Eastern Asia.

In consequence of the opinion thus frankly avowed, Germany at once relinquished her claim to that beautiful region of Eastern Africa lying north of the Kilimanjaro, together with the Island of Zanzibar—the Malta of the Indian Ocean. Even Englishmen marvelled at the chivalrous conduct of Germany, in abandoning possessions to which she had acquired a fairly good title. We may unhesitatingly assert that no German has ever dreamed of despoiling England of one foot of her vast colonial possessions.

Since the reign of Charles V,—on whose realm the sun never set,—the opportunity of becoming the greatest naval Power in the world has been irrevocably lost to Germany. On the other hand, the greatly altered conditions arising from the construction of transcontinental railways and canals have made it impossible for England to exercise a universal dominion during the twentieth century.

The colonial possessions, which the genial diplomacy of Bismarck has secured to the Germans, comprise two million square kilometres, which are insignificant when compared with the twenty-six million square kilometres of England, or the seventeen million of Russia. The occupation of Kiao Chou was a step such as England has taken repeatedly in uncivilized countries without asking questions. The British have long had their Hong Kong; and they have now acquired Wei-hai-wei.

The Germans have organized a fleet, but this cannot possibly become a menace to England; for, even when the plan recently adopted is carried into effect, our navy will only be one-sixth as large as Great Britain's. Our minister of the navy, Tirpitz, is dwarfed by his English colleague, Goschen. Thus it will remain. For, whenever international complications arise, we can throw into the scale our formidable army, the greatest land-power in the world. We can always guard against usurpations, whether they proceed from Russians or Englishmen; and, consequently, we do not require a naval armament equal to that of Great Britain. Indeed, we should be unable to support so large a fleet. Within the last twenty-five years, the enterprising merchants of our Hanseatic ports have secured to us the second place in the foreign markets of the world. In guarding our commercial interests, therefore, we have merely done what any nation is justified in doing—more particularly when, like ourselves, it possesses an overflowing population.

Since 1870 we have never essayed the *rôle* of dictator in the Euro-

pean Concert; and if we have preferred, during the last three years, to remain passive in matters remotely affecting our interests, we have certainly not been actuated by any desire to offend England. Acting upon the advice of Prince Bismarck, we have sought to maintain amicable relations with Russia, notwithstanding the alliance of that country with France—and this not for the purpose of damaging British interests, but of securing ourselves against a possible “revanche” on the part of France. Were we requested to choose between Frenchmen and Englishmen on the Nile, or between Russians and Englishmen on the Indus, Ganges, or Yangtse, we should certainly cast a preponderant vote in favor of our British cousins; and no British diplomat stationed at Berlin, familiar with German popular sentiment, will report to the contrary. It is unnecessary to adduce further proofs to convince American readers that our policy, since 1871, has been conducted upon the lines of Von Bülow’s remark quoted in the opening paragraph of this paper. On this point our conscience is perfectly clear.

Perhaps some British writer may not concur in my opinion, but claim that we have not been altogether blameless. Should he plead his cause in *THE FORUM*, I am sure that my countrymen will be open to conviction. It is absolutely necessary, however, in order that the existing tension may be gradually removed, that Englishmen should hear the German side of the case stated before an impartial tribunal.

In endeavoring to explain the reason of the strong anti-British sentiment now existing in Germany, we must, above all, guard against superficiality, and probe beneath the surface. Court relations, expressions in the Jingo press, utterances of British diplomats, the abuse showered upon the German Emperor,—neither of these is responsible for the present discontent. Although the English court, with its German branches, is not nearly so popular to-day as it was when Englishmen came over to Coburg to select a consort for their youthful Queen, the great mass of Germans are entirely unaffected by court affairs. It is true that Emperor William’s despatch to President Krüger aroused the wrath of the English people; yet this wrath was but evanescent. Upon reflection, Englishmen perceived that the despatch, unpleasant though it must have been, was merely designed to brand the deed of filibusters.

As far as *we* are concerned, the occasional grumbling of Englishmen over the extraordinary development of German commerce has not materially disturbed our equanimity. In a recent article in the “Saturday Review,” the writer, referring to Germany, makes use of the expression, “*Ceterum censeo, Germaniam esse delendam.*” This was indeed a pretty

hard dose to swallow. Yet, after all, the German people have not been very deeply affected by the utterances of certain English statesmen; although it must be admitted that some irritation has been caused by political speeches in England. We trust that no Prussian Chamberlain will ever speak and act in office as did the English Secretary for the Colonies. Undoubtedly, however, the youthful Hotspur was bridled by Lord Salisbury. After all, we can afford to let the *colleagues* of the English Prime Minister have their say.

More deeply rooted in our memory is the article, inspired by Lord Salisbury himself, and published in the "Standard," upon the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War. I refer more particularly to the passage in which the German Emperor was enjoined "to heed the wise counsel of his grandmother." Yet even this utterance did not greatly wound our susceptibilities. We are quite certain that the young Emperor, who could afford to dispense with the sage advice of Prince Bismarck, will not walk in the leading-strings of the Queen of England. Neither the article in the "Standard" nor that in the "Saturday Review" is responsible for the prevailing antipathy to Great Britain. The main cause for our dissatisfaction may be epitomized in a single sentence: England's policy toward Germany, both in the Colonies and in the Orient, is practically identical with that prevailing prior to 1870, *i.e.*, in the days of Lord Palmerston. A cursory glance at our development during the last half-century will readily convince the reader that our dissatisfaction is traceable mainly to the disrespect with which England still persists in treating our people.

Prior to 1870 the Germans might have been more justly accused of Anglomania than of Anglophobia. Not even the overbearing attitude of Lord Palmerston, and his threat to treat as filibusters the few warships built by the aid of the small savings of German patriots, could affect the pleasant relations then existing between the two countries. The necessity of returning into the German Confederation (imposed upon us after 1848 by Prince Schwarzenberg) was felt far more keenly than was the attempt of Lord Palmerston to wound our national pride and to impair our position among the nations. As a liberal and constitutional monarchy, Great Britain was decidedly popular in Germany. Upon the outbreak of the Crimean War, our sympathies were entirely with England against Russia. I shall never forget the enthusiasm with which the reported capture of Sebastopol by the English fleet was greeted. Many would have advocated an alliance of Prussia with Austria in her attitude of armed neutrality against Russia.

The Treaty of Paris (1856), although concluded without the co-operation of Prussia, was hailed with universal approval; and it was considered quite in order that the "Russian Bear," with "clipped claws," should be encaged forever within the basin of the Black Sea. The procedure of England in 1856 was diametrically opposed to her present policy of "open doors." Even then there were statesmen in Germany who declared that the seas and harbors of the world could not be closed forever against a great and increasing nation like Russia. Yet the opinions of these statesmen found no acceptance. The sympathy for England could not be diminished—least of all in North Germany, where the great landowners were then fanatical Free-Traders, as they are to-day confirmed Protectionists. Indeed, in 1865, with the advent of the "*Aera Delbrück*" (an expression coined by Bismarck), Germany inaugurated a commercial policy, modelled upon that of the famous Cobden Club of England.

A turning-point in our relations with England was reached in 1870. Yet even then our sympathy was not at once converted into antipathy, but rather into indifference. This became more marked about 1874, when the commercial treaties of 1865 began to fall into disfavor. Our victories in France had awakened a national sentiment powerful enough, when irritated, to react most forcibly—as demonstrated by our present attitude toward Great Britain. In the eighteenth century it was still possible for England to buy, at the courts of German princes, the mercenaries sent against the American colonies. The despicable barter of our princes with the sons of the soil had come to be regarded as one of the greatest blots upon the escutcheon of German honor. These methods have become impossible since the War of Liberation against Napoleon I.

Prior to 1870 England was still in a position to coerce Germany at any time into an alliance with her against Russia,—an alliance similar to that existing between England and France during the Crimean War. It is conceivable that in this way England might again have reaped her harvest upon the soil which the nations of Central Europe had drenched with their blood,—as at the time of the Napoleonic Wars, when England lost but twenty thousand men in twenty years. All this has been changed since the formation of the new German Empire. "To wage war against Russia with the bones of German musketeers" would be impossible for England, even if the daughter of Queen Victoria had been earlier endowed with the Imperial Crown of Germany, and had worn it longer than for the ninety-nine days that marked the brief reign of our lamented Emperor Frederick.

The first decade of the new German Empire passed without serious friction. England had not yet given us sufficient cause. It is true that, after the Battle of Sedan, England had furnished French soldiers with weapons. As the French harbors, however, were not in a state of blockade, all neutrals, English merchants included, were justified in making capital out of the war. Yet, even in 1870 Emperor William I already had a premonition of what has now become a *fait accompli*. This is proved by Prof. Oncken in the "Festbuch" published in 1897, the centenary of Emperor William's birth. In this the venerable monarch makes the accusation that the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Clarendon, had acted treacherously toward Prussia in regard to the question of disarmament. Furthermore, the King feels aggrieved at the wish expressed by Lord Granville concerning the neutrality of Belgium, namely, that the French should be permitted to operate unmolested upon the flank and rear of the German army. In the letters written by King William to his royal consort, the mediatory propositions of Queen Victoria were referred to as efforts to deprive Germany of the fruits of the war. Yet, at this time, the indignation against Queen Victoria of the Emperor—the father-in-law of her daughter—was not yet shared by the nation at large.

For several decades the Emperor and his advisers maintained a wise secrecy as to their views. Nevertheless, all enthusiasm for the Treaty of 1856 (concluded without the consent of Prussia) had vanished in 1870; and Prince Bismarck was enabled to reward Russia for her neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War, by permitting her to tear the treaty to pieces and to place a powerful fleet upon the waters of the Black Sea. In this way England was deprived in the London Protocol of the fruits of the Crimean War,—a war in which, after all, the national soldiery of France participated far more largely than did the hired troops of England. At the same time, the mediatory propositions of Queen Victoria fell short of their purpose. Not we, therefore, but England, had cause for irritation.

A state of serious tension between the two countries did not ensue, however, until ten years later. This tension was not caused by any measures devised by England in retaliation for the resumption of Germany's protective policy (1879, 1885, 1887). On the contrary, England, up to the present day, has given us free access to all her markets; and in this she has displayed extraordinary patience. Yet it appears that, after all, she was deceived in her reckoning. Leaving our policy of Protection entirely out of the question, the fact remains that we have

made marvellous strides in our foreign commerce; and this commercial development has created numerous points of friction with England over a considerable portion of the eastern hemisphere. It has therefore devolved upon Germany to use every means in her power to prevent Continental wars,—which could prove advantageous only to England,—and no longer tamely to submit to that policy of exclusion adopted by certain countries with reference to transoceanic markets, but to inaugurate an active colonial policy of her own; to guard her coasts against blockade; to protect her merchant marine on distant seas; and to obtain for her merchants *points d'appui* on foreign shores. The following figures will serve to give American readers an idea of the results of the change effected in Germany's foreign policy.

In 1895 our entire trade with England (through rates excluded) amounted to only 1,362 million marks, as compared with 2,400 millions for all other transoceanic countries. Our trade with the United States alone amounted to 1,000 million marks annually. Moreover, England has now almost entirely lost our carrying trade, once so profitable to her. Since 1873, our trade with England, estimated in tonnage, has increased 88 per cent; but in the last decade it has declined 35 per cent, while our trade with other countries has increased as follows:

Sweden	97	per cent.
Austria-Hungary.....	341	" "
North America	128	" "
Mexico, Central and South America.....	317	" "
India and the Far East.....	488	" "
Australia.....	475	" "
South Africa.....	270	" "
The Levant	2,261	" "

Prior to 1873 we possessed no colonies. The fisheries in the North Sea were controlled entirely by England. Since 1873 these have increased from 5,100 to 52,600 tons. Hamburg's transoceanic commerce alone, estimated in tonnage, has been trebled within the last twenty-five years; while its monetary value has doubled. The Hamburg-American Steamship Company and the North German Lloyd rank among the greatest steamship companies in the world; while the capital of Hamburg's steamship lines alone amounts to 900 million marks. The number of our steamers has increased more than sixfold, and their tonnage tenfold. Some of our vessels (the "**Kaiser Wilhelm II**," for exam-

ple), are not only unexcelled, but perhaps unequalled, while they are easily convertible into auxiliary cruisers. In addition to these industries, we have begun to take an active interest in plantations. It is said that over 20 million marks of German capital has been invested in the coffee-plantations of Venezuela, and that similar extensive interests exist in Honduras, Guatemala, and in the German Colonies. Foreign war-ships are now constructed upon our wharves. Our consular flag waves in every part of the globe. And Germany is the only European country that has made such marvellous commercial progress. While the total trade of Germany has advanced to the extent of 1,100 million marks, the trade of France, of Russia, and even of England, has retrograded, or, at least, has not increased in the same proportion. It must still be admitted, however, that our share of the world's commerce is scarcely two-thirds that of England; and that it is unlikely that we shall ever attain the first place.

While the War of 1870 fully awakened the national consciousness, our extraordinary commercial and industrial development since that period have compelled us to maintain our independence, and no longer to submit to the tutelage and dictation of England. We have been compelled to oppose with might and main all influences which threatened the peace of the world, and aimed at the destruction of Continental commerce. A serious reaction of German popular sentiment against England was therefore inevitable in the event of an infringement of our privileges, or an attempt to damage our prosperity by instigating war between Central Europe and Russia. In both directions, England has now actually given cause for such reaction. Since 1880 she has everywhere antagonized our colonial policy; while her methods in Turkey during the last few years can be interpreted only as an attempt to provoke a European war involving the whole Continent to its detriment, and benefiting England alone. These are the causes of our resentment.

Americans will undoubtedly recall the apprehension of the English people, when Bismarck secured to us our modest colonial possessions in Africa and in Australasia. Public opinion in England still asserted toward us the pretentious claim, long abandoned by her with regard to the other Powers, to prohibit or permit the acquisition of transoceanic colonies. Wherever we endeavored to raise the German flag for the protection of our extensive and well-established mercantile interests abroad we encountered the opposition of England. All this tended to stir our resentment; hence the enthusiasm aroused by the Transvaal despatch of the German Emperor.

The domineering attitude of England with regard to our colonial policy was not, however, the sole cause of our deep-seated resentment. Indeed, there still are people among us, identified with the "Aera Delbrück," who consider Germany's colonial policy an anachronism, and condemn it upon the ground that the new colonies are not directly remunerative. This is equivalent to saying that children who have not yet lost their first teeth should contribute to the support of their parents. However naïve this view, the fact remains that Germany's attempts at colonization have not met with universal approval at home. The colonial policy of England cannot, therefore, be accepted as the sole reason of our antagonism.

It has been only within the last few years that the bottom has been completely knocked out of the once-overflowing cask of our affection. This occurred when, from the highlands of Armenia down to the island designated in the history of the Apostles as the home of "the Eternal Liars," England sprung the mines which were to ignite the fires of war over the entire continent, so that she alone might profit by the universal holocaust. Whether justly or unjustly entertained, the general conviction was that England, unable to obtain the assistance of France for a second Crimean War, sought to drive the Powers of the Triple Alliance into a war against Russia, so that, in this way, their national prosperity might be destroyed by their own hands; while England, profiting by the murkiness of the atmosphere, would cast her nets for a tremendous haul.

It was no less a man than Bismarck who indefatigably emphasized this suspicion; and, as the educated German invariably scents religious hypocrisy whenever England transacts political business under the sign of the Cross, the before-mentioned conviction easily and rapidly gained ground. In this instance, however, the reckoning was made without the host: the fulfilment of so outrageous a demand became impossible after 1870. That England could nevertheless cherish this idea, and, undismayed by repeated failure, obstinately pursue it for three years, is the cause of Germany's embitterment—an embitterment which, unfortunately, has even led to sympathy for him whom Gladstone, of all English statesmen the least popular in Germany, once styled "the murderer in the Yildiz Kiosk."

When, at last, after unsuccessful attempts to drive the Armenians to the shambles of the Sultan, England espoused the cause of the Greeks and the Cretans, the antipathy of Germany was directed against these, not because of their nationality, but because they had become the *pro-*

tégés of England and the bearers of her firebrands. The assertion, that our antipathies were directed mainly against the German holders of Greek securities, is false: the friendly services of our Government in behalf of the old creditors of Greece were at least unsolicited by public sentiment. Many politicians of Germany were, and still are, of the opinion that the peace of Europe could have been maintained just as effectually if German diplomacy had acted less impulsively toward the Greeks, instead of playing the part, as it seemed, of the highest "Magister Morum" of Europe.

Such is Germany's attitude toward Great Britain to-day. After what has been said, I may perhaps be justified in tracing the cause of the tension between the two nations to the anachronistic policy pursued by England toward the German Empire since 1870. If England wishes to have Germany with, and not against her, she must abandon her present policy, and resolve to deal with us upon a basis of perfect parity, both as regards demands and sacrifices. In short, her entire policy must be conducted upon the principle of "Do ut des."

ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

COLUMBUS died a disappointed man because he had failed to find a new route to the Indies. His ships were stopped by the impassable barrier of a continent the existence of which he had not dreamed of. It remained for the adventurer Balboa, making his way across Darien in 1513, to be the first to look out upon the waters of the Pacific Ocean and to realize by how narrow a strip of land the Atlantic was separated from the Pacific. From that time to the present there has been an ever-increasing desire to cut through this barrier, and thus to connect the waters of the two great oceans and to reduce the sailing-distance around the world by more than one-third of the circumference of the globe.

Spain, then at the height of her glory and power, directed all her captains sailing to the New World to seek for the strait (which they believed existed somewhere) connecting the two oceans.

The discovery in 1522 of a great lake situated at the summit, nearly in the centre of the Isthmus, together with a great river, the outlet of the lake, flowing to the east,—which made it possible to approach, in small vessels, from the Atlantic to within twelve miles of the Pacific,—seemed to indicate that at this point the Isthmus could be cut, and a free water-channel established. This lake is now known as Lake Nicaragua, and its outlet as the San Juan River.

From that day to the beginning of the present century many examinations of the Isthmus were made, and various schemes devised for the construction of a canal; but the difficulties were too great for the engineers of the period.

The completion of the Suez Canal in 1870 led to a revival of the interest in a canal across Central America. The unfortunate failure of Count de Lesseps and his company at Panama, where many millions were squandered and stolen, has retarded movements looking to the construction of the canal. American engineers have always favored a canal by the way of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua; and that route has come to be known as the American route. One-half of the money (\$256,000,000) wasted at Panama would have built the Nicaragua Canal. Whilst the failure at Panama has prevented great capital-

ists from taking up the Nicaragua plan, the American people have never for a moment doubted the practicability of that route; nor has their determination that the Canal should be constructed there under American auspices been lessened. Repeated surveys of this route made by the United States Government and by private parties have demonstrated its practicability, and at a cost which would make the enterprise a commercial success.

The stirring events of the last few months have so demonstrated the necessity of the Canal, from a military as well as from a commercial standpoint, that the American people are substantially a unit to-day in demanding the immediate undertaking of the enterprise, and its accomplishment at the earliest possible moment. The wonderful voyage of the battleship "Oregon" round Cape Horn, and the return trip, now being made, of the same vessel, accompanied by the "Iowa," are object-lessons so striking that every unprejudiced mind must at once admit the necessity of the Canal as a means of defence of our harbors and cities on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, as well as of our new outlying possessions and dependencies.

The question is frequently heard, "Why is the building of the Canal not undertaken by private capital or by the Government?"

As to the former, the writer has said that the Panama fiasco and scandal have been the chief causes in preventing private capital from taking up this enterprise in a way energetic enough to insure its speedy completion.

The reason that the Government has done nothing more than to make repeated surveys and reports is to be found in two facts: First, in a matter of this kind our Government moves only when pressed to do so by the demands of a great majority of the citizens. It has been no mean task for those who have advocated the construction of the Canal to convince a majority of seventy millions of people that it ought to be undertaken by the Government. But the final argument in the advocacy of the measure has been furnished by the trip of the "Oregon"; and this has rendered unnecessary any further efforts in the matter of educating the people on this question.

The second reason why the Government has not acted is found in the fact, that the representatives of great capital invested in our trans-continental railroads have believed that the construction of a canal across the Isthmus would greatly injure their properties. Acting upon that belief, they have used the power of their corporations in every way possible to prevent Congressional action. The history of the Nicaragua

Canal in Congress for the past ten years would be very interesting to the readers of THE FORUM; but it is altogether too long for the limits of this article. It must suffice to say, that the committees of both Houses have repeatedly reported Bills favorable to the construction of the Canal. Once a Bill for its construction passed the Senate, but failed to receive consideration in the House. The influences above referred to have always been able to prevent joint action of the two Houses at the same session of Congress. A powerful lobby has been maintained at Washington during all these years; and skilful statistical writers have been employed to prove to the American people, through the columns of the press and magazines, that the Canal is unnecessary, either as a means of defence or in the interests of commerce, and that, if it were constructed, few vessels would ever pass through it; thus making it a stupendous commercial failure.

It has been the opinion of everyone who has examined this question, except the railroad magnates themselves, that the building of the Canal would be of greater benefit to the transcontinental railroads than to any other single interest. There are at the present time six transcontinental railroads competing for a business which could easily be carried by three.

The Pacific Coast is a great empire by itself. It has been estimated that it is capable of producing food enough to support one hundred millions of people. The fertility of its soil and the salubrity of its climate cannot be surpassed. Yet, at the present time, upon the entire coast from San Diego to the line of British Columbia in the North, and running back to the mountains, there are fewer people, all told, by several hundred thousands, than are to-day contained in the city of New York. The failure of the Pacific Coast to make a great growth since the discovery of gold in 1849 has been a great disappointment to its early settlers. The reason is found in the fact that there is not sufficient profit in the pursuit of agriculture or lumbering to attract the surplus population of the East. Once the Canal is opened, the population of the Pacific Coast will rapidly increase; and before a decade has passed it will have more than doubled. This increased population will of necessity bring largely increased business to the railroads. The annual reports of several of the transcontinental railroads show that their through business is less than 10 per cent of the entire business of the roads, and that their profits are made upon "short haul" and not upon the freight carried from ocean to ocean.

After all these years of waiting, I am satisfied that the position in

which this enterprise stands to-day, not only before the American people, but before the whole commercial world, is such that its speedy accomplishment is assured, either by the Government of the United States or by private capital.

The discussion of this question naturally divides itself into three parts:

First. Is the route proposed by the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua feasible from an engineering point of view at such a cost as will give assurance of the Canal's success?

Second. Is the Canal desirable? Will it greatly benefit American interests? Will it surely add to our means of defence?

Third. Will it pay?

(1) *Is it feasible?* Without wearying the reader with a detailed account of the numerous surveys which have been made of the Nicaragua route, suffice it to say that every engineer, either American or foreign, whose opinion commands respect and who has examined the route and the plans as made by the present company, has pronounced the scheme to be entirely feasible and one that presents no insurmountable engineering problems.

The Government of the United States during the Administration of Gen. Grant made a careful examination of every possible route across the Isthmus, and finally reported in favor of the Nicaragua route. This report was made by Gen. Humphreys, then Chief of the Engineer Corps of the army. Since that day a company holding concessions from Nicaragua and Costa Rica for the construction and operation of the Canal has made most extensive surveys, extending over a number of years, with a large corps of engineers under the direction of Chief Engineer A. G. Menocal.

At the present time there is a Canal Commission, consisting of Admiral Walker, Gen. Hains, and Prof. Haupt. The Commission was created by Act of Congress; and the gentlemen named were appointed by the President. They have had at their disposal something over \$300,000; and, for the past six months or more, they have had in Nicaragua over fifty engineers who have been carefully going over the route of the Canal as proposed by the Company, verifying the work, and making additional surveys. The Commission will report at the next session of Congress. It is impossible at this writing to state what that report will be in detail; but this much can be said: All of the three Commissioners have stated since their return that they find the undertaking to be entirely feasible. It is also known that their investigations have already demonstrated that some of the important parts of the work,

as proposed, have been found to be less difficult, and less expensive in execution, than the estimates of the Company's engineers.

As to the matter of cost, the Company's engineers have always held that a canal, with thirty feet of water, and locks large enough to pass the largest battleships, could be constructed for considerably less than \$100,000,000.

The present Commissioners were called before the Nicaragua Canal Committee of the Senate this past summer, and gave what may be called an off-hand opinion as to the cost of the Canal. I say "off-hand," because their work was not completed, and of course their estimates could not take a form of accuracy.

Gen. Hains gave it as his opinion that the Canal could not cost more than \$140,000,000, and might cost considerably less. Admiral Walker stated that, in his judgment, the cost would not exceed \$125,000,000, while Prof. Haupt's estimate was \$90,000,000.

The writer of this article, in many public addresses delivered on this question, has always stated that the Canal could be built for \$100,000,000, on condition that the money was in hand or guaranteed by the Government, so that contracts could be let for the entire work at one time; and that, under those conditions, the work could be finished within five years. But, if the highest estimate of Gen. Hains should be found to be correct, the Canal would be the cheapest addition ever made to the transportation facilities of the commercial world.

(2) *Is it desirable? Will it greatly benefit American interests?* As already stated, it is believed that the American people are substantially a unit in desiring the speedy construction of the Nicaragua Canal. This desire is doubtless due to the fact that we have come to realize that the Canal will be of very great benefit to our commerce, both domestic and foreign. In modern commerce the time and cost of transporting products to the market are both matters of the first importance. The producer who can put his products into the market in less time and at a less cost for transportation than his competitor is sure of that market. To-day the Pacific States are farther from the markets of the world than any country with which they are brought into competition. The Pacific States produce chiefly raw material, such as agricultural products, lumber, and minerals. They ship annually a million tons of wheat to Europe, and there compete with Russia, Argentina, and India, all of which countries can put their wheat into Europe in less than one-fourth of the time required for the trip from San Francisco to Liverpool *via* the Horn; thereby coming into market first after the harvest, and saving largely

in the cost of transportation, insurance, and interest upon capital invested. Were it not for the wonderful productiveness of our Pacific Coast wheat-fields, they would not be able to compete at all with the countries mentioned.

The lumber from the great forests of Oregon and Washington finds to-day an altogether insufficient market in Japan, Australia, and the West Coast of South America. The depletion of our white-pine forests in the Central West will within a few years leave a great market in the Eastern States for this lumber, provided the Canal is built, so that it may by that route be delivered at a cost of transportation which will leave a fair profit to the producer. Europe also would become a large consumer of this lumber, if it could be furnished at a reasonable price.

The distance from New York to San Francisco by Cape Horn is 15,660 miles. By the Nicaragua route it will be 4,907 miles,—a saving of 10,753 miles. The usual time for a sailing-vessel to make this voyage is one hundred and twenty days. A modern freight-steamer would make it in twenty days or less through the Canal. This fact alone would be a sufficient reason for the construction of the Canal, if no other benefit were to be derived from it, as the Canal would undoubtedly create between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States a great commerce which, unfortunately, does not exist to-day.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1870 gave to European commerce a great advantage over the United States in the trade of the Orient by lessening considerably the time and cost of transportation from European ports to ports in India, China, and Japan, while increasing at the same time the disadvantage of distance under which we labored before that canal was constructed, when the route for both European and American commerce was *via* Cape of Good Hope. For example, previous to the opening of the Suez Canal, the sailing distance from Liverpool to Shanghai was 13,650 miles, and from New York to Shanghai 14,340 miles,—a difference of 690 miles in favor of Liverpool. The building of the Suez Canal made the distance from Liverpool to Shanghai 10,330 miles, and from New York to Shanghai 12,360 miles,—thus saving 3,320 miles for Liverpool, and only 1,980 for New York. In other words, the advantage of Liverpool over New York was increased from 690 to 2,030 miles. Taking the average speed of a freight-steamer at 200 miles a day, this gives European ports an advantage over American ports, through the Suez Canal, of nearly seven days, plus the additional expense thereby resulting to the American merchant.

This fact has been taken advantage of, especially by England, in increasing the number of her merchant-vessels engaged in the trade to the Orient, as is shown by the reports of the Suez Canal Company regarding the transit of vessels. The traffic through the Suez Canal has increased from 488 vessels in 1870 to 2,283 in 1888, and to 3,409 in 1896. And, while in 1888 the number of British vessels using the Canal was only 547, in 1896 it had increased to 2,162, out of a total of 3,409. Out of 3,352 vessels which passed through the Suez Canal in 1894, 5 only were American!

Whilst our exports were composed chiefly of food and other agricultural products, which found a foreign market only in Europe, we gave ourselves little concern about the disadvantage we were under in regard to the markets of the East; but, now that our manufacturing industries have increased until we have a large surplus, which, if marketed at all, must secure markets in foreign lands, we find ourselves the competitors of England, Germany, and France, and therefore must seek, not only to reestablish the conditions which existed before the building of the Suez Canal, but find a shorter and cheaper route to the markets of the Orient if we expect to be able to compete with our European rivals. This can only be done by the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, which will bring all the ports of the Atlantic Coast of the United States much nearer than Liverpool to Japan and the eastern coast of China above Shanghai, to Port Arthur (the terminus of the Russian Siberian Railway), and to the islands of the Pacific.

For example, let us take Shanghai as the dividing-point of the trade-spheres of the Suez and Nicaragua canals. Our commerce labors today under a disadvantage of 2,030 miles to Shanghai, as compared with that of Liverpool, or nearly seven days of navigation by steam. By the Nicaragua route it would not only be placed on an equality to that point, but would have an advantage of 118 miles. Take the further example of the distance from Liverpool to Yokohama by the Suez Canal, 11,030 miles. By the Nicaragua Canal it will be 11,947 miles, whereas the distance from New York to Yokohama would be only 9,227,—a net advantage in favor of New York of 1,803 miles over Liverpool *via* Suez, and of 2,720 miles over Liverpool *via* Nicaragua.

This difference is sufficient to give us substantially control of the trade with Japan, provided we can give Japan the manufactured products she requires at a first cost not greater than that of England. Japan at the present time requires from abroad chiefly iron and steel products, steel rails, and railroad equipment and supplies. We are producing all

those materials in competition with England; yet even under the disadvantages of distance above mentioned, we have taken substantially all the orders in Japan, and have even furnished steel rails to the Government of India, much to the disgust of English manufacturers.

In seeking a foreign market for our manufactures, it is evident that we shall chiefly find it in the Pacific. More than five hundred millions of people live in the countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean, nearly all of which were closed against foreign trade fifty years ago. Our own Commander Perry opened Japan to our commerce. But a few years ago our Government received the first embassy sent out by Korea. Japan has already developed a great foreign trade, which is increasing enormously every year; the increase of one year alone,—1897 over 1896,—having been 28 per cent.

Undoubtedly the time has arrived when China, with its teeming millions, is to be fully opened to the commerce of the world. If we are to have our fair share, we must be prepared to step in and establish our trade in the country upon terms which will enable us to compete with the manufacturers of Europe.

The building of the Nicaragua Canal would also give us a great advantage in the trade of New Zealand. The distance from Liverpool by the Nicaragua Canal to Auckland would be 11,182 miles, whereas the distance from New York to Auckland would be only 8,462,—an advantage of 2,720 miles in favor of New York. This same advantage of 2,720 miles obtains for all points on the Pacific Coast in Mexico and Central and South America, from Acapulco to Valparaiso. The distance from New York to our new possession, Honolulu, would be reduced from 13,290 miles *via* the Straits of Magellan to 6,417 miles *via* Nicaragua,—a saving of 6,873 miles.

We have seen how the Pacific States are to be benefited by the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, and also the great advantages which would accrue to the ports of the Atlantic Coast in bringing them nearer to the East. If we turn to the Gulf States we shall find that they would be benefited to an equal extent.

New Orleans is 700 miles nearer to the Eastern terminus of the Canal than New York. The great staple of the South is cotton. Alabama, as well as Tennessee, has great coal-fields and deposits of iron ore. In both these States to-day pig-iron is produced more cheaply than anywhere else in the world. The opening of the Nicaragua Canal would give the South, with its coal, iron, and cotton, the freedom of entrance into the Pacific. But little coal, and that of an inferior

quality, is found in the Pacific States and on the Pacific coast of South America.

Japan has built a large number of modern cotton-mills, and is building still more. She is now coming to the United States for raw cotton, which is shipped across the continent by rail, and then carried by steamer to Yokohama, where it competes with cotton from India. If the Canal were opened, cotton could be laid down in Yokohama at a much less cost for transportation than now, and would be able to compete successfully with Indian cotton. The developments now going on in Japan, and the enterprises which will undoubtedly be undertaken in the near future in China, will call for iron in all its forms. This can be furnished more cheaply from Alabama and Tennessee than from any other place in the world, provided we are able to furnish cheap transportation; and that can be done so successfully through the Nicaragua Canal as to defy competition from any source. Thus we see that from a commercial standpoint every portion of our country would be benefited by the construction of this work.

Will the Canal surely add to our means of defence? The desirability of the Canal as a means of defence appeals to the judgment of all of our people as well as to the minds of the trained soldier and naval officer. Gen. Tracy, when Secretary of the Navy, said, in one of his reports :

“The Canal must be built, or two independent navies maintained, one in the Atlantic, the other in the Pacific; and the increased cost of building the navy and maintaining it would be very much greater than the cost of building the Canal.”

But I do not care to go further into the discussion of the enterprise as a means of defence. Suffice it to say that professionals have already discussed it and pronounced it desirable.

(3) *Will the Canal pay?* It ought to be quite unnecessary to make any argument to answer this question in the affirmative. It stands to reason that the saving of from 3,000 to 10,000 miles of travel would be a sufficient inducement to shipping to divert it from its present channels to the Nicaragua Canal. We may, therefore, take for granted that wherever such a saving could be effected, the tonnage benefited by it would naturally become tributary to the Canal. We may safely count on the trade between Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy with the Pacific ports of the United States, which amounted in 1890 to \$36,474,699; on that of the same countries with the west coast of Mexico, Central America, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, \$117,765,237; on that of Great Britain with New Zealand, \$53,429,965; on that

of the Atlantic ports of the United States with Japan, Hong Kong, China, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands, \$55,726,594; on that of the United States with Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, \$8,426,662; and, finally, on the trade of Brazil and Cuba with the Pacific ports of the United States, \$1,102,871,—a grand total of \$272,926,028. These figures are taken from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Commerce and Navigation for the year 1890.

Of this total \$21,250,000 represents shipments of 780,000 tons of wheat from San Francisco to Europe; \$27,290,410, shipments of 860,000 tons nitrates from Chile; \$2,111,412, shipments of 75,000 tons of wheat from Chile; \$350,000, shipments of 81,000 tons of nitrates and guano from Peru; and \$7,745,000, shipments of 382,610 tons of coal oil from the United States to the various ports of the Pacific.

The sum of \$214,179,206, the remainder of the traffic mentioned above, represents general traffic between the ports indicated. Taken at an average value of \$62 per ton, it is equivalent to 3,454,503 tons. We thus have a total tonnage in 1890 of 5,633,113 tons, which would be directly tributary to the Canal so soon as completed. And if we strike off from the figures given above 1,000,000 tons, being the tonnage of the nitrates and wheat from Chile, which might prefer to go round the Horn instead of paying the tolls of the Canal, there would still be left 4,633,113 tons which could be counted upon for the tonnage of the Canal.

The tolls would probably be fixed at the rate prevailing at present in Suez, which is \$1.80. This would give annual gross receipts of \$8,339,603. Assuming the Canal to be built for \$100,000,000 in cash, or in bonds guaranteed by the Government at 3 per cent, then the fixed charges would be: \$3,000,000 for interest; \$1,000,000 for maintenance; and a further allowance of \$1,000,000 for sinking fund. This would leave, for distribution as dividend upon the stock, the sum of \$3,339,603.

A careful study of the question of tonnage which would use a canal across the American isthmus was made by a commission, of which M. Levasseur, Member of the Institute of France, was chairman; and the report of that commission was fully discussed at the Paris Congress of 1879. The figures given at that time for the tonnage of the Panama Canal were 5,268,000; and the report of the Congress itself estimated at 5,250,000 tons the traffic which would exist upon its opening.

Statistics show the normal growth of commerce to be at the ratio of about 1 per cent per annum. This would give for the year 1904, the

probable time of the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, an increase of 14 per cent over the figures for 1890, which, without compounding, would bring the tonnage of 4,633,000 tons, quoted above, to 5,281,748 in 1904. But it is not the object of the writer to dwell on the probabilities of the traffic for the Canal, otherwise mention would be made of an additional tonnage of 7,471,674 tons, representing \$463,243,847 of trade from Europe to ports of the Pacific in 1890, other than that already referred to,—trade which might properly be called “within the zone of the Canal’s attraction.” No account has been taken of the probabilities of the development of commerce, though we have seen that from 1896 to 1897, the increase of the foreign commerce of Japan alone was 28 per cent; nor has any estimate been made of what we might term the coastwise trade which would doubtless be created between our Atlantic and Pacific ports by the building of the Canal.

Let me illustrate the probabilities of the development of the traffic of the Nicaragua Canal by citing the following few data from the reports of the Suez Canal:

Year.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	Gross Receipts.
1870.....	488	436,600	4,345,758 fcs.
1880.....	2,028	3,057,421	36,492,620 “
1891.....	4,206	8,699,020	83,421,504 “

For a number of years the dividends have been from 18 to 20 per cent. The shares of the Canal held by the British Government cost £4,000,000: they are worth to-day, at the market price, £19,000,000.

Every unprejudiced person capable of giving a judgment upon this question holds that within five years after the completion of the Nicaragua Canal its tonnage will be very much larger than that of the Suez Canal.

Looked at from every point of view, it is seen that the Canal is desired by every interest, and is in fact a necessity as a means of defence under the changed conditions which have come upon us in the past few months. If we are to take a leading part in the development of the Pacific we can do so only by holding the key to the Pacific, which is the Canal across the Isthmus. These views are not only held by a large majority of our own people, but are concurred in by the leading engineers and commercial men of Europe. The Hon. Archibald R. Colquhoun, the distinguished English engineer, a few years ago made a thorough examination of the Nicaragua Canal route; and in a work which he

published upon the matter two years ago, entitled "The Key of the Pacific," he stated his views in regard to the Nicaragua Canal as follows:

"It will render greater service to the New World than the Suez Canal does to the Old. It will bring Japan, Northern China, Australasia, and part of Malaysia nearer to the Atlantic cities of the United States than they are now to England. . . . It will give an immense impulse to United States manufactures, especially cotton and iron, and will greatly stimulate the ship-building industry and the development of the naval power of the United States."

Concluding, he says:

"I believe that the Canal can be made, and that, long hindered by political difficulties alone, it will now be carried out under the auspices of the United States Government. The Canal is a necessity of the age; and were the cost double what I estimate it to be, the immense benefits certain to result would amply justify its execution. It will bind together the remote sections of that immense country, assimilate its diverse interests, go far toward solving many difficult problems, and make the United States still more united. Finally, I believe it will, taken in connection with the vast changes occurring in the Far East, bring about the most serious rivalry to the commercial supremacy of Great Britain which she has ever yet had to encounter."

A most important question before the American people at the present time is, Shall this canal be built by Americans, and be owned and controlled by them, or shall European capital be permitted to come in, and complete this great work, and control it for its advantage? The opportunity is now presented to us to complete the work which Columbus began, by creating a new route to the Orient, the results of which will be more far-reaching than Columbus and his supporters ever imagined, and will bring far greater wealth and prosperity to the United States than the boldest imagination dares prophesy.

WARNER MILLER.

THE NEW PANAMA CANAL.

THE delays and risks experienced in bringing the "Oregon" eastward from the Pacific Coast, at the outbreak of the war with Spain, have drawn the attention of the whole country to the importance of an early construction of a ship-canal across the isthmus now obstructing free communication between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The route by Cape Horn is entirely too long to meet present demands, either commercial or military.

But, while a canal is so urgently demanded, it is equally true that it should be, in respect to facilities of transit, security of operation, and cost and time of construction, *the best canal possible*. The work will be a gigantic engineering feat; and no mistake in selecting the route should be made at the outset.

Unfortunately, the American public has been led to believe, by the collapse of the old sea-level project at Panama, that there is only one really practicable route for a canal; viz., that by Nicaragua. The elaborate investigations which have been in progress at Panama during the past eight years are little known or appreciated in America; having been conducted quietly (especially during the last four years) by the new company, with a view to determine the best and most economical solution of the problem before making public the information obtained.

The writer, being a member of the Comité Technique, invited to assist the new Panama Canal Company in directing its investigations and forming its conclusions, has had exceptional advantages for understanding the subject in its present aspects. The Comité is international in composition, and includes French, English, German, Russian, and American engineers—among them the chief engineers of the Manchester and Kiel maritime canals. It may be added that, in this respect, it reflects the view of the Company that the work should be broadly international in character, a benefit to the whole world, and not simply a French construction. Last spring the writer visited the Isthmus of Panama with other engineers, and personally examined the route in detail. He has had for many months free access to the elaborate records of surveys, borings, experimental excavations, river gaugings, and re-

searches of every kind conducted by the Company, and is therefore qualified to present the subject in its true aspects, which may be found to differ widely from the popular impressions now existing in America.

When the idea of constructing a sea-level canal at Panama was definitely abandoned, there remained three important difficulties to consider: (1) The regulation of the water-supply, and control of the floods of the Chagres River; (2) the serious caving which had occurred at the Culebra; and (3) the ill effects of the climate upon the health of the employees. The present conclusions as to each will be given in turn.

(1) The studies of the region of the Chagres have been most elaborate; including water-levels, automatically recorded since 1883; frequent measurements of the discharge at crucial points; the collection and discussion of data respecting all the historic floods (five in number, of which one was carefully measured); rain records at points well distributed along the route of the Canal, aggregating fifteen years on the Atlantic Coast, thirteen years on the Pacific Coast, and thirty-two years in the interior; and, finally, a collation of all this material, and the elaboration of projects perfectly providing for controlling the floods, for the supply of the summit-level with water during the dry season (January, February, March, and April), and for ample hydraulic power at the dams, transmitted by electricity, for operating the locks and lighting the Canal at night. It may safely be affirmed that the Chagres River is no longer an element of danger, but is rather a useful friend whose assistance will be of great value to the Canal in its operation.

(2) The question of caving in the deep central cut has been studied in the most thorough manner; involving not only many borings and pits to determine the material to be encountered, but also a tunnel excavated throughout the troublesome region along the axis of the Canal, having a projected width at bottom of $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet, with slopes of about 45 degrees, and a projected elevation above sea-level varying from 128 feet to $157\frac{1}{2}$ feet. This work, together with a tunnel 689 feet long and $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, pierced, at an elevation of $134\frac{1}{2}$ feet above sea-level, at the spot which had given the most trouble on the whole route, combined with the evidence afforded by the borings and pits at greater depth, leads to the conviction that, at Culebra, where the deepest cutting is required, the excavation has already passed through the strata subject to caving, and that the remainder traverses an indurated argillaceous schist changing to compact rock, where no fears of yielding to pressure need be entertained. At Emperador, where the cutting required for the Canal is much less, the indications are similar, except that the material at present reached is

less resisting; but with proper precautions in the way of drainage, which were wholly neglected by the contractors of the old company, little or no difficulty from serious caving need be apprehended. This work of experimental excavation has been continued for more than three years; involving the removal of about 3,924,000 cubic yards. It was projected, partly to determine the proper inclination for the side slopes, and partly to estimate the unit cost. The results are highly satisfactory; and the old bugbear of a sliding mountain divide has been proved to be imaginary.

(3) The health of the *personnel* formerly caused trouble; coolies and other races not well suited to hard labor under a tropical sun being employed. With negroes from the British Antilles, little difficulty is now experienced. This matter was carefully investigated during the inspection last spring; American engineers and employees on the Canal and the Panama Railroad being questioned, the fine hospital near Panama—where the Company provides for its sick—being visited, and the views of the medical officers and of the Sisters of Charity, acting as nurses, being obtained. All agreed that the dangers resulting from the climate have been much exaggerated. The surgeon in charge of the hospital, Dr. Lacroisade, who has resided on the Isthmus since 1887, after presenting full statistics covering the sick-reports for the past year of a force of about 3,800 agents and laborers under employment, said:

“Among the diseases attributable to the climate the most numerous are simple marsh fevers, which have not occasioned a single death. Two diseases only belonging to the epidemic type have appeared—the beriberi, of which there is no longer any question [it was imported with negro laborers brought from Africa as an experiment, and disappeared when they were sent back], and yellow fever. The latter, after having been absent from the Isthmus for at least six years, was imported in 1897, and continued about six months, from March to August, when it again disappeared after very light ravages (only six deaths). Thus it cannot be considered that this pest is really epidemic on the Isthmus. From the other infectious epidemics, such as variola, typhoid fever, diphtheria, etc., the Isthmus appears to be almost entirely exempt. From the foregoing we may conclude that life on the Isthmus scarcely incurs more dangers than elsewhere, even for Europeans who, after the blacks of the British Antilles, appear to resist the climate best. Residence here would, then, offer nothing alarming, were it not for a constant feeling of fatigue and uneasiness due to a temperature always high, and an atmosphere saturated with moisture.”

There appears, therefore, to be no danger of serious mortality in the construction of the Canal, if due care be taken to benefit by past experience in selecting the laborers.

The three old spectres barring the route being thus laid at rest, it remains to consider the present project for the Canal. This has been

most carefully elaborated. No less than sixteen projects (not including the older proposals) have been worked out in detail, including estimates of cost and of the time needed for construction.

The entire length of the Canal is 46 miles, of which about 15 miles on the Atlantic side and $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the Pacific side, or about one-half of the whole distance, will be at sea-level. Of this distance 18 miles, or about two-fifths of the entire route, is to-day essentially completed, so that at a moderate outlay for dredging it will be made at once serviceable. We have, therefore, only to consider the $23\frac{1}{2}$ miles between Bohio, on the Atlantic side, and Miraflores, on that of the Pacific. Two excellent harbors, which will demand no outlay for protection, are available; and the Panama Railroad skirts the Canal throughout its entire route to be availed of in construction. Ample quarters, in fair condition, for the increased force of laborers are already prepared at many sites. These advantages are immense where time is of so much importance.

There is another advantage, in my judgment scarcely less valuable. By careful technical studies, the Company has succeeded in provisionally adjusting the project so that a choice between the best three different summit-levels may be reserved, to be decided by actual experience in conducting the work upon a grand scale. These projects are designated as "Level $96\frac{3}{4}$ feet," "Level 69 feet," and "Level $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet"; the figures indicating the elevation in feet of the bottom of the Canal at its highest level above mean tide, which is found at practically the same absolute level in both oceans, although the tidal range at Colon is only a few inches, while at Naos it may at times reach 20 feet. A comparison of the estimated cost of construction, properly so called, has established that, as between larger excavation, on the one hand, and more locks and higher dams, etc., on the other, there will be nearly a balance of expenditure. The cost of either of the plans is estimated at about \$100,000,000. It is not the same, however, when the element of time is considered. This time will vary with the amount of excavation called for in the deep cutting at Culebra and Emperador, which will largely determine the duration of the work. The deeper this cut, the longer will be the time required to complete the Canal, and, consequently, the greater will be the outlay in general expenses of administration, interest on the funds to be raised, loss of revenue, etc. These are important elements of expense, sometimes neglected in estimates.

Basing the rate of probable excavation chiefly upon the experience acquired by the old company in operating on a large scale, checked by that of the new company in operating under many disadvantages upon

a small scale, it has been computed that there will be required to complete the project of Level $96\frac{3}{4}$ feet about eight years, and longer proportionally for the other projects. But it must not be forgotten that the old company has been criticised, perhaps justly, for the mode adopted by its contractors in prosecuting the work; rapidity of execution not having been made an object to be specially sought. Also that great improvements have been introduced during the past ten years in machines and methods. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect that, with these improvements, and with better stipulations in the contracts, these estimates of time, at least for the higher levels, may be notably reduced, and excessive incidental expenses for interest, etc., be thus avoided. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to consider the rapidity attained in excavating the ship-canals of Manchester and Kiel, and especially the drainage-channel at Chicago, where such great advances were made.

It is a great merit so to have adjusted the projects as to be able to pass readily from one to the other, if experience in the progress of the work should show this to be desirable. But how is this advantage to be secured? Simply by so adjusting the different levels as to permit the change to be made by omitting upper locks—thus calling for ten, or eight, or six locks, in the three projects, respectively.

All three projects require a dam at Bohio; transforming the Chagres River into a vast lake, of which the boundaries have been accurately determined. It will extend a distance of 13 miles to Obispo, where the Canal leaves the River, and will cover an area of about $21\frac{1}{4}$ sq. miles. Its lowest level is fixed at $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet, its normal level at $55\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and its highest level at $65\frac{1}{2}$ feet above mean tide. It thus provides a reservoir to retain one hundred and ninety-six million cubic yards of flood-discharge, which, with one hundred and thirty million more held back at Alhajuela in the Upper Chagres, will effectively control the torrential stream. Two locks will admit ships coming from the Atlantic into this lake. Thence, to attain the summit-level at Elevation $96\frac{3}{4}$ feet, three locks will be required—all at Obispo; while for Elevation 69 feet two will suffice, and for Elevation $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet, one only, or perhaps none, will be necessary. The descent to the Pacific is made for the three projects, respectively, by two locks at Paraiso, two at Pedro Miguel, and one at Miraflores; or by one lock at Paraiso, two at Pedro Miguel, and one at Miraflores; or by two locks at Pedro Miguel, with a tidal lock at Miraflores.

All of these locks have a rock foundation; and none presents extraordinary difficulties. All are double; one chamber having a serviceable

length of 738 feet and a width of 82 feet, and the other (for smaller vessels) the same length divided by a set of intermediate gates, and a width of 59 feet. The maximum lift is $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet, except that provision for $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet is made at Bohio when, very rarely, and then only for a few hours, the lake may rise to maximum flood-level.

With respect to alignment of the Canal the following are the conditions adopted: The curves not to have a radius less than 8,200 feet, which experience has shown to be required for easy navigation; the depth to be $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with provision at the locks for $31\frac{1}{4}$ feet should an increase ever become desirable; the cross-section never to fall below about three times the midship section of the vessels which will navigate the Canal; ample enlargements, at distances not exceeding $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for ships to pass each other; bottom-widths of 164 feet in Lake Bohio and $98\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the central part; retaining the existing width ($72\frac{1}{4}$ feet) in the Atlantic level, to be enlarged to $98\frac{1}{2}$ feet after the Canal is opened to navigation, $98\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the Pacific level, and 164 feet in the channel extending through the bay from La Boca to Isle Naos where the Canal terminates.

Only two large dams are required,—the first at Bohio, creating a lake which, besides acting as a flood-regulator, will obviate the necessity of encountering strong currents where the route traverses the bed of the Chagres, a very important matter for ocean shipping; and the second at Alhajuela, in the Upper River, to assist in controlling the floods, to supply the summit-level in the dry season, and to furnish hydraulic power, transmitted by electricity for operating the Canal.

The dam at Bohio will be of earth revetted with stone, with a foundation bed of clay and abutting against rock banks. The extreme length of crest is 1,286 feet, the extreme height above the bed of the river is $75\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and above the lowest point of the foundation $93\frac{1}{2}$ feet. All details of construction, including the devices for controlling the River during the progress of the work, have been carefully elaborated, and will command the confidence of engineers. The sites for the two overflow weirs are remote from the dam; and an abundance of excellent material is found near at hand.

The dam at Alhajuela, about ten miles from the Canal, is to be of concrete masonry, founded on compact rock, and abutting against rock walls. The extreme length of crest is $936\frac{3}{4}$ feet; the extreme height above the bed of the river is $134\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and above the lowest point of the foundation 164 feet. The cross-section and the practical details of construction are in accordance with all the requirements of modern

engineering. Good rock and sand are abundant in the immediate vicinity.

To connect this reservoir with the summit-level, a feeder 10 miles long, starting at $190\frac{1}{4}$ feet above sea-level, is required. It traverses a rough country, and its construction will be relatively costly; but when compared with many of our irrigating canals west of the Mississippi it offers no serious difficulties.

The minor dams at Obispo, Paraiso, Pedro Miguel, and Miraflores will vary in height according to the project adopted: the first, second, and fourth will be of concrete masonry, and that at Pedro Miguel of earth. None of them presents difficulties worthy of note.

The regulating weirs will be of the "Stoney" design, which has given entire satisfaction on the Manchester Ship-Canal; and all of them will be detached from the dams.

Such is a brief summary of the present condition of the studies for the Panama Canal. It remains to compare the project with that at Nicaragua. The details of the latter are so fully presented in the report of the Government Commission of 1895 and accompanying documents, and are so well known in America, that a recapitulation in detail is not required here. The new commission, of which Admiral Walker is president, has as yet made no formal report; but the individual views of the three members were given in so much detail at the hearing before the Senate Select Committee in June last, that the modifications likely to be recommended may be inferred. The essential features of the project are the following: The whole length of the route is $176\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Of this distance about $67\frac{3}{4}$ miles lie in the bed of a crooked river through which must pass the outflow of Lake Nicaragua, draining some three thousand square miles, and about $57\frac{1}{4}$ miles in the Lake itself, calling for from 10 to 14 miles of dredging in soft mud. The summit-level is fixed at 110 feet above mean tide; and both of the Government commissions recognize the extreme difficulty of regulating this level so as to avoid, on the one hand, flooding a valuable district on the Pacific side of the Lake, and, on the other hand, exposing rocks in the bed of the Upper San Juan, where there are several bad rapids to be drowned or excavated before a ship-channel is possible.

The Nicaragua Canal Company advocates two principal dams, one at Ochoa on the San Juan, and the other at La Flor west of the Lake; but as the latter was regarded as impracticable by the Ludlow Commission, and apparently is not favored at the projected height by the Walker Commission, it will be left out of consideration. The Ochoa dam pre-

sents serious difficulties; and although the present commission has succeeded in finding a rock bottom at great depth (Admiral Walker estimates it approximately at 40 or 45 feet, and Prof. Haupt at 60 feet, below sea-level, *i.e.*, at 80 to 85 feet and 100 feet respectively below the deepest part of the bed of the river), no definite plan has yet been presented for modifying the loose rock and clay dam heretofore regarded as necessary. This construction is without precedent in canal engineering; and Admiral Walker says of it: "Of course a dam of loose rock would have to be enormous in size: it would be like moving a hill into the river."

But the alternative of digging from 80 to 100 feet to reach foundations in the bed of a river which cannot be temporarily diverted, and then of raising a masonry mass to a height of 150 or 170 feet above this newly discovered rock bed, is not an easy or a safe undertaking. Moreover, to hold the summit-level at 110 feet, enormous embankments are required in the San Francisco basin. They are sixty-seven in number and six miles in length; and some of them will rise from 60 to 85 feet above soft mud, which must be excavated to a depth of 30 feet to reach a clay foundation. The chief engineer of the Company regards these embankments as "the weakest feature of the whole route"; and they appear to have impressed the present commission, as they did that of which Gen. Ludlow was president, most unfavorably. Indeed, new surveys have been ordered to attempt to radically change the existing project, with a view to reducing the height of the dam at Ochoa and of the huge embankments, at the expense of making an equally deep cut in the Eastern divide and of raising a second dam at Machuca Rapids, either retaining the site at Ochoa, or replacing the dam there by one at Tambour Grande below. Of this prospective change Admiral Walker says:

"We have had some parties out to find how far we would have to run embankments, and it is quite possible they may be as bad as the San Francisco embankments. . . . I think the chances are, by putting a dam at Machuca and a dam below at Ochoa, or Tambour Grande, and taking a low-level route, we may escape this heavy work and get into Greytown with considerable less expenditure of money, and with a canal that would not, perhaps, keep its superintendent awake at nights so much."

Evidently the plans of the Nicaragua Canal cannot be regarded as definitely determined. But it is not only in the construction of the Canal proper that serious difficulties are to be encountered. When the writer traversed the transit route in 1856, the harbor at Greytown was open to the largest steamers, and presented no difficulty. To-day, owing to the travel of sand along the coast, under the influence of the winds and waves, the port no longer exists for seagoing vessels. The jetty con-

structed during 1890-93 by the Canal Company has proved a total failure, and the problem is now presented, not in the simple form of making a new port, but of reopening an old one which nature has decided to close. American engineers have had experience in the difficulty and cost of such constructions at Fernandina, at the mouth of St. John's River, at Brazos, and at many other points; and before undertaking a canal it would seem to be prudent to reopen the port and determine the first cost and the probable annual outlay for maintenance. A canal, access to which would be subjected to occasional interruptions from natural forces now known to be in action, would be a serious mistake; and it may be added that a study of the six charts accompanying the report of the Ludlow Commission, showing the condition of this port at five different dates between 1832 and 1895, is not reassuring.

As to the important element of the cost of the Canal, there appears to be considerable difference of opinion. The chief engineer of the Company estimated it, in 1895, at \$69,893,660, and the Ludlow Commission, at the same date, at \$133,472,893. Engineers will recognize the impossibility of exact figures in the present state of the investigations now in progress under the Walker Commission; and each of the members has carefully guarded himself from expressing a definite opinion. Admiral Walker, at his recent examination before the Senate committee, said:

"We have made no figures. It is no use to figure on the thing until we have all our data. But I do not see why that canal cannot be built. I should think myself, speaking as anybody in the street might speak, that the Canal could be put through for 125 millions; and it would not surprise me if it came considerably below that."

Prof. Haupt, on the same occasion, stated that he thought the Canal could be built "inside of \$90,000,000."

Gen. Hains said:

"I think a canal of the dimensions that have generally been referred to—30 feet deep, with locks 650 feet long, and all the cross-sections that have been referred to as necessary in rock and earth—could be constructed for a maximum sum of about \$140,000,000, with a possible reduction of \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000. . . . But the trouble is that just now I am not prepared to give an opinion that would be worth anything."

Evidently in view of previous experience in such works showing that the actual cost has usually very largely exceeded even carefully prepared estimates, it would be premature to form an opinion as to the outlay that will be required for the Nicaragua Canal; but a general idea of that

demanding by the two routes may be formed from the following comparison:

Panama.

Two good harbors now existing.

A good railroad now existing along the entire route.

Actual construction, now well advanced, (about two-fifths entire length actually completed) and remaining difficulties accurately known.

No constructions projected which are not justified by recognized engineering practice.

Except the works at Bohio, no difficult excavations or constructions to be made where the annual rainfall exceeds 93 inches (only about 50 per cent more than on our Gulf Coast).

Route lies wholly in Colombia, where all interests will be benefited by the Canal.

Distance to be lighted and supervised when the Canal is completed, 46 miles.

No active volcanoes within about 200 miles of the route of the Canal, and earthquakes therefore less probable.

Cost carefully estimated on detailed plans at about one hundred million dollars.

Concessions from Colombia (upon which whole undertaking is based) ample, satisfactory, and unquestioned.

Nicaragua.

Two harbors to be created; one of them (Greytown) presenting unusual natural difficulties.

A long and difficult railroad to be constructed, which Gen. Hains considers should extend along all the route, except the lake portion, *i.e.*, for a distance of 120 miles.

Practically nothing done in way of construction, and many of the essential elements undecided.

One or two dams projected wholly without precedent in canal work; and many embankments which must be permanent elements of danger.

The most difficult works lie in a region where the observations of the Canal Company indicate the annual rainfall to be nearly 22 feet (256 inches), or nearly three times as much as at the Panama sites.

Route lies on the border of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, where local jealousy already exists, which may prejudice the interests of the Canal.

Distance to be lighted and supervised when the Canal is completed, 176 miles, or nearly four times as great as the Panama.

Active volcanoes near route; one, Omo-tepe, on an island in Lake Nicaragua, and another, Onose, only about 40 miles from the locks. An earthquake on April 29, 1898, at Léon, destroyed several buildings.

Cost estimated by the Government Commission, on data recognized as wholly insufficient, at about one hundred and thirty-three million dollars.

Concessions from Nicaragua and Costa Rica (upon which whole undertaking is based) either expired, or expire next year, and officially declared by Nicaragua to be forfeited and void.

But let us assume that both canals are constructed and open to

navigation, and then compare the two routes, by considering which of them would undoubtedly be selected by vessels seeking to cross the Isthmus. This is a crucial test which will reveal their relative merits:—

Panama.

Ports both known to be good and easy of access.

Length of route 46 miles, and time of transit 14 hours.

Summit-level probably 103 feet and perhaps only 66 feet.

Locks double from the opening of the Canal, one chamber 738 by 82 feet, and the other 738 by 59 feet, with intermediate gates.

Curvature gentle. Smallest radius 8,200 feet. Of the 46 miles, $26\frac{1}{2}$ are straight, and 15 have radii equal to or exceeding 9,850 feet.

No troublesome winds or river currents to be encountered even in times of flood.

Nicaragua.

Both ports artificial, to which access may be doubtful, especially on Atlantic side.

Length of route 176 miles, and time of transit not less than 44 hours.

Summit-level 110 feet.

Locks single (subsequently to have another chamber added); dimensions 350 by 80 feet.

Curvature too sharp. Smallest radius in Canal proper 4,000 feet. For 68 miles the route traverses the San Juan River, where, to gain $47\frac{1}{2}$ miles as a bird flies, it is necessary to travel $67\frac{1}{2}$ miles—a loss of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Heavy trade-winds and strong river currents.

It would seem from this analysis that there can be little difference of opinion as to which is the better route. But perhaps some enthusiastic advocate will say, "The Nicaragua Canal may be the more costly, may present more natural difficulties, may require more time for construction, and may be less easy of transit; but let us have an American canal, made with our own money, and wholly under our own control."

Such considerations are outside the province of an engineer. But, perhaps, it may be suggested that we have already interests and responsibilities on the Isthmus, where the Panama Railroad was built and is now controlled by an American company, under American protection; that the business control of any canal must vest in its stock- and bondholders, in time of peace, while, in fact, in time of war—unless its neutrality be guaranteed by the great maritime Powers—the transit will be controlled by the belligerent having command of the sea.

May it not, then, be wiser for our Government to extend its powerful assistance to what Nature has determined as the best route, rather than to expend more time and more money for what, after all is said, must remain a distinctly inferior canal, unable to compete with its rival for the commerce of the world?

HENRY L. ABBOT.

DOES COLLEGE EDUCATION PAY?

IN "The Cosmopolitan" for May, 1897, President D. C. Gilman, in an article on modern education, uses these startling words:

"Notwithstanding the long experience of the human race, it is surprising to see how many people despise the college-bred man, how few college graduates are to be found in the halls of legislation. . . ."

In a subsequent issue of the same magazine, Mr. Grant Allen attacks modern college education after this fashion:

"In my opinion, a father who has sons and daughters of the proper age to go to college will do better by his children, and not less economically for himself, if he sends them for two years to travel in Europe than if he sends them for three years to an American or English university."

Words like these, uttered by educated men, must necessarily do higher education much harm. If people despise the college-bred man, young men will naturally hesitate to enroll themselves in this odious class. If a two-year trip through Europe is better than anything the colleges and universities can offer, young people will surely not be hasty to give up such charming opportunities for the toil and worry that one must undergo in college. If it is surprising how few college graduates are to be found in the halls of legislation, young men ambitious to serve their country may well hesitate before they make the investment of energy and time and money necessary to complete the course of any respectable college. They may well ask themselves the question, "Does college education pay?" This question it is my purpose to answer in the following pages. I propose to bring higher education down to the lowest level, and let Commercialism measure it by her own standards. The "Does it pay?" measuring-line shall be applied; and by it shall the character of the training furnished by the college and the university be determined.

There are two standpoints from which this question may be regarded; viz., that of the individual, and that of the aggregation of individuals—the community, the State. In this paper I shall confine my attention to an examination of the question from the standpoint of the individual. Let us, then, look about us and see if the positions of

honor and trust are held by college graduates, and then ascertain to what extent in our history this has been true.

"Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography" contains, in round figures, fifteen thousand names. Of that number a few over five thousand are the names of college graduates, and ten thousand approximately are the names of those who are not college graduates. It is extremely difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of college graduates who have lived in our country since the beginning of our history. Suppose we adopt the usual estimate of one hundred and fifty thousand. Five thousand of these have done such work as to deserve recognition; that is, one man in every thirty sent out by the colleges and universities has reached some distinction. This proportion seems pitifully small; and our case seems already lost. But let us put over against these college graduates those who are not graduates.

As the male population of the United States grows up and passes through the age of college education, a little more than 1 per cent actually graduates from colleges and universities,—for ease in calculation, let us call it 1 per cent. Then, if we count the graduates in our country since the beginning of our history at one hundred and fifty thousand, the non-graduate males of graduate age number fifteen millions. Of this vast multitude only ten thousand have done such work as merits recognition in an encyclopædia of biography. Only one in every fifteen hundred of the non-graduates has attained distinction; while one in every thirty of the college graduates has been equally fortunate. That is to say, the boy who takes time to prepare himself for his work by submitting himself to the discipline furnished by the college or university increases his chances of success fifty-fold.

Leaving this general treatment, and coming down to particulars, let us inquire into the relative success gained by the 1 per cent of graduates and the 99 per cent of non-graduates, and into the influence of each class upon our national life. If people despise the college-bred man, we should expect to find less than 1 per cent of college graduates in positions of responsibility in our national affairs. Beginning our investigation with an examination of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses we find, according to the "Official Congressional Directory," that thirty-two, or 36.36 per cent, of the eighty-eight members of the Senate of the Fifty-fourth Congress were college graduates. From the "Directory," supplemented by some correspondence, it has been ascertained that of the three hundred and fifty-seven members of the House of Representatives, one hundred and twenty-eight, or nearly 36 per cent, were college graduates.

There are exactly the same number of graduates in the Senate of the Fifty-fifth Congress as there were in the Fifty-fourth ; and the same thing is true of the House of Representatives. Let us be sure that we understand the significance of these figures. Since the college graduates in our male population of graduate age constitute about 1 per cent of that class, that is, since only one man in a hundred is a graduate, we ought not to find more than one Senator and not more than four Representatives in either the Fifty-fourth or the Fifty-fifth Congress who are college graduates. But we actually find an average of thirty-two Senators and of one hundred and twenty-eight Representatives—just thirty-two times as many as we should expect to find. Are not these astounding figures, in view of the fact that so many “people despise the college-bred man”? Shall we not rather change President Gilman’s words to read thus: “It is surprising how many college graduates are to be found in our halls of legislation”?

An examination into the percentage of college graduates among all the Speakers of the House discloses one very important fact. Of the thirty-two Speakers of the House, fifteen, or 46.8 per cent, have been college graduates. The number of graduates in the House of Representatives during the entire period of our national life will probably not exceed 34 per cent of the whole number of Members. Thus the pre-eminence of graduates is shown in quite a striking way. While they constitute but 34 per cent of the Members of the House, they have furnished over 46 per cent of the Speakers. The percentage of the graduates among the Speakers is slowly increasing. From 1789 to 1841, a period of fifty-two years, the percentage of graduates was 35.6; from 1841 to 1898, a period of fifty-seven years, the percentage is 55.

Let us continue our inquiry into the influence of college graduates on our national affairs, by taking a survey of the entire period of our national life, beginning with the Colonial period, and coming down to the present time.

In the spring of 1776 the most famous Congress in our history met at Philadelphia—the Congress that passed the Declaration of Independence. John Hancock, the President of the Congress, was a graduate of Harvard. A Committee of five was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. The members of the Committee were Thomas Jefferson, a graduate of William and Mary, John Adams, a graduate of Harvard, Robert R. Livingston, a graduate of King’s College (now Columbia College), Benjamin Franklin and Roger Sherman, both non-graduates. Three of these men—60 per cent of the Committee—were college grad-

uates. This Committee chose two of its own members to prepare the document to be submitted to Congress. And whom did they choose? Jefferson and Adams—both graduates. Fifty-six men signed that famous instrument. Of these, twenty, or 35.7 per cent, were college graduates.

A college graduate wrote the Declaration of Independence; and another college graduate was its ablest defender. Mr. Jefferson himself said: "John Adams was the pillar of its support on the floor of Congress—its ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it encountered." And when the War for Independence was over, who were chosen for the important task of dictating terms of peace with England? John Jay, a graduate of King's College, John Adams, a graduate of Harvard, and Benjamin Franklin.

The next important step in our political development was the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in place of the Articles of Confederation, under which the national government had been administered. It will be well worth our while to see what part the college graduate played in bringing about this very important change.

Among the men who detected the weakness of the Articles of Confederation, and the necessity of a radical change in the form of government, the most active and influential were James Madison, a graduate of Princeton, Alexander Hamilton,¹ a graduate of Columbia, and James Monroe, a student of William and Mary. In 1786 Mr. Madison put through the Virginia Assembly a resolution which resulted in the Constitutional Convention. This resolution called for a meeting at Annapolis in September, 1786, of commissioners from all the States, to obtain a uniform commercial system. On account of the small number of States represented at this meeting, the discussion of commercial matters was abandoned; and Hamilton, who represented New York as a member of a committee appointed for that purpose, wrote an address to the States. This address proposed that the States appoint commissioners to meet at Philadelphia in the following May, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. In this way the matter was brought directly to the attention of Congress, which body so far approved the plan as to call for a convention of delegates from the several States at the time and place mentioned in Hamilton's address. When this convention assembled, who were the leaders? Who were the men that

¹ Hamilton entered King's College in the class of 1774. On April 6, 1776, the college buildings were taken for military purposes, the students were dispersed, and the exercises of the College suspended. It was not until the close of the war that the College resumed its functions. In 1774 the name was changed to Columbia College; and in 1788 it conferred upon Hamilton the degree of Master of Arts.

shaped the thought of this assembly, and determined the character of our Constitution? Four plans were submitted for consideration: the Virginia Plan, the South Carolina Plan, the New Jersey Plan, and that proposed by Hamilton. Out of these plans was formed the Constitution of the United States. By whom were they prepared? Hamilton's plan was of course his own work. The Virginia Plan was the work of James Madison, and formed so considerable a part of the groundwork of the Constitution, as finally adopted, that he has been called "the Father of the Constitution." The South Carolina Plan was presented by Charles Pinckney, and the New Jersey Plan by William Paterson, a graduate of Princeton.

This convention was a notable gathering. It consisted of fifty-four men, representing twelve States. Of these, twenty-three, or 42.5 per cent, were college graduates; and exactly one-half of the entire number was made up of college-bred men.

When the Constitution had been adopted by the Convention, and submitted to the various States for ratification, there were three college graduates who, through the medium of the press, explained the provisions of that instrument, and urged the States to adopt it. These men were Madison, Jay, and Hamilton.

Let us sum up the influence of the college graduate thus far on our political development. We have discovered that the author of the Declaration of Independence was a college graduate; that its ablest defender was a college graduate; that of the fifty-six men who signed it twenty were college graduates; that two of the three men who led to the assembling of the Constitutional Convention were also college graduates; that the authors of three of the four plans submitted to the Convention were college graduates; and that the man who won the name "Father of the Constitution" was also a graduate. Twenty-three of the fifty-four men composing the Convention were graduates; and the three men who contributed most toward its adoption by the States were also college graduates.

I may remark here that, if higher education had done nothing for the United States beyond furnishing these men, who rendered such distinguished service, this country would still be its debtor; but we shall see, as we proceed, that these men form but a small fraction of that large number of college graduates who have served the United States with fidelity and honor.

I shall now trace further the influence of the college graduate upon our national life by showing the proportion of college graduates among

our Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Cabinet Officers, and Justices of the Supreme Court from the beginning of our history.

PRESIDENTS.

There have been twenty Presidents who were chosen by the people, and four who reached the Presidency through the death of the President. Of the twenty elected, eleven, or exactly 55 per cent, were college graduates. Of the twenty-four men who have sat in the President's Chair, thirteen, more than 54 per cent, were college graduates; viz., John Adams (Harvard); Thomas Jefferson (William and Mary); Madison (Princeton); John Quincy Adams (Harvard); Tyler (William and Mary); Polk (University of North Carolina); Pierce (Bowdoin); Buchanan (Dickinson); Grant (West Point); Hayes (Kenyon); Garfield (Williams); Arthur (Union); and Benjamin Harrison (Miami).

Let us be sure that we understand the meaning of these figures. If there is nothing of good or of harm in a college education, it might reasonably be expected that the 99 per cent of non-graduates in our population would furnish all the Presidents, and that it would be the merest chance if a graduate from the remaining 1 per cent were chosen. The chances against him are ninety-nine: there is but a single chance in his favor. But what has happened? Out of a total of twenty men eleven are college graduates. In short, college education has wrought almost a miracle, and has increased its possessor's chances of becoming President from one to fifty-five.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

There have been twenty-four Vice-Presidents. Of these, thirteen, or 54.16 per cent, were college graduates. It thus appears that the 1 per cent of graduates in our population has furnished 54.16 per cent of our Vice-Presidents; while the 99 per cent of non-graduates has furnished only 45.84 per cent.

It is interesting to note the percentage of graduates among the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the great political parties. The first convention to frame a platform and to nominate candidates was held at Philadelphia in 1800. From that time down to the present, forty-four men have been nominated for the Presidency by the leading political parties. In this number the candidates of the Prohibition, Labor, Greenback, and other parties springing up since 1872, are not counted. Of the forty-four candidates for the Presidency, twenty-five, or 56.8 per cent, were college graduates; and of the fifty-one

candidates for the Vice-Presidency, twenty-seven, or 52.9 per cent, were college graduates. There have been but two campaigns when the American citizen could not have cast his ballot for a college-bred man for President. The first was the campaign of 1832, when Andrew Jackson was the candidate of the Democrats, and Henry Clay of the Whigs; and the second was that of 1848, when Zachary Taylor was the candidate of the Whigs, Lewis Cass of the Democrats, and Martin Van Buren of the Free-Soil Party.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

There have been thirty-five Secretaries of State since the beginning of our national history. Twenty-two, or 62.85 per cent, were college graduates; and they form a distinguished body of men. Call over the names of those men who in this office have performed the most distinguished service: Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Adams, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Buchanan, Seward, Fish, Blaine, Olney. This is not my list, but that of a man whose business is history, a distinguished university professor. In this list of twelve names there are but two of non-graduates—Monroe and Clay. Thus it appears that, while the non-graduates formed 37.14 per cent of the whole number, those who have rendered distinguished service in this office formed but 5.7 per cent. The distinguished graduates, however, formed 28.57 per cent of the whole number. It may be said that six graduates have achieved distinction as Secretaries of State where one non-graduate has done so.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Of the forty men who have held this office, twenty, or 50 per cent, were college graduates. It is a noteworthy fact that during the formative period of our government, from 1789 to 1814, a period of twenty-five years, the Treasury was in the hands of college graduates alone, and that at every subsequent critical period down to 1889 a college graduate held this office. In 1861, when the finances of the nation were in chaos, and the hand of a master was needed to keep them from ruin, who was asked to serve as Secretary of the Treasury? Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, a graduate of Dartmouth. When he resigned, who was called by the unanimous appeal of the nation to succeed him? William P. Fessenden, of Maine, a graduate of Bowdoin.

I asked an able student of finance to name the great financiers among the Secretaries of the Treasury. He placed Hamilton and Gallatin at the head of the list; and in the second class he included Chase,

Dallas, and Fessenden. All of these were college-bred men; and four of the five were graduates.

SECRETARIES OF WAR AND SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

Twenty-five, or 50 per cent, of the men who have held the office of Secretary of War, and eighteen, or 50 per cent, of the Secretaries of the Navy were college graduates. Beginning in 1844 with John Y. Mason, we have, down to 1889, with the exception of Isaac Toucey (1857), and of R. W. Thompson (1877), an unbroken series of college-trained men. During this period of forty-five years all of the Secretaries of the Navy except four were college graduates; and two of those four were college-bred men. These offices afford in time of peace no special opportunities for attaining distinction; hence the lists of Secretaries of War and of Secretaries of the Navy do not show many eminent names.

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

This office was not established until 1849; hence the number of men who have held it is comparatively small. There have been in all twenty-one Secretaries of the Interior, of which number eleven, or 52.3 per cent, were college graduates.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

The Postmaster-General was not made a Cabinet officer until 1829; but in the following estimate all the men who have ever held the office are included. There have been thirty-eight of these, of which number twenty, or 52.6 per cent, were college graduates. It is singular, unless a college training fits a man for business, that so many college graduates have been called to fill this position, which requires high business ability.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

Of the forty-five Attorneys-General, thirty, or 66.66 per cent, were college graduates, and 80 per cent college-bred men. It is a striking and impressive fact that the percentage of graduates among the men who have held this office is higher than among the other members of the Cabinet. The next highest percentage is found among the Secretaries of State, 62.8; while the graduates among all the Cabinet Officers, exclusive of the Attorneys-General, form but 52.9 per cent of the whole number. Probably no one will deny that of all the Cabinet positions those of Secretary of State and Attorney-General are the most difficult to fill. It is, therefore, a strong evidence of the superiority of the

graduates over the non-graduates to find that the former so far outnumber the latter in these important positions.

Nor have the non-graduates among the Attorneys-General distinguished themselves as lawyers and statesmen of the first rank to so great a degree as the graduates. I requested an accomplished jurist to mark the names of those Attorneys-General who had achieved special distinction. In his opinion, during this century but seven non-graduates deserved to be mentioned; and four of these were college-bred men. During the last thirty-five years there have been but six Attorneys-General deserving special mention,—just one-third of the number holding that office during that period;—and among them there was not a single non-graduate. In his list of the ten Attorneys-General who should be placed at the head of the list, on account of their eminence, are seven graduates and three non-graduates; and the term of service of but one of the non-graduates falls within the last fifty years.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The superiority of the college graduate comes out most clearly in the appointments of Justices of the Supreme Court. There have been fifty-eight of these; and of that number, forty, or nearly 69 per cent of the whole number, were graduates. There have been seven Chief Justices, of whom six, or 85.7 per cent, were graduates. Of the eighteen Associate Justices who were not graduates fourteen were appointed prior to 1836. From 1837 down to 1893 the only non-graduate appointed to the Supreme Bench was Noah H. Swayne, of Ohio, appointed in 1861. Thus, for a period of fifty-six years, only one man who was not a college graduate was appointed to this high office; and he was a well-educated man. In 1893 Mr. Cleveland broke the precedent established by his predecessors.

I asked an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, a lawyer of much ability, to name the most distinguished men among the Associate Justices. He gave me six names; and among them was not the name of a single non-graduate.

A logical deduction from the facts I have stated is, that the influence of the graduate on our national affairs is on the increase. From 1789 to 1841, a period of fifty-two years, the college graduates among the Justices of the Supreme Court were just 50 per cent of the whole: from 1841 to 1898, a period of fifty-seven years, the graduates form nearly 87 per cent of the whole number.

A similar interesting increase in the number of graduates may be

noted in the case of the Presidents, Attorneys-General, and Secretaries of State. During the first period—fifty-two years—the Presidents who were graduates were but 50 per cent of the whole number; while during the second period—fifty-seven years—they form nearly 60 per cent of all persons chosen to the Presidency, and 56.2 per cent of all the men who have held that office. During the first period the percentage of graduates among the Attorneys-General was 62; and during the second period it is nearly 70. In the first period the percentage of graduates among the Secretaries of State was only 53. In the second period it was 68. It can also be shown that the percentage of college graduates in the House of Representatives is slowly increasing. Thirty years ago they formed 32 per cent of the whole: now they form about 36 per cent.

In the Senate there has been a decrease from 46 per cent in 1867 to 36.3 per cent in 1897. Are there not persons who think that there has been a corresponding decrease in the efficiency of the Senate?

The facts set forth in this paper may be thus summarized:

1. The 1 per cent of college graduates in our male population of graduate age is furnishing 36 per cent of the Members of Congress, and has supplied 55 per cent of the Presidents, 54.16 per cent of the Vice-Presidents, nearly 55 per cent of all the Cabinet Officers, nearly 69 per cent of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and 85.7 per cent of the Chief Justices.

2. The proportion of graduates increases in direct ratio to the importance of the office, if we consider elective and appointive offices separately. In the latter class the order of the officers, arranged according to percentage of graduates, is as follows: Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, Justices, Attorneys-General, Secretaries of State, and other Cabinet Officers where the margin of difference is quite small.

3. More college graduates than formerly are being chosen to the Presidency, to the House of Representatives, to the most important positions in the Cabinet, and to the Supreme Bench.

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JOHN CARLETON JONES.

THE CHANGE IN ENGLISH SENTIMENT TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.

THE attitude of Englishmen toward the United States is often misunderstood. Americans, who themselves think a very great deal of European opinion, find the indifference of their kinsfolk to the sentiments entertained toward them on the other side of the Atlantic strangely irritating. The fact is, that Englishmen, as a rule, regard all foreigners, including even Americans, not so much with hostility as with a kind of good-humored tolerance. They feel for them neither affection nor hatred. There is none of that fierceness of national animosity which, for instance, animates the French against the Germans, the Hungarians against the Russians, or the Slav races against the Turks. The English do not pay any people the compliment of cherishing toward them a genuine fervor of dislike. Even the Russians, our rivals in war and politics, are not unpopular; nor are the French, though we have been fighting with them, on and off, for the greater part of five centuries.

But if the Briton is slow to hate, he is not quick to love. To him foreign peoples are of no great interest, one way or the other, except so far as they affect his business, or are likely to come into political relations with him. That kind of intense, personal feeling with which the people of some countries regard those of others is almost outside his consciousness. He can hardly realize its existence, and is always greatly surprised when he is reminded that he—I mean, of course, when he is taken as the representative of a nation, not as an individual—is widely and heartily detested abroad. He does not in the least understand why it is so, and, to do him justice, seldom gives himself the trouble to entertain any such uncomfortably violent sentiments himself.

This temper of mind might be less easy for Englishmen to maintain, if it were not the case that they have largely forgotten their own history. There is no country in the world that has a more legitimate right than Great Britain to be proud of its past. Its annals are perhaps less romantic and picturesque than those of some other nations: but they are sufficiently rich in great names and stirring events to be dwelt upon with affection by the men of the present generation; and no other

European people has a history which exhibits so orderly and harmonious a process of continuous development. Nor are the elements of military and naval success and brilliant achievement, in war and conquest and the government of distant countries, wanting. In point of fact, they are present to an extraordinarily large extent in the chronicles of Britain. Nevertheless, I do not think I exaggerate the truth when I say that Englishmen, as a rule, are less conscious of their past than the inhabitants of most other countries.

There has been in recent years a determined effort, by a small and able body of writers, to revive English interest in our splendid and unparalleled naval history; and we are at last beginning to acquire a certain familiarity with a few great admirals besides Nelson, and with a few maritime campaigns other than those of Trafalgar and the Nile. But it is significant that the first impulse to this revival came to us from outside, and has been due to Capt. Mahan more than to any other single writer. Even as it is, the knowledge of the average educated Englishman on these matters remains astonishingly slight and fragmentary; and as for the people, they know nothing about the matter at all. In any case, history, to the Englishman, is a mere subject for literary or antiquarian curiosity. It has no living interest for him, and inspires him with none of that passionate attachment, and that frenzy of gratitude or revenge, which the subject sometimes arouses in the minds of men of other countries. Compare, for instance, the feelings of the French and the English toward the events of the early part of the present century. The mention of the name of Napoleon still awakens fierce antagonism or jealous pride in the Gallic bosom: a Frenchman cannot think of Waterloo, of Leipsic, of Austerlitz, with the tranquillity with which he surveys the history of the Greeks and Romans or that of the Goths and Vandals. It is not only that the memory of the great conflict is fresh in his mind; but the effects of it are almost before his eyes. He knows that to be a Napoleonist or an Anti-Napoleonist may possibly within his own lifetime become a question for which Frenchmen may be called upon to fight or die; and he feels that his daily interests are constantly affected by the results of those heated years of war, conquest, and revolution.

It is the same with Germans. When they think of the history of a quarter of a century ago, it cannot be with the calmness of the study. There are men moving among them who still bear upon their bodies the scars made by Chassepot bullets: there are others whose grandfathers and grandmothers have told them stories of the evil times when French cuirassiers and dragoons were raiding among the fields of Westphalia,

and French conscripts were quartered upon the villages of the Rhine. Or, if the Englishman comes nearer home for a country where the past stretches its hands down to the present, he has only to turn to Ireland. In that unsatisfied land history is a very real thing. I recollect once casually making some reference to Oliver Cromwell, when in company with an Irish friend, a man of education and culture, and, as I imagined, of wide and tolerant sympathies. The mere allusion to the great Protector turned him pale with anger. "Cromwell!" he said; "the man was a scoundrel: he hanged two ancestors of mine." I dare say Cromwell was responsible for the death of the ancestors of a reasonable number of living Englishmen also; but nobody on the eastern side of the Irish Sea bears him a personal grudge on that account. This is not merely because Englishmen are less faithful than Irishmen to the memory of their forefathers, but because there has been nothing to keep the old sore open in their minds. "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?" What does Cromwell, or what do all the dusty theological and political quarrels of the seventeenth century, matter to a Londoner of A.D. 1898? It is otherwise beyond St. George's Channel. Cromwell, no doubt, lived a long time ago; but the Cromwellian spirit and influence, the old feud between down-trodden Papist and persecuting Puritan, between the Saxon garrison and the Celtic native, have been carried down to our own day. History acquires a real and living interest when the foes and friends, the quarrels and questions, of which you read in the historian's pages seem to be telling directly and visibly upon your own daily lives and, it may be, your own pockets.

In most countries, indeed, the trials and vicissitudes which they have experienced during the past two or three generations have linked them, by the ties of suffering and wrong, to their past, and have kept burning the animosities and the ideals of former days. There is scarcely a European state outside the British Isles which has not, within comparatively recent years, had its own territory invaded by the foreigner, and which has not had to incur the terrific sacrifices involved in modern warfare. When a man has seen the alien invader lying before him on the grass, rifle in hand, thoroughly determined to send a bullet into his heart if he can, that alien obviously becomes for the future a person of considerably more than merely academic interest. Great Britain has had none of this searching and soul-stirring experience. It is true she has been at war more constantly during the present century than any other state in the civilized world; but then, our British wars have been of a comparatively easy and comfortable kind. One would not under-

value the devotion and valor which they have called forth on the part of a limited number of Englishmen, or the magnificent qualities which have been displayed in the course of these campaigns. But the nation, as a whole, has not felt its wars as others have. It has rejoiced in the exploits of its sailors and soldiers, and it has paid the bill without flinching; but it has not shared in the actual toils and tribulations, and in the triumphs, in the manner of those who have had to repel a great invading army from their own soil, or to pour armed hordes of men, drawn from their fields and factories, across a hostile frontier. England's "little wars" have been fought by handfuls of paid mercenaries in distant regions of the globe; and even her struggle with Russia in 1854, and that with the Indian rebels in 1857, never came home to the masses of the people as did the Franco-German War, or the Austro-Prussian War, or the American Civil War, to those who were concerned in them. The result, naturally, is that racial and national antagonism is much less virulent in England than in any other country. The Englishman is not fond of foreigners: perhaps, indeed, he rather dislikes them; but it is with a good-natured, placid, rather contemptuous dislike, due to the Briton's complacent, though unexpressed, belief in his own superiority rather than to any bitterness born of the sense of injury and wrong-doing. An English visitor to the United States is frequently struck by the vividness with which the events of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 are still present to the minds of many Americans. More than once, when the relations of the two countries were discussed, I have heard the events of 1781 or 1812 alluded to with a kind of personal asperity, that seemed strange enough to me, who knew that the exploits of Washington and all King George's generals were only a vague memory in England, and that not one cultivated Englishman in a hundred could so much as mention the name of a single captain who served under the White Ensign in the War of 1812.

One might enlarge on this theme; but enough, perhaps, has been said to show why Englishmen have always found it difficult, other causes apart, to respond in kind to the fierce hostility, which so often and so easily flames out in the United States when any political difficulty between the two countries arises. The phenomenon has been regarded rather with curiosity than with resentment: we have put down the occasional outbursts of militant jingoism, it has suited some American politicians to encourage, as the result of the Irish vote, and have thought little more about it. At the same time, it cannot be supposed that the process was altogether satisfactory and agreeable to us; and I am afraid

it must be confessed that the efforts of those Englishmen who made it their business to advocate better and closer relations between the two English-speaking countries did not seem to have been particularly successful in the closing months of 1897, when the Cuban crisis was becoming acute. The memory of the Venezuela dispute had not, by any means, passed out of the English mind. There is no occasion to discuss that happily buried controversy. In England nine persons out of ten never understood it; and the tenth was perfectly content to allow Her Majesty's Government to settle it precisely as they pleased. But Mr. Cleveland's and Mr. Olney's sudden assault upon England had not been forgotten; and it was felt that the United States, in almost menacing us with war over a trumpery squabble with a bankrupt South American republic, for which neither Englishmen nor Americans cared the price of a cartridge, had acted with something less than friendliness and good feeling, more particularly as the onslaught seemed to have been purposely timed at a moment when our hands were full of trouble all the world over.

Then there was the Bering Sea Question, which had left behind it a certain amount of soreness, and a feeling that, somehow or other, the United States had not treated Great Britain quite fairly. The delay, however caused, in the payment of the damages due under the Award had created a bad impression. Moreover, without wishing to revive memories best forgotten, one may hint that the conduct and language of certain prominent United States politicians during the preceding eighteen months had not been of a character to conciliate British public opinion. On the whole, then, it must be admitted that England regarded the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain with somewhat mixed feelings. Of course, there could be no enthusiasm in favor of Spain herself, whose abominable misgovernment of her colonies was generally acknowledged; but there was a certain tenderness for an old ally with famous traditions, who seemed to be plunging with reckless, but chivalrous, valor into a conflict with an enemy immeasurably superior to herself in every element of power.

Few Englishmen ventured to formulate the wish that the United States would be beaten; and it was generally conceded that the ultimate triumph of Spain, if it could occur, would be a disaster to civilization. But there was an unexpressed thought in many minds, and even vague hints, that it would be no bad thing for England if the war began with a reverse or two for the United States. It was felt that the Jingo spirit had gone a trifle too far for our safety and comfort. The rising imperialism of the Republic had been watched and noted in Britain; and many

shrewd observers surveyed with some alarm the prospect of a rapid and easy American triumph over the Spaniards, believing that the net result of such a campaign would be merely to whet the American appetite for further successes, which might be achieved at the cost of a greater maritime empire than Spain. The real unimportance of some of the loud-mouthed orators of the Senate and of the House was not understood in England; and Americans cannot be surprised if Englishmen, taking the lion's-tail-twisting talk much more seriously than it deserved, awaited the appearance of the United States in the world's arena as a great colonial and naval Power with more apprehension than delight.

The change of sentiment which took place during the course of the war is as striking as it is satisfactory. It is not too much to say, that no country in the world has been so popular and respected with Englishmen as the United States is to-day. Seven months ago, though the more responsible English newspapers gave a general and guarded support to the United States, there was, as I have said, little display of enthusiasm; and there were not wanting some organs of public opinion, not wholly without influence, which did not hesitate to attack the Republic openly, and to express a desire for the success of Spain. Now, all is changed. Even the "Saturday Review," which distinguished itself in the early spring by pouring out volleys of vituperation against the United States, has altered its tone. The later American successes were almost as popular in London as in New York; the hard fighting of Gen. Shafter's troops received proper acknowledgments from soldiers and civilians in England; and the skilful tactics, dashing seamanship, and excellent gunnery of Admiral Sampson's fleet were regarded with almost as much satisfaction as if the Union Jack, instead of the Stars and Stripes, had floated over the fine squadron which drove poor Cervera's shattered hulks in flames upon the rocks outside Santiago.

The change, I think, has been produced mainly by two circumstances. In the first place, much has been done by the conduct and bearing of the American troops and officers of both services during the operations. Nothing succeeds like success,—especially, I am afraid, with Englishmen, who are more prone than most people to estimate men and nations not so much by what they are as by what they can do. Now, the Americans have most distinctly shown that they can do certain things of which all folks of the Anglo-Saxon strain are habitually proud. They can fight with both skill and unquenchable courage; they know how to handle a fleet; and they exhibit special excellence on that element of which Eng-

lishmen always believe that the mastery belongs by prescriptive right to their race. What is more, the Americans have displayed other qualities which touch a responsive chord in the British bosom: they behaved with moderation and good temper in the hour of victory, and with conspicuous humanity and calmness amid all the temptations and exasperations of battle. Our kinsfolk, in fact, have done credit to the common family; and, naturally, we like them the better for it. They are chips of the old block, after all; and they have shown, as we think, that there is something about the Anglo-Saxon which puts him a step higher in the scale of civilization than those "lesser breeds without the law" of which Mr. Kipling speaks.

And the English would have to be a much less warm-hearted and kindly tempered people than they are, if they were not touched by the extraordinary manifestation of gratitude with which their diplomatic services to the United States Government have been recognized by the United States people. Those services were, it is true, not small nor unimportant; but few Englishmen, I suppose, could have anticipated that they would have been rewarded by such an outburst of something like affection as that which has been witnessed in America during the past few months. It was a revelation to Englishmen, to find that, in spite of all the politicians and all the Hibernian bosses, there was this well of friendliness and good feeling in the American people, which could be so easily and swiftly tapped. "Then, after all," said John Bull, in pleased amazement, "they *do* rather like us." He had been told the contrary so often through his only sources of information—the newspapers and politicians—that the conviction came upon him with all the shock of a delightful surprise. John may have his faults; but sulking and moroseness are not, as a rule, among them. If a man, especially a kinsman, holds out a friendly hand to him, John Bull is ready enough to take it in his hearty grasp; and so the sympathy which has been displayed in America has found its counterpart in an equally cordial, if less effusive, manifestation on this side of the ocean.

But there is something further. Coincidentally with this highly satisfactory demonstration of American friendship there have been accumulating, with ever-increasing rapidity, fresh signs of menace and hostility elsewhere. The two things, by a singular fortune, have moved on *pari passu*. Britain's isolation from the European Concert has been emphasized by her statesmen and accepted by her people for a considerable period; but it is only within the last few months that the full consequences of this position have begun to be realized. Swiftly, step by

step, we are being drawn into open antagonism with Russia. It is not here necessary to consider whether this attitude is prudent or otherwise, or whether a wiser statesmanship might not have avoided it. It is enough that the rivalry is acknowledged, and that preparation for the inevitable breach with our great rival in Asia is now openly and officially accepted as part of a foreign policy of the Empire. This has been asserted again and again by English statesmen, with growing point and directness, in the course of the present year. Beginning with Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's and Mr. Balfour's declarations last autumn of the determination of England to support her rights in the Far East, we pass on to the still more famous "open door" manifesto, which was in general, though not in particular, terms a warning to Russia in regard to China. The warning became a threat in Mr. Chamberlain's audaciously plain-spoken Birmingham speech, in which he warned his countrymen that they who would sup with Russia required to be provided with a long spoon; it almost took the shape of a defiance when Great Britain announced her intention of occupying Wei-hai-wei; it trembled on the verge of warlike preparations when Mr. Goschen startled the House of Commons with a new naval programme, in which he stated, with no concealment or hesitation, that the fleet of additional battleships, armored cruisers, and torpedo-boat-destroyers which was to be added to England's navy, was distinctly intended for no purpose other than that of coping with the new ships built or ordered by the Government of the Czar; and early in August the dispute seemed fast approaching a crisis when Lord Salisbury plainly declared that the Chinese Tsung-li-Yamen would be supported by Great Britain against any Power (meaning Russia) which should attempt to put pressure upon it to cancel or repudiate a railway concession granted to British subjects. What may come out of the Czar's somewhat visionary irenicism, one cannot tell; but in the meanwhile Russia and England are facing one another in the Far East almost as avowed enemies. At the same time, the only other European Powers that count seriously in the balance, when the question is one which may have to be settled by the comparative weight of armaments, have thrown themselves on the side of England's rival. Russia could, it was supposed, reckon on the assistance of France and Germany—and to these may be added Austria and Spain—in the council chamber, and, it is even possible, in the more formidable arena where international questions may eventually have to be decided. With the exception of Japan, and of Italy,—whose bankrupt finances and internal instability would condemn her to a merely passive rôle,—England sees herself without a stable ally in Europe or Asia. No wonder,

that, like Canning, she turns with hope to the New World, "to redress the balance of the Old."

The Spanish-American War and the new attitude of the United States have altered the international situation for the better, so far as England is concerned. Formerly the expansion of America in the Pacific was regarded with doubt and apprehension. English observers who looked into the future have long been convinced that this expansion was bound to come. They have tried to get their countrymen to understand that it was useless to oppose a movement which was so clearly dictated by the "manifest destiny" of a great nation. But, if they were prepared to submit to the inevitable, they looked forward to its results with uneasiness. They foresaw in the United States another first-class military and naval Power, with a thriving foreign trade, coaling-stations, and fortified ports scattered all over the largest of the oceans, with a dominant influence in Eastern Asia, perhaps gradually extending toward India and the Red Sea, and with the short strategic and commercial routes between Europe and the East in its hands, by means of the Isthmus and the Nicaragua Canal. England might not grudge the Union its increase in strength and *prestige*; still less could she attempt to impede it: but she saw little gain for herself in this creation of another most energetic and resourceful rival in sea-power and commerce. I do not think it occurred to one man in a hundred, when he thought about the subject, that a great American warlike or mercantile marine could be really formidable to any state but Great Britain. The events of the past few months have put the matter in an entirely different, and much more agreeable, shape. Englishmen have suddenly discovered that the development of American imperialism, instead of being a danger, may, in reality, be a valuable support and assistance to them. If they may have to cope with the rivalry of a superbly equipped competitor in trade, they may also find themselves side by side with an ally of extraordinary efficiency. Threatened by a combination of the military Powers of the Continent, or even, it may be, by a league of the Latin, the Slavonic, and the Mongolian races, they fall back with delight on the prospect of a counter-alliance of the free people of kindred blood and institutions, who alone have been able to make liberty, law, and order consistent with one another and with the highest material progress. This is a new light to Englishmen; and it does much to irradiate the gloom which everywhere else seems darkening over the international horizon.

There is, indeed, some danger that our expectations have been elevated rather beyond the point at which prudence would suggest that they

should stop. Cautious public speakers and writers have warned us not to make too much of "Anglo-Saxon" alliance, while it is still inchoate and incomplete. But I am afraid that these wise admonitions have not always been taken to heart, and that a great many Englishmen are flattering themselves with the notion, that, when serious trouble comes for England, it can reckon on the support of the United States. It is not for me to say how far there is any real warrant for this belief. But the mere fact that it can be held, as it is, by a large body of persons in Great Britain, shows how striking has been the change in public opinion since the period when the common idea was entertained that John Bull's difficulty would be Uncle Sam's opportunity, and that, if ever England found herself seriously involved with a combination of European Powers, she would be more likely to find American sympathies with her enemies than with herself. A man who should say that in print to-day would be laughed at by the great majority of readers. Ten months ago the opposite theory would have seemed equally ridiculous to all but the comparatively uninfluential minority, which preached to inattentive ears the doctrine of the real unity of Anglo-American interests, as against those of the outside world.

SIDNEY LOW.

HERMANN SUDERMANN.

AMONG the imaginative writers of modern Germany two stand to-day in as unquestioned preëminence as did the Dioscuri of Weimar a hundred years ago, though neither has attained the complete fulfilment of the promise of his literary beginnings. Of the two, Hauptmann is better known in this country than Sudermann; but perhaps this is as much due to chance circumstances and a small band of zealous advocates as to any superiority of invention. In technic and in the mastery of the resources of his art Sudermann is certainly the superior.

It is true that, to enjoy either thoroughly, one must have been in touch with their environment; for both are so thoroughly German as to be almost provincial in their native vigor. One feels this especially in the earlier work of Sudermann. Few subjects in contemporary literature are more interesting than the evolution of this author's genius to literary clearness; thick smoke giving place to bright-burning flame—the clouds of dawn dissipated before the rising sun. It is from the point of view of this evolution that I propose to examine his work during the past decade. But first a word of chronology.

Sudermann was born in 1857 and in East Prussia, as one might surmise; for this is the favorite scene and subject of his early literary imagination. He was but fourteen at the founding of the German Empire, and so passed the most impressionable years of his youth in a time of national expansion and material development that found no adequate literary expression. Dry-rot seemed to be threatening German letters; and against this *Bleibtreu* in the early eighties headed a band of "Young Germans," with whom Sudermann in his first work shows some affiliation, especially in their common disposition to look to France for literary counsel. His first volume, "Twilight Tales," written when he was thirty, bears witness to the influence on him of the healthier aspects of Maupassant's humor and of the genial grace and gayety of Daudet. A vein of cynicism runs through the best of these stories, however; and two of them, "The Friend" and "The New-Year's Confession," give effective expression to a profound pessimism.

In the same year with "Twilight Tales" appeared "Dame Care,"

now the most widely read of his novels, though it was long in attracting attention, and seems inferior to "The Katzensteg" in realistic power, and to "It was" in psychic insight. But all his future qualities are here portrayed; for he has not yet the art to hide his art. There is the tendency to types and symbols, to extreme manifestations of will, and to a somewhat crude realism. One notes here also a fault that has pursued Sudermann ever since; viz., a painfully elaborate elucidation of characters. The reader has already rejoiced to divine their natures from some indication of speech or act; and when these are explained he resents this aspersion on his perspicacity as one does the elucidation of a *bon mot*. Personality is obscured by trivial comment; and the author seems to be spinning copy while the action is marking time.

But, for all that, "Dame Care" is a work of deep poetry and strong imagination. It is sometimes morbid; but it is always genuine. The action is often improbable; but the fundamental idea, that care lames the springs of effort and can be banished only by a great decision, is true for thousands. Seldom has the strength and beauty of unselfishness, the contrast between being and seeming, or a contempt for the opinion of mediocrity, been more effectively expressed, yet without the scornful bitterness of the later fiction.

"Dame Care" is a sort of realistic fairy tale. It is the old story of the younger son who breaks the spell that binds the castle, and wins the enchanted princess. Only, while in the fairy tale the jungle opens of its own accord to form a path for *Prince Charming* to the *Sleeping Beauty*, here there is long struggle, recurrent defeat, and discouragement; and this gives to "Dame Care," as it does to Sudermann's work during 1888 and 1889, a tone of depression and gloom. One feels that the national glory had not been without its disappointment. Vital social questions were still unsolved. The national character was not elevated. Brighter colors may break here and there through the cloud; but the general background of the fiction of these years is an envious, discontented, grasping, and cunning peasantry, such as Balzac had described in "Les Paysans," which disappears from Sudermann's work after 1889, though the cynical mood may be traced till it ends in 1892 in the laughter of "Iolanthe's Marriage."

"Dame Care" is not a great novel; but only one destined to become a great novelist could have written it. The story does not move steadily forward: it is ill-constructed. The interest is not sustained. The beginning is admirable, and conveys, as no other German story has yet done, the life and mode of thought of the German country gentry. But our

attention is presently diverted to characters that seem to have stepped out of the palmy days of romanticism, and which vanish without affecting the narrative of this Odyssey of duty, that finds its way at last to a somewhat lame conclusion. Yet the story will always have interest, by reason of its many autobiographical touches and its genuine appeal to the sympathy of the reader.

In passing from "Dame Care" to "Brothers and Sisters" (1888) and "The Katzensteg" (1889), one is struck by the recurrence of set characters. The father is nearly always domineering and tyrannical; the son habitually mistakes stubbornness for loyalty and virtue; the wife is either the German ideal *Hausfrau*, the submissive domestic animal, or the French *menagère*, partner in the concern; while of the marriage of true minds there is but little suggestion. His young girls also fall into two groups, the elves and the angels, all body or all soul,—sprites like the *Elspeth* of "Dame Care," or incarnations of natural force like the *Rosine* of "The Katzensteg." There is, as some one has said, a sort of oscillation between "L'Assommoir" and "The Wide, Wide World."

"Brothers and Sisters" consists of two tales connected by a like situation. In "The Story of the Silent Mill" two brothers love the same woman; in "The Wish" two sisters, the same man. Both are tragic and fatalistic, and leave a deep impression of horror. In the former the woman is left alone,—husband and lover dead, and that not without her fault,—to seek in solitude and ascetic excess "to atone for the great crime that men call Youth." In "The Wish" we have the situation which has been well handled in Ricard's "Sœurs" and in Hardy's "On the Western Circuit," and by Maupassant also, though with a wholly different conclusion. The thought, that she had desired her sister's death in order that she might marry the widower, so preys on *Olga* that at last, horror-stricken at her unwitting disloyalty, she seeks refuge from the fulfilment of her love in suicide. This latter is the better of the two tales, though both suffer from prolixity. The prologue and epilogue in "The Wish" are quite superfluous. Sudermann seems not to realize his own power,—that he has made the character of *Olga* clear as day to all who have eyes to see. There is wavering still between realism and romanticism; but there is a decided advance in psychic analysis.

The year 1889 marks a noteworthy crystallization of Sudermann's ideas of literature and life. The growing success of Zola, the rising fame of Schopenhauer, and, most of all, perhaps, the example of Ibsen and Tolstoi, modified the sturdy independence of his beginnings. The

first result of the conflict of these forces within him is a pessimistic negation of morality. It is as though Sudermann had himself had the experience, and come to the ethical position of the magnanimous hero of "The Katzensteg," who, as destiny closed upon him,

"saw the mists lifted that separated the basis of human being from that of human consciousness, as though he could penetrate deeper than men are wont to do into the depths of the unknown. What men call good and evil floated before him anchorless on superficial clouds: below them rested in slumbering strength the natural."

"The Katzensteg" is a weird and wild, repulsive yet fascinating, story; but its interest lies less in the moral torture of *Boseslav* at his father's treason to his country—in which we cannot feel there is any tragic necessity—than in the curious psychological study of *Regine*, his father's outcast accomplice, with the animal virtues and the vices of her instincts. Her fault seems, to *Boseslav*, to lie not in nature, but in social convention; and in defying vulgar folly he invokes the tragic catastrophe. Yet, stern as is this tragedy of a noble soul struggling with fate, "The Katzensteg" is less persistently harrowing than "Dame Care," and it has no touches quite so ghastly; for Sudermann is emerging from romantic pessimism. He is still sombre and stern; but he has now the joy of combat.

Stylistically "The Katzensteg" was much the best work that Sudermann had yet done; but its strength, like that of "Dame Care," lay in individual scenes and in essentially dramatic situations. It was, therefore, natural that he should be led to dramatic composition, and almost inevitable that dramatic success should react on his narrative style; making it more direct, less prolix, and giving it a unity of action more strict than is required by the novelistic genre. From 1889 onward he becomes best and most widely known as a dramatist; and the single novel and one important story that he has since written show so strongly the effect of dramatic composition that we may notice them here as a natural transition to his work for the German stage.

In "Iolanthe's Marriage" (1892) high-minded pessimism has already yielded to a serener philosophy. The satire is as keen as it is even; but it is more jovial, more kindly. The realism of *Boseslav's* East Prussian purgatory is exchanged for conditions within the range of ordinary experience and sympathy; and, though some may regret the touches of Rabelaisian humor, we breathe more freely, feel more at home, here than in the earlier stories. But what is most striking in "Iolanthe's Marriage" is the economy of means. Every line tells. Every character stands clear-cut; and there is unflagging movement as in a good drama.

It leaves as deep an impression as "The Katzensteg," and a pleasanter memory.

"Iolanthe's Marriage" is only a trifle; but it shows how contact with dramatic technic banished from his style, once for all, indecision, obscurity, and prolixity. The dramatist must know what he wants to say, and say it clearly. His characters must subordinate the display of nature to the interplay of personality. They must speak to the spectator as man to man. To the new Sudermann, "Man begins where nature ends."

Developing on these lines, Sudermann produced in 1894 "It was," which is not only his best novel, but the best German novel of the decade. The situation is a genially conceived variation on the old theme of the "unholy trinity." *Leo* has loved and compromised *Felicitas*. His friend *Ulrich*, who plays a kind of Arthur to *Leo's* Lancelot, on being assured by *Leo* of her honor, defends that of his absent friend by marrying the lady, an extremely fascinating but puzzling creature, who sins and repents with delightful mobility, caressing and betraying, shrewd and capricious,—a soulless destroyer of souls. The story opens with *Leo's* return to reap the seed of the falsehood he had sown. Feeling that repentance is weakness, *Leo* would fain let the past bury its dead. Self-respect, friendship, honor demand that he avoid *Ulrich* and his fascinating, though depraved, wife. But a morbid desire for repentance and atonement lures him back under her spell, until he is emancipated at last by learning and telling the truth that sets him and *Ulrich* and even *Felicitas* free at last.

The moral of the story, then, is to look forward and not back, out and not in; to seek not repentance nor penance, but self-control and action. Or, as *Leo* himself puts it, "With you, the motto is, 'Sin, repent, sin again.' With me, 'Sin, repent not, do better.' " Some of the minor characters in "It was" are melodramatic and romantic; others, such as the pastor and his son, the student, are admirable; and the letters of little *Paul* from school are masterpieces of boyish pathos, hardly matched in German literature. *Leo* is Sudermann's first worthy hero. But almost from the outset our interest centres in *Felicitas*, like *Madame Bovary*, the victim of a sentimental education, capable of stirring her shallow nature to tempests of self-pity, her mind fit only to toy with itself, without moral standard or moral stamina, but with almost Satanic shrewdness in pursuing her fancies and her desires; invoking crucifix and altar as her accomplices, and then "licking her lips a little with her red-pointed tongue," in most uncanny fashion. She could grieve for

her dead *Paul* to the extent of attempting suicide; but she would be careful to take only a slight overdose of chloroform: for "everything, even the will to die, turned in her hands into a lukewarm, lying pretence." In short, she was consciousnessless sin, "smiling, flattering, wishing no ill, passing in self-centred meditation over corpses on her pleasure's path." Rather than suffer with *Leo*, she would betray him; and the close gives us a glimpse of her, living divorced in Berlin, "rosy and gay as though freed from a nightmare." This *Felicitas* is one of the most curious studies of femininity in modern fiction,—a self-deceived deceiver, always posing, revelling in emotion for emotion's sake, and caring little whether the drama be comedy or tragedy, so that she can be its heroine.

Technically this story is admirable. There is nothing *doctrinaire* in its naturalism. Sudermann is convinced that the novel that does not interest is bad, whatever its theory. In this last important expression of himself in prose fiction, the gross virility of the East Prussian, which some have deplored as a "slag" borrowed from Zola, but which has been native to that soil since the days of the Teutonic knights, is tempered by the urban Prussian pessimism, radical but serene, seeing in the tragedy and pathos of life the best and often the only means of tempering character, always manly, active, looking the present in the face, trusting that good will come at last, if only a man be loyal to conscience in his struggles for material well-being, for social recognition, and against ingrained perversity. He does not look at life through rosy glasses; and yet one closes "It was" with the feeling that Sudermann is growing in his faith in human nature, in self-knowledge, in self-control, and in charity.

Turning now to the drama, we find Sudermann opening his career in 1890 with "Honor," a play filled with a serene earnestness. He seems to have relented of the relentlessness of "The Katzensteg." Yet "Honor" is but the first of a series of dramas all of which are directed against the tyranny of moral or social conventions, to free oneself from which is to grow in character. This is the common theme of "Honor," "Home," "Love in a Groove," and "The Butterflies' War." In each drama a high soul beats its wings against the bars of convention, and without success, save as it finds strength in the combat itself. "Honor" is written to show the relativity, and so the unreality, of this social ideal in a society as effectually dominated by caste as is the Hindu. The value of honor lies only in its accord with duty and virtue. The author brings into most ingenious and effective contrast the moral horizons of

the laborer, of the man of inherited capital, and of the man of native energy and ambition. The truth that Sudermann would bring home to us here is, that every man is the creator of his own ideal, the guardian of his own honor, and that, if relatives or environment check its development, it is wise to leave it and them behind and to seek, with *Robert* and *Leonore*, the workman's son and the capitalist's daughter, as they join hands at the close, "a new home, a new duty, and a new honor."

"Sodom's End," which followed "Honor" in 1891, marks retrogression rather than progress. Its strength exhibits itself in a painful ugliness. Here Sudermann first attempts Berlin society, and, by means of an artist genius, *Willy*, brings the petty *bourgeois* family of his birth into contrast with a brilliant circle of *nouveaux riches*. The former sacrifices all to his genius; the latter lame his creative power by their flattery and corruption, which he can no more resist than can the Indian the vices of a higher civilization. In real life society does not corrupt genius, as Sudermann here implies, but rather neglects and starves it. Technically, however, this drama is better constructed than "Honor," and rises in a constant *crescendo* to the close. The conversation is naturalistic throughout. Each speaks in his own language and in his usual style, with no effort at sententious rhetoric, yet with a great deal of dramatic virility. But the strongest effects are to be sought less in epigrams than in simple every-day expressions that gain all their force from circumstance, like the famous "Qui te l'a dit" of Racine's *Hermione*. It must be admitted, however, that none of the characters, save possibly the seductive *Adah*,—a sort of preliminary study for *Felicitas*,—have in them sufficient force of will for the highest ends of tragedy; and the sensational success of "Sodom's End" was surely more that of scandal than of any ethical satisfaction. Men felt a troubled admiration. They were sure of Sudermann's power. They were not sure that it had not been abused.

Perhaps no step in Sudermann's career is so long as that which separates "Sodom's End" from "Home," in which latter some may still be disposed to see his greatest maturity of talent and most complete courage of conviction. The play has been called "a gospel of self-respect," more effective in this than "The Katzensteg" or even than "It was." Here, as there, we hear the proud cry of "No repentance,"—no brooding backward glance, but the bending of all effort on the full development of the individual. "To grow by sin is better than the purity you preach," says *Magda*. "I am I; and through myself I become that which I am,"—though, doubtless, Sudermann is still of the

opinion expressed in "Sodom's End," that "vice has the minimum value for culture."

But he who strives for full development of the individual clashes not only with an inner tendency to seek moral peace in penance rather than in acts that indicate the new temper of character, but also with the world's social and moral conventions; and Sudermann takes advantage of this to give a background of realistic satire of German provincial narrowness to the psychic struggle of *Magda's* heart. This heroine, a world-renowned singer, has purchased the full unfolding of her talent and her character at the price of conventional virtue, which she has sacrificed to *Keller*, a smug, hypocritical defender of "Throne and Altar" in society and politics, whom Sudermann puts before us with a contemptuous bitterness that may seem pitiless to those who do not know how common and how nauseating are the German originals from whom the part is studied. A musical festival brings the singer, by an unsought chance, to her native town; and filial instinct leads her to the house of her father, as though it were still possible for all to forgive and forget. But love is not enough for her soldierly father. He demands submission, contrition. Such concession as she can she makes. Her artist's career and fame is not a part of character: that she might surrender. But repent she will not, cannot; and when the suppression of her child is demanded her individuality bursts all bonds. She will sacrifice home, even life, rather than self-respect. And when her father dies, as he is about to sacrifice her life to his outraged sense of honor and morality, she is left condemned by all, but standing alone in conscious rectitude; her heart turning forever from the affection for which it longs to be true to itself and its own righteousness.

To relieve this intense psychic tragedy there are admirable scenes of humor and irony, in which this petty aristocracy is allowed to reveal its base rivalries and low ambitions in ingrained cant and in a delightful disputation on the ideal goods of a nation. And, lest we should think too ill of convention, there are honest *Max* and the pastor's noble resignation to command our esteem. But the sympathy of author and reader is ever with *Magda* in her cry: "I will not, I cannot; for I am I, and dare not lose myself."

With "The Butterflies' War" Sudermann enters on a period of pause. He recurs here, but in gentler vein, to the same theme—that moral compromise is a lie, that character can be built only on truth to self to the uttermost. The humor here is derived from the efforts of a vulgar mother to marry her daughters and to train them for that event. But

the emancipation of *Rosi* from her ingrained habit of sacrifice and subordination is not made a dramatic necessity. The whole hovers between tragedy and farce. It closes with a question rather than an answer, and suggests an adaptation to the demands of the box-office rather than of art. Its happy ending, like that of "Love in a Groove," which followed, is not natural, but belongs to a conventional "parlor" morality, of which no one is dupe save possibly the Philistine spectator. We prefer pessimism to sceptical irony. There is too much of the *virtuoso*, too little of conviction in these dramas; nor does "Morituri" combine his later technical mastery with the simple truth and sympathy of "Honor" and "Home."

"Love in a Groove" is indeed better than "The Butterflies' War." We are told here of *Elizabeth*, a genial and executive woman, who in pique and desperation had married *Wiedemann*, a schoolmaster hopelessly her inferior, and meets *Röcknitz*, a kindred spirit, now unhappily married, for whom she had formerly cherished a vain love. He, she, and we, too, feel their natural affinity. But at last, after veering toward suicide, *Elizabeth* finds that her husband also needs her forgiveness; and they determine to bear together a burden that time alone can lighten. The play abounds in abnormal extremes. No character in it approaches *Magda*, though *Röcknitz*, coarse as *Squire Western*, is probably the best. *Elizabeth* is ineffectual, *Wiedemann* stagey; and the latter's spirit is as likely to be called Philistine as Christian. There is a dainty pathos in his blind daughter *Helen*, however; and the pompous self-importance and hypocrisy of *Orb* give him a niche in memory, small, but not easily forgotten.

"Love in a Groove" is of 1896; and to that year belong also three single acts under the collective title "Morituri," each considering under a changed aspect the imminent prospect of death. Of these "Das Ewigmännliche" is an enigmatical drama of No-Man's Land in verses which, it may be hoped, will remain unique in the author's work. "Teja," with the last of the Goths for its hero and Vesuvius for its scene, portrays the dawn of love in the shadow of death; but "Fritzchen" redeems the otherwise mediocre volume with a dramatic situation of wonderful strength and concentration,—a sermon on the text from "Sodom's End," that vice has the minimal value for culture or happiness. Still one feels, in regard to all this work since "Home," that it does not ring true. Each scene is good, but the combination is false; and there is a too obvious striving after the extreme antitheses that characterize the dramas of Sardou.

It remains to speak of "John the Baptist," a drama to which the critics of last year looked forward with an eagerness accentuated by the prohibition of the Prussian censor and by the intervention of the Emperor himself in the dramatist's behalf. The judgment of the critics on this drama has from the outset differed widely. The Emperor had pronounced it "a devoutly sublime work." A prominent American professor confidently hopes that its hero "will be a source of inspiration and delight to our children and our children's children"; for he is "a character worthy of Schiller's genius." A noted French critic, M. Rod, regards it as one of Sudermann's best works, and "in the first rank of the numerous dramas lately borrowed from sacred legend." Others think the drama would be improved by suppressing the hero, that the real interest centres in Herodias and her daughter, that it is merely "a picture-book according to the dramatic rules," most naturally to be compared with Sardou's "Théodora," and less a tragedy than is the Bible narrative on which it is based. In my opinion, the truth lies, as usual, somewhere between. "John the Baptist" suffers, as all historical dramas do nowadays, from the vain pretence of "local color" or "historic truth" in a work of imagination. You cannot mingle figures consecrated by the memory of nineteen centuries with creatures of your fancy, nor snatches from the Gospel narrative with your most rhythmic prose, without jarring on the mind, if not on the heart and conscience, of the hearer. The play suffers also from a straining for spectacular effect, but most of all, perhaps, because the Baptist is here presented as so ineffectual as to provoke impatience.

While John was preaching by the Jordan, he tells us in the first act, his soul was devoured by doubt. The old order was changing,—of that he was sure. But whether the mail-clad Messiah would right it with his flaming sword, he was no longer certain; and his agitated soul reflected the nervous expectation about him. Even the success of his own preaching troubled him; and this interior doubt paralyzed his will, although he tells us that at the baptism of Jesus his soul had become calm. In the desert he had preached with fanaticism: before Herod, parading impudently with Herodias, his uplifted arm sinks at the memory of the gospel of love that he has overheard in the mouth of a chance Nazarene. He had been a sombre fanatic, a revolutionary leader, with an ideal too visionary and austere for realization. But the change in his anticipations from the bloody Messiah to the Prince of Peace is brought about most undramatically, not by acts, but by tedious palaverings and reflections; and it is the caprice of the poet,

rather than anything in tragic necessity, that brings John to mental clearness at last.

The spectator is beguiled into following this psychic development by a romantic and sensational linking of the fortunes of the Baptist to those of Herodias and Salome, with which, however, the self-revelation of John's soul is very loosely connected. To Herod, John seems a harmless idealist. Herodias thinks his adhesion would be helpful to her political schemes, and feigns affection for him; while Salome is, much like *Felicitas*, a self-conscious, calculating coquette, thoroughly modern, and seeking in the love of the Baptist the joy of novel sensation.

These two "black-haired beasts," as a German critic ungallantly calls them, are more attractive to Sudermann and to us than they were to the Baptist, whose more than human virtue sets off in effective contrast the moral rottenness of the court, as his rags do the splendor of the palace. There is effective antithesis also between social ranks, as in "Honor," and in the minor characters between the dawning Christian faith and the outworn, wearied scepticism, or, as in the feast and dance at the close, between tragic purification and a swinish hedonism. It is curious and somewhat disquieting, by the way, to compare this dance, even in its details, with that described by Flaubert in his "Herodias." The realism of some of these scenes may be sensational, but it is very effective; though this is, of course, a lower field of art than the psychic drama, and to succeed here is of less significance than to "lead the upward idealistic movement," as some allege that this drama is calculated to do.

In "John the Baptist" as in "Morituri" the interest is transferred from society to the individual. It is no longer a question of personality as against conventions, whether of honor or of propriety. No social problem is discussed. The question is purely a moral one, more universal in its interest, and, thus, far more classic in character and more likely to endure. But, while in details and in individual scenes the technic is admirable, the drama falls far short of the classic standard in its structural unity, and is in this decidedly inferior to "Honor" or to "Home." It should be clear, then, that Sudermann has not yet joined his faculties in their happiest combination, nor given us what it is in him to give. It remains still true, however, to-day, as for the last ten years, that there is no German writer of whom we are justified in entertaining greater expectations.

BENJAMIN W. WELLS.

The Forum

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THE DOCTRINE OF INTERVENTION.

THE swift current of unforeseen events has brought us to the juncture when we must decide what our position shall be among the nations of the world.

We have hitherto held aloof from foreign affairs. The Cretan Question found us indifferent. When the partition of China was begun we did not raise our voice. With the ideas prevailing among us at that time, the whole of China might have been divided between Germany, England, Russia, and France, and we should have remained dumb. We were bound hand and foot by a misconception of Washington's Farewell Address. It mattered not that the most populous country in the world was opening its doors to our commerce. It mattered not that our merchants and manufacturers were beginning to seize the trade of *our own sea*, the Pacific,—*our sea* that washes our coast and the coast of Asia, and brings the Orient nearer to us, by many days and miles, than it is to Europe. Japan had welcomed foreign civilization. Korea was building railroads. China was recovering from her depression. She was gridironing her soil with steel rails, opening up rivers in the interior to steam navigation, establishing universities, and decreeing reforms.

We have treaties with China which guarantee to us the same treatment that is accorded to the most-favored nation. We stood by and saw Germany, Russia, and France seize portions of China. England and Japan also stood by silent. But Japan had already seized Formosa; and at the last, England, not to be outdone by her neighbors, seized Wei-

hai-wei together with some two hundred miles of islands and mainland around Hong Kong.

We did nothing. We neither seized lands nor protested. We were "Non-Interventionists." We had a commerce of thirty millions of dollars at stake, and the prospect of unlimited traffic. The greatest commercial sphere, which was ours by natural right, seemed about to be closed to us. China was the camping-ground of hostile armies; but our soldiers found no bivouac there. China was the El Dorado of the manufacturer; but the manufactured goods were to come from other lands than ours.

Then came Dewey's victory. In the twinkling of an eye, in the firing of a gun, as it were, the conditions were changed. We found ourselves possessed of an empire in the East greater by far than the recent combined annexations of the Continental Powers in China. We had forborne to rob China; but we had conquered—in fair, open, honorable war—the Philippines. Hand to hand, and gun to gun, we had won the battle; and the law of nations gave to us the best title by which a nation can hold territory—that of conquest.

The spectre of Non-Intervention rises here to warn us of untold evils. We are informed that we have no right to hold a people in subjection; and this, it is said, is taught by the Declaration of Independence. The answer is simple and conclusive. We do not propose to hold any people in subjection. On the contrary, we do propose to enfranchise every people which comes under our control. Our government of the Philippines would be absolute freedom compared with that of Spain. Local self-government would soon take the place of the former despotism; education would take the place of ignorance; civilization, of barbarism.

We annexed the Hawaiian Islands because the time had come when we were compelled to assert our proper, natural, and legitimate influence in the affairs of the world. Those islands are a stepping-stone to the Far East. If there were no Asiatic continent three thousand five hundred miles away, and no Australia lying to the south, we should never have thought of annexing the Hawaiian Islands. We must annex the Philippines for the same reason. They furnish us with a foothold by means of which we can assert our proper influence in Eastern affairs; and their possession will benefit our trade and commerce.

I have been told that this is a sordid view to take; that a government should engage itself in the effort to elevate man; that not commerce, but man, is king. With all proper respect for humanitarians, I must insist that the main object of government is to increase the *material*

well-being of its people. Unless it does this, it is worse than useless. The French king who expressed the wish that government might be so administered that every peasant could have a pullet to boil on Sunday, has passed into history as the wisest of French rulers.

I venture to assert that any citizen of the United States who, by some wise suggestion, should reduce the taxes of his city 25 per cent, would be elected mayor at the next election. Nor would it necessarily follow from such reduction that interests not purely utilitarian would be neglected. So, any Administration which will materially increase commerce will receive solid popular approval.

Let me speak plainly. I do not write for political purposes. With the protective tariff now in force, we must have foreign markets for our goods. We cannot sell at home all that we manufacture. Because our manufacturers can sell their goods at home free of competition, they are enabled to sell them abroad at lower prices than those prevailing at home. The course of trade in China has demonstrated this condition.

When the Mexican dollar came to be worth but forty-two cents, as it did at Shanghai, it was apparent that the export trade would go up by leaps and bounds. When a man can buy native products for silver and sell them for gold, it is plain that he will buy extensively. On this account, the export trade of China increased enormously. The problem was, What will happen to the import trade when goods are bought for gold and have to be sold for silver? If prices should be doubled there would be a falling-off in sales. The fact was that the import trade also increased, though not in the proportion that the export did. Our manufacturers held the market; and they still hold it. They lowered their prices; but they sold their goods.

Here it is worthy of note that our export trade has been, and still is, largely increasing. I have seen it stated that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, our exports exceeded \$1,230,000,000,—an increase over 1897 of nearly \$100,000,000. I care not what party may reap the benefit of this large increase. The average American citizen will welcome our commercial expansion, though his party idols may be shattered. He will put his country above his party, and the well-being of the masses above the gain of petty official place for the political partisan.

Our trade with China is increasing day by day, and the Chinese naturally turn to us in matters of business; and if not influenced by the other Powers, they would consult us on all important questions. When Sheng Taotai was appointed Director-General of the Railroads of China, his first memorial to the Throne set forth, in distinct and able phraseol-

ogy, the justice and propriety of procuring Americans to build all the railways. I do not care to enter into the reason why Americans do not at this day control the building of every Chinese railroad. They have a contract, however, to construct eight hundred miles of road, from Hankow to Canton, which will pass through a population of two hundred millions. The passenger traffic alone of this railroad will pay dividends from the start.

China is developing her mines. An Italian syndicate has very valuable concessions for the opening up of mines in Shansi. American capital is invested in this syndicate. The trade with California and Oregon in flour and lumber is largely increasing. Denver sends mining-plants. The Baldwins and the Rogers are selling locomotives, and will sell hundreds. Our sheeting and coal oil find a splendid market in China. Shall this trade not be protected? Shall we deliberately give up the markets of the East, or shall we push them with all possible assistance from our Government?

If we enhance our dignity and influence in the East, we inevitably increase our trade. A powerful fleet on the Asiatic station helps us in many ways besides affording necessary protection to our citizens in the Far East. Such a fleet demands suitable stations where it may obtain coal, and where it may refit when necessary. Suppose that Dewey had been beaten at Manila, in what port could he have taken refuge? He was seven thousand miles distant from his own country; and under inexorable law the ports of every nation were closed to him. Such a contingency may well bid us pause and reflect on the possibilities of the future.

Dewey was ordered out of Hong Kong. He went to Mirs Bay. He had no more right in Mirs Bay, except for twenty-four hours, than he had at Hong Kong; but he was not the man to allow a technicality to stand between him and the doomed fleet of Spain. He waited and waited; holding his steamers like the dogs of war in leash. Then, when the news that war was declared reached him officially, he struck a blow which has resounded around the world.

Well do I remember when the veteran Chinese statesman Li Hung Chang heard of our victory at Manila, and how astonished he expressed himself to be, because he had always thought the Americans were a peaceful, commercial people: he did not know they were such fighters. Then, with the instinct of the diplomat and the statesman, he added that he was glad of the conquest of the Philippines, because the Americans would treat the Chinese fairly and kindly. It did not enter into the mind of

this veteran in statecraft that we should ever give up the islands. He went so far as to express the hope that a certain gentleman would be appointed Governor of the Philippines on account of his friendship for the person in question, and because he thought he would protect the Chinese.

In answer to the powerful demand for a larger commerce, for more extensive markets, for the assertion of our legitimate influence in the family of nations, we are told—or I, at least, have been told—by distinguished persons, that it is atrocious for us to intervene in the affairs of foreign nations, and that the policy of Expansion will inevitably lead to Intervention. Here I desire to say most emphatically that I yield to no one in admiration and approval of the general doctrine enunciated in Washington's Farewell Address. Certainly we should not intervene in the affairs of foreign nations when those affairs are peculiar to such foreign nations, and do not affect our own interests. Diplomacy takes no account of sentiment. We may sympathize with England; we may believe that blood is thicker than water; we may rave over the facts that we speak the same language, have in the main the same laws, literature, and religion; but all these considerations should not for a moment induce us to form an offensive and defensive alliance with England. Such intervention with England or Russia, or any other country, I should deplore. I do not want to take part in foreign wars; but I would proclaim it from the housetops that we should intervene in every case in which our material interests are involved.

If a hair of the head of an American citizen is wrongfully touched in a foreign country, we are all of accord in saying that immediate redress should be demanded. We agree that we will fight on such an issue. There can be no better cause of war; for, if a government does not protect its citizens, of what use is it? For what purpose are governments organized, except to secure to their people life, liberty, and the free pursuit of happiness?

Much as the so-called vagaries of the Emperor of Germany have been ridiculed, it must be admitted that his foreign policy has been wise. Wherever a German has been injured or oppressed, in his person or his property, ships have been sent to demand redress. Wherever the German eagle has set his claws, there he remains, and, according to a recent declaration of the Emperor, there he will remain. Are we weaker or more timid than Germany?

The protection afforded by a government cannot end with mere protection of the persons of its subjects. It must necessarily extend to the

rights of property as well. For instance, shall we stand by, silent, bound by the doctrine of Non-Intervention, and see America excluded from China? Shall we tacitly consent that China shall be closed to us? Shall we unprotestingly agree that one favored nation alone shall have the right to build railroads in China, or in any province thereof? Shall we deliberately announce to Europe, now aflame with the fire of colonization, that we have no interest in any disposition it may make of Siam, Korea, or China? It had been understood, up to the time of Dewey's victory, that that was our exact position, and that under no circumstances would we intervene in the affairs of any country outside of America. We went so far as to declare to the world that we were waging war against Spain for the simple purpose of freeing Cuba. Diplomats abroad looked with wonder at a war waged for such an unselfish purpose. Possibly, some of them may have believed that our alleged motives were sincere; but the majority of them understood perfectly well that we meant to annex Cuba.

When this question is presented to the American people, there will be but one voice on the subject; and that voice will be for annexation. That Cuba will be annexed, decently and sensibly, after due submission of the question to the people and their overwhelming vote in its favor, there can be no doubt. For more than fifty years the Cuban Question has been the *bête noire* of the United States. We have seen the flower of our youth slaughtered in Havana. We have seen our commerce disordered, our governmental expenses increased, our people kept at a tension of fear and distraction. War had to come. Fortunate is the President under whose Administration it came! Fortunate the President who brings peace and quietness to us, who bids this ghost of *Banquo* down forever! But his glory and honor will be obscured, and he will fall short of his splendid destiny, if he leaves his work undone; if (adapting Shakespeare's words), bound in shallows, he palters with us in a double sense, and keeps the word of promise to the ear, and breaks it to the hope. The nonsense of Quixotic warfare must be put behind us. We cannot pose as knight-errants. If we do, we shall have to fight the world.

Of course, I have no right to say one word for President McKinley, with whom I have barely the honor of acquaintance, but I venture the prediction that, at the proper time and in an honorable manner, Cuba will be annexed to the United States; and to this consummation I fervently cry, "Amen!"

Let us not imitate Japan, which fought a great war, with Korea as the

golden reward to the conqueror. There can be no doubt that at the beginning of that war Japan intended to annex Korea. If she did not, then the war had no *raison d'être*, but was simply an ebullition of silly spite. In the moment of military triumph, with China at her feet, Japan threw away the chance of centuries. Influenced by England, who wanted a buffer to Russia on the mainland, Japan declared—as we now declare that Cuba shall be free—that Korea should be released from the shadowy bond that held her to China, and that she (Japan) would take from Port Arthur to New-Chwang of the mainland. Of course, Russia would not permit this. She would not suffer a young, vigorous nationality to be interposed between her territory and the sea. She had no use for the policy of Non-Intervention. A hint to Japan was sufficient. She withdrew from the Liau Tong Peninsula, and contented herself with holding Formosa and the receipt of a reasonable indemnity.

Shall we repeat this historical blunder? From it have flowed all the ills of China. Because Germany got nothing from China, she helped herself to Kiao Chou and its vicinity. She has seized a part of the province which is sacred to China, as holding the tomb of Confucius. Russia and France then, in turn, demanded their pay for their intervention; and England, as she has always done, took what she would. No weak nation should ever ask a favor; no strong one ever needs to do so.

The misfortune of the United States is that we do not know our real greatness. We do not know our riches, our force, our actual influence in the affairs of the world. It is good to reside abroad. It is glorious to come back after a long absence. Under such conditions only can an American appreciate at its true value the country which is his home.

I may, perhaps, be pardoned the digression if I draw on my own experience, after thirteen years' residence in China, broken only by a trip through Europe and a very short stay at Washington. The returning American is struck with the general well-being of the people. He does not see, the world over, such crowds of well-dressed people and—I cannot forbear saying—such hale and hearty men and such beautiful women. I desire particularly to allude to the suburban system of electric railways which has grown up in recent years. Remember that *there is not a single street-railroad in China*, and then look on such perfect systems as exist in all our cities! This is but one instance of a magnificent improvement which is not so marked anywhere else as here.

When I went to the Far East I received letters full of congratulations on the life of luxury that was opening before me. As a matter of fact,

almost the humblest house in an American city is better provided with luxuries than is the American Legation at Peking. We drew water from wells, or cisterns, which I constructed. We used coal oil as an illuminant. Our fires were open coal fires. We had an attempt at electric bells; but they never worked. We had no upstairs apartments to our house. There were no sidewalks in Peking, no waterworks, no decent streets. The resident of Washington is a king compared to the native, or foreigner, in Peking.

I shall not, so near the close of this article, enter into a disquisition on our institutions. Suffice it to say that in this country the Government, in all its branches, national, State, and municipal, is the servant of the people: elsewhere it is the master.

And now on the subject of this paper—the Doctrine of Intervention. I reassert that it is our duty to intervene in all matters occurring abroad in which it is to our interest to intervene. I mean our material interest—the interest of our railroads, our merchants, our manufacturers, our ships, our trade, and our commerce.

Far be it from us to endeavor to force republican institutions on the peoples of the world. Far be it from us to wage sentimental or religious wars. Far be it from us to interfere with the operations of any government in its proper territory, be it despotic or be it free. It is none of our business how Russia, or England, or Germany rules its people. Even the ostentatious boasting of some Americans abroad should be discouraged.

It is assumed in polite society that every citizen or subject of any country thinks his own institutions the best, and his own lot the happiest. It is fortunate that this is so. What I do insist on is, that the flag, the world over, shall protect all Americans in their persons, their property, and their commerce; and that on all occasions we should demand such protection.

Further, we should see to it that international law and the laws of foreign countries are administered with absolute impartiality, so far as our interests demand such administration.

CHARLES DENBY.

ANNEXATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

THE question has been asked, How will the acquisition of new territories, inhabited largely by semi-civilized races, harmonize with the principle of universal suffrage? The answer has to do with the future, and, that it may not be in the nature of an idle prophecy, must be made in the light of our experience. We must review the history of suffrage in our country from the time when it was limited to the few down to the present when it is enjoyed by the many; we must note each step of this steady progress, and carefully observe whether the march has at any time been hastened or at any time been checked by the acquisitions we have made of territory inhabited by people ignorant of our institutions and utterly unfit to vote.

When our forefathers founded the Republic they announced to the world certain political doctrines often asserted, but never before applied. They declared that all men were created equal, and were endowed by the Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments were constituted among men for the good of the governed; that they derived their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that when they failed to accomplish the purposes for which they were established it was the duty of the people to amend or destroy them. It might reasonably be supposed that, having deliberately proclaimed these truths, the men of '76 would have instantly made use of them; that, being free to create such governments as they saw fit, they would have founded new commonwealths in which the equality of all men was fully recognized. Had they attempted to apply the new truths generally the whole social fabric would have gone to pieces. Happily they were not so applied. They were ideals to be lived up to and gradually attained; and the very men whose lips were constantly heard demanding the rights of man, the inalienable rights of man, went carefully to work and set up State governments in which the rights of man were very little regarded, in which manhood suffrage was ignored, the ballot given to men who owned property, and office-holding restricted to such as owned lands and houses and were members of some Christian sect. To vote in Massachusetts, a man must have an estate worth sixty

pounds, or a freehold yielding three pounds annual income; to vote in Connecticut, he must own real estate rated on the tax-list at one hundred and thirty-four dollars, or possess an annual income of seven dollars derived from a freehold estate. New York would permit no man to cast a ballot who was not seized of a freehold worth twenty pounds, or did not pay a rent of forty shillings a year and have his name on the list of taxpayers. In Maryland and North Carolina he must own fifty acres of land, and in South Carolina, besides his land, must be a free white believing in the existence of a God and in a future state of reward and punishment. Pennsylvania required the payment of a property tax. In but one State, New Jersey, did the suffrage approach to being universal; and there it was so unintentionally. Her constitution had been hastily made in 1776 in the space of ten days, had never been carefully revised, and gave the franchise to "all inhabitants of the State" who were twenty-one years old and owned fifty pounds of unincumbered property. Nothing was said concerning race, sex, or citizenship; and during thirty-one years women, negroes, and aliens were free to vote and used the right.

Yet, in spite of all this, it would be the height of injustice to accuse the men who imposed these restrictions of inconsistency with their principles. To have suddenly produced such a social condition as they had in mind, to have recklessly removed from the statute-book every law, to have ruthlessly broken down every custom at variance with the new political doctrines, would have been acts of disorganization of the worst kind. But they were in no sense disorganizers. With a steadfast reliance on the soundness of their principles, they waited but for a chance to apply them decently and in order; and when that chance came, when they were called on to make a plan of government for a frontier community where equality was absolute, where customs and usages had little weight and traditions went for nothing, they stood the test, and gave to a vast stretch of territory north of the Ohio an ordinance of government which greatly extended the rights of man.

But that famous Ordinance of 1784 is interesting in another respect. It was our first effort at colonial government, our first attempt to rule a community not fit to become a State and enter the Union; and by it a new political institution, the Territory, was created of two grades.

At the head of the committee which reported the Ordinance was the apostle of liberty, the father of American democracy, the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. If one member more than another of that committee was bound to carry out the principles of the Declaration, and seek to establish a government in strict accordance with them, that

member was Jefferson. If any one man more than another could be pardoned for attempting to carry the self-evident truth to an extreme, Jefferson was that man. Yet not for a moment was he led astray by the ideals he had announced to the world as the true basis of democratic government. He and his fellow-members knew well that no popular government can stand long or accomplish much for the good of the governed which is not carefully adjusted to the wants, conditions, and intelligence of the people who are to live under it. The plan presented and adopted therefore did not contain one vestige of self-government till there were five thousand free white males living in the territory, and this in spite of the fact that the great majority of them would be citizens from the seaboard States and well accustomed to self-government.

During this period when the Territory was in the first grade the rulers were a governor, a secretary, and three judges, elected by the Continental Congress, but afterward appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The laws were not framed by any legislative body, but were such as the governor and judges selected from the statute-books of the thirteen original States. Till there were five thousand free white males of full age not a vote was cast for a territorial officer. Then any free white man who had lived in the Territory the proper time, and owned fifty acres, might take part in the election of a House of Representatives, every member of which must be possessed of a freehold of two hundred acres. Once assembled the House nominated ten men (each having a freehold of five hundred acres), of whom the President commissioned five to be legislative councillors. Together the Council and the House, by joint ballot, chose a delegate to represent the Territory in the House of Representatives, where he was graciously permitted to speak, but not to vote. The territorial government thus set up by the Continental Congress, and sanctioned by the first Congress under the Constitution, became the model after which every other since established has been closely fashioned. At the foundation of it lay the broad principle that there was one kind of government for the States and another for the Territories; that the just powers of the latter need not be derived from the consent of the governed; that only such men as owned land were fit to vote, and that only the select class who owned a great deal of land were fit to legislate; that the Constitution limited the power of the Federal Government over the States; but that the will of Congress was supreme over the Territories.

The clear distinction between a State and a Territory thus drawn at the very outset of our career, and the principles then established—that

Congress was free to govern the dependencies of the United States in such manner as it saw fit; that the government it granted need not be republican even in form; that men might be taxed without any representation in the taxing body, stripped absolutely of the franchise, and ruled by officials not of their own choice—have never been departed from, and have often been signally confirmed.

The first great confirmation took place when we purchased Louisiana from France in 1803. The treaty provided in one article that for twelve years to come the ships of France and Spain might enter the ports of Louisiana without paying a cent more duty than was exacted from vessels belonging to citizens of the United States. This was a clear discrimination in favor of New Orleans. Should a French or Spanish vessel from Marseilles, Bilboa, or Cadiz enter the port of Boston or New York, she would be subjected to a duty of fifty cents a ton. But the same craft, should she go to New Orleans, would be required to pay no more tonnage than Americans paid, which was but six cents a ton. During the debate on the treaty the Federalists, who bitterly opposed expansion, had much to say questioning the constitutionality of this concession. It will, in the first place, they said, enable the people of New Orleans to trade with France and Spain on far better terms than the merchants of Charleston or New York or any other seaport out of Louisiana. New Orleans therefore is a favored port. But this cannot be allowed; for the Constitution declares that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." Again, the Constitution says Congress shall have power to regulate trade with foreign countries; but this provision in favor of Louisiana is a regulation of trade with France and Spain not by Congress, but by the treaty-making power—the President and Senate—and is unconstitutional and void. To this the Republicans replied, it is true that preference cannot be given to the "ports of one State over those of another": but the prohibition applies to the States, not to the Territories; and as Louisiana is a Territory, not a State, any preference given to New Orleans is valid. It is in the condition of a colony whose commerce may be regulated without reference to any provisions in the Constitution regarding States; for the Constitution does not apply to the Territories.

The position, that the Territories are not under the Constitution, was asserted more boldly still when the time came to frame a government for Louisiana. The Senate sent down to the House a Bill providing that, till such time as Congress should establish a territorial government for Louisiana, all military, civil, and judicial powers should be vested in

such persons and exercised in such way as the President might think fit and proper. This, said the Federalists in the House, is unconstitutional; it is combining in the hands of the President legislative, executive, and judicial powers; for he is not only to appoint public officers, but is also to determine in what manner they shall act. We deny that such is the case, the Republicans answered; but, suppose it to be as stated, the combination is perfectly legal. Whatever limitation the Constitution may set to the power of Congress over the States, it puts none to the power of Congress over the Territories. The Constitution is made for the States, not for the Territories, and does not extend to them. What else is the meaning of the words, "The Congress shall have power to . . . make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States"? Is not the grant unlimited? Has it not always been so construed? Who makes laws in the Territories of Indiana and Mississippi? The people? No. Congress? No: the Governor and the judges appointed by the President. Does not this show that the Constitution is inoperative in the Territories? We are to govern Louisiana not by right of any grant of power expressed in the Constitution, but by right of acquisition; and that right we are to use as we see fit.

Guided by these principles, Congress a little later proceeded to govern Louisiana as it saw fit, cut the province in two, and named a piece, corresponding very nearly to the present State of Louisiana, the "Territory of Orleans." All north of Orleans was annexed to Indiana; but for the Territory itself a separate government was framed, comprising the usual governor, secretary, judges, and a legislative council of thirteen. To the plan as a whole little objection was made when the Bill came before the House of Representatives. But the restriction of trial by jury to criminal prosecutions and to civil suits involving at least one hundred dollars, and the manner of appointing the Council aroused a fierce and stubborn resistance. The thirteen men forming the Council were to be selected and appointed by the President, and by the President alone. The people of Orleans had no voice in their selection; nor was the Senate of the United States to be asked to approve of their appointment. They were to assemble not at any set time, but when summoned by the Governor; were to go home when ordered; and when in session enjoyed the scantiest of legislative powers. No new law could be enacted and no old one amended or repealed without the Council's consent; but it was the Governor who originated all new legislation, and proposed alterations in the laws already in force.

This Bill, said its opponents, violates the Constitution and the great principles of liberty on which our republic rests. Does not one amendment to the Constitution guarantee that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have trial by jury? How then can we say that in the Territory of Orleans there shall be no trial by jury in criminal prosecutions, unless one of the parties demand it, or the offence be capital? Yet another amendment to the Constitution ordains that in common-law suits, when the sum in controversy exceeds twenty dollars, the trial shall be before a jury. How then can we say that in Orleans there shall be no such trial unless the sum involved is at least one hundred dollars? Is it not a principle of democracy that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that taxation and representation are inseparable? But what have the people of Orleans to say in the choice of the legislative Council, in the making of the laws? If we govern, must we not govern on constitutional principles? Have we a right to do there what the Constitution forbids us to do elsewhere?

The answer was, Yes, if it seems expedient; for the Constitution does not apply to the Territories. The Bill does indeed contain principles of government heretofore unknown in the United States. But it is also true that never before was Congress called on to provide a government for such a peculiar people. There, gathered together in one city and along the banks of one river, dwell Frenchmen and Spaniards, Creoles, Americans, Germans, Mexicans, wanderers from Acadia, emigrants from the Canaries, Negroes, and creatures of every conceivable strain of Negro blood from quadroons and octoroons to mulattoes. Ruled first by French, and for the last forty years by Spanish, officials, ground down by monopolies, accustomed to military government, with all the humiliation, extortion, tyranny, and official insolence such government breeds, and stripped of every semblance of the rights of man, they cannot be regarded as fit for sudden liberty. Let them have freedom and republican government by degrees, as they show themselves capable of understanding and able to assume the responsibilities it entails. Let them learn, under the mild and gentle rule of the government we propose, what are the rights and duties of freemen; and when they have learned these it will be time enough to give them self-government and the ballot. Against the mild and gentle rule thus established the people of New Orleans protested vigorously, because they were taxed without representation, obliged to obey laws they had no voice in making and to submit to a government which did not derive its just powers from the consent of the governed. The remonstrance was written by an American; and the

whole movement was the work of Americans,—not of the population which had so long submitted to the grinding rule of France and Spain. Yet Congress yielded, remodelled the form of territorial government, and gave Orleans an assembly, but limited the right of suffrage to the election of members of the assembly, gave no man a vote who was not the possessor of fifty acres of land, and restricted membership in the assembly to men who owned two hundred acres in fee simple.

Against these restrictions the people of the Territories had long been crying out. Scarcely a session of Congress went by without the receipt of petitions, resolutions, or memorials, praying for the extension of the suffrage. But, despite the appeals of the people, the activity of the delegates, and the favorable reports of committees, Congress made no step forward till 1808, when the office of territorial delegate was made elective in Mississippi Territory, and the suffrage given to every free white male of full age who owned fifty acres of land or a town lot worth one hundred dollars. The first step taken, others followed; and in Indiana before 1812 the territorial delegate and council had become elective by the people, and the right to vote had been given to every free male of age who had resided one year in the Territory and had paid a tax. And before 1815 the same privileges were granted to Illinois, Mississippi, and Missouri, a name then given to that vast region which lies north of the State of Louisiana, and stretches away westward from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains.

Now came the great exodus of people from the seaboard; and by 1822 Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri had been made States and admitted to the Union, and the organized Territories were reduced to Michigan and Arkansas. To these in 1822 was added Florida. By the acquisition of Florida from Spain our territory was a second time expanded by the addition of foreign soil, and our population a second time increased by thousands of people judged unfit to be free. Congress, moved by the same considerations, asserting the same absolute jurisdiction, and the same exemption from any obligation to follow in territorial government the great principles of the rights of man, gave to the people of Florida in 1822 almost identically the same government given to Orleans in 1804. The Governor, Secretary, and thirteen members of the Council were appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate; but the territorial delegate was made elective by the people, and for the first time the qualifications of voters were left for the Council to decide. This was another step forward, another extension of the suffrage, and was followed, before 1849, by the breaking down

of yet other restrictions, and by granting voters in Michigan, Arkansas, Florida, Wisconsin, Oregon, and Iowa the right to elect all county and township officers save such as were judicial.

Meantime, in 1848, by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo we acquired for the third time a vast region inhabited by men of mixed races, and low intelligence, living under laws, customs, and usages unlike our own, and were again called on to frame a government for a people knowing little of the principles of American liberty. The result was long delayed by the attempt to open the new Territory to slavery; and in the course of this attempt it was proposed to bring the country under the Constitution, because, as slavery was tolerated under the Constitution, it would thus have to be tolerated in the region obtained as free soil from Mexico, and covered by the Constitution. An amendment was accordingly offered to the civil and diplomatic appropriation Bill providing money to extend the Constitution and certain laws of the United States over the proposed Territories of Utah and New Mexico; and another debate as to the status of a Territory followed.

Extend the Constitution to the Territories? exclaimed Webster. Why the thing is utterly impossible. All the legislation in the world could not accomplish it. We extend the Constitution by law to a Territory? What is the Constitution of the United States? Is not its very first principle that all within its influence and comprehension shall be represented in the legislature it establishes, with not only a right to debate and a right to vote in both Houses of Congress, but a right to partake in the choice of President and Vice-President? Can we by law extend these rights to a Territory? The Constitution is extended over the United States and over nothing else, and can extend over nothing else. It cannot be extended over anything save the old States and the new States that shall come in hereafter, when they do come in. It seems to be taken for granted that trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and every principle designed to protect personal liberty is extended by force of the Constitution over every new Territory. So far is this from being the case that not one of these principles can apply to a Territory, till introduced by act of Congress, because a Territory, while a Territory, is not part of the United States.

Calhoun scouted such an idea. The Constitution, said he, in its own words, is the supreme law of the land; and the Territories of the United States are part of the land. It is supreme law not within the limits of the United States merely, but wherever our flag waves, wherever our authority goes. If this is not so, how can we have any juris-

diction? Is not Congress the creature of the Constitution? And shall we, the creatures of the Constitution, pretend that we have any authority beyond its reach?

The Constitution, Webster replied, does not declare itself the supreme law of the land. The Constitution and the laws of Congress passed under it are the supreme laws of the land, that is, the land over which the Constitution is established, or, in other words, the United States. No organization of the Territories was effected till the Compromise of 1850, when the form of government then in use was established, with the provisions as to slavery made necessary by the Compromise. The franchise was extended to all male citizens of the United States resident in Utah or New Mexico; but the qualifications of voters, after the first election, were to be determined by the territorial legislatures, provided the suffrage was not extended to any save citizens of the United States. In June, 1862, the question which had so long disturbed the country was put at rest by the abolition of slavery in the Territories; and in 1867 it was ordained that henceforth and forever there should be no denial of suffrage in any Territory, then existing or yet to be made, to any citizen thereof because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

This ended the work of Congress in behalf of the extension of suffrage. Starting with the rude provisions laid down by the Continental Congress in the Ordinances of 1784 and 1787, it had in the course of eighty-three years reached universal manhood suffrage for a wide range of offices. At first no voters existed. Then men owning fifty acres of land might vote for one branch of the legislature. Before the first quarter of our century was turned the territorial delegate and the members of the second branch of the legislature were elected by the people, the property qualification for voters was swept away and the payment of a tax substituted, and the qualification of electors of the territorial delegates was left for the legislatures to decide. When the middle of the century came any free white male citizen of the United States could vote, and every town and county officer not judicial had been made elective. Twenty-five years later the Negro had been enfranchised, and the legislatures were regulating the qualifications of voters.

A review of the history of suffrage in the Territories thus makes it clear that foreign soil acquired by Congress is the property of and not part of the United States; that the Territories formed from it are without, and not under, the Constitution; and that in providing them with governments Congress is at liberty to establish just such kind as it pleases,

with little or no regard for the principles of self-government; that in the past it has set up whatever sort was, in its opinion, best suited to meet the needs of the people, never stopping to ask how far the government so created derived its just powers from the consent of the governed; and that it is under no obligation to grant even a restricted suffrage to the inhabitants of any new soil we may acquire, unless they are fit to use it properly. Congress is indeed morally bound to give the very best government that circumstances will permit; but it is also morally bound not to be carried away by theories of human rights which even the States themselves ignore. We have no such thing as unrestricted universal suffrage. In the States east of the Mississippi no woman may cast a ballot for a governor, for a congressman, or for Presidential electors. Yet in each one of them are numbers of women who own property, and pay taxes amounting sometimes to thousands of dollars a year. What government derives its just powers from their consent? Are they not taxed without representation? Do they not obey laws in the making of which they have no voice? All this is utterly inconsistent with the broad doctrines on which our republican form of government is founded. The truth is, the suffrage never has been and is not to-day regulated on any other principle than expediency. Nor is this to be regretted. No government is worth a rush unless it is practical; and to be practical it must not be in advance of the intelligence and capacity for self-government possessed by the people for whose welfare it has been created. This has been the characteristic of every government yet set up in State or Territory, and is greatly to our credit; and this is the course we must pursue in the treatment of any people, whatever their stage of civilization, who may come to us with new acquisitions of territory.

J. B. McMASTER.

LESSONS OF THE RECENT ELECTION.

BEFORE the breaking out of hostilities in the Spanish War, the conditions which always defeat the party in power in an off-year prevailed to an unusual degree. Several hundred thousand disappointments over the distribution of patronage; hostility of the masses to Civil Service reform, which President McKinley had permitted to stand in its literal fullness; the general desire of the people to rest from campaign excitement after the heated contest of 1896; the prevalent, but shallow, argument that there could be no pressing necessity for a Sound Money Congress so long as Mr. McKinley occupied the White House to veto any destructive legislation that might be attempted; the complete absorption of commercial and industrial managers in the enlarged transactions of returning prosperity, and the satisfaction of the laboring-classes with the renewal of work and wages which the last election had brought to them, combined to render the prospect of Republican defeat certain, if not overwhelming.

In the midst of this period of gloom came the declaration of war, with swift preparations for collision with a foreign foe, which so aroused the national pride and spirit as to submerge for the moment all factional differences and personal disappointments in a patriotic determination to support the President to the utmost. If actual hostilities had continued eight or ten weeks longer, with the accompanying unification and elevation of public sentiment, a Republican campaign would have been superfluous, and a Democratic campaign impossible. The people *en masse* would have taken charge of politics; and the Administration would have won nearly everywhere. The war, however, ended as suddenly as it began; and it was followed by a storm of criticism as intemperate as it was demoralizing.

But shortly the truth concerning alleged mismanagement {in the armies began to creep out. It was so different from the allegations of the newspapers as to cause a suspension of public judgment, with evidences of an approaching reaction in public sentiment. Besides, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, followed by unsettled problems involved in the Spanish peace protocol, brought forward questions of territorial expansion and colonial policy which divided the masses along new

lines. Thus, at a late hour of the campaign popular sentiment was nebulous, formative, and—chaotic.

Here was the moment at which the Republican managers must decide on a policy to govern their campaign that would interest and align the voters. The managers knew, which the masses did not, that the strenuous efforts of the Opposition leaders to secure control of Congress by denouncing the conduct of the war did not spring from a desire to investigate army management, in which Democrats, as privates and commanders, were joint participants with the Republicans, but from a purpose to get into position to enact Free-Silver legislation and to elect a Free-Silver President.

That knowledge determined the line of attack; and the committee machinery was promptly set in motion to send Sound Money literature and speakers among the voters. As little else had been used in Oregon for the June elections, which resulted in unexpectedly large Republican majorities over those of 1896, I was confirmed in my belief that the real foundation of Republican success lay in the confidence of the world in the Republican financial policy. I had a deep feeling that the substantial people of the United States, and everybody doing business with the United States, were perfect in the faith that Republican supremacy meant the payment of all obligations in sound money—in gold or its equivalent. Added to this basic advantage were: the great personal popularity of President McKinley; a universal desire to sustain his war policy; the revival of business predicted by the Republicans in 1896; and a thorough Republican organization brought over from the previous national campaign.

On the other hand, we were confronted by some special disadvantages. Many thousands of men who were at home idle in 1896, with plenty of time not only for voting, but for campaigning, for the Republican ticket, had work and wages in 1898, and therefore could give little attention to politics. Not only so, but thousands of them were away from their voting precincts as railway brakemen, firemen, conductors, and engineers; other thousands, as employees on vessels, woodsmen, agents, lumbermen, and general mechanics; so that perhaps a half-million men who were at the polls in 1896, voting the Republican ticket, were in 1898 kept away either by their own disinclination to lose wages or by the absolute necessities of enlarging business transactions.

Certain local conditions also contributed to Republican campaign burdens. Canal troubles in New York, bank matters in North Dakota, a factional fight for the governorship in Wisconsin, peculiar party dif-

ferences in Michigan, labor disturbances in Illinois, a violent factional uprising in Pennsylvania, and race conflicts in sections of the South added to Republican depression.

These adverse features, however, were offset by the firm adhesion to the Republican party of the middle business classes, who renounced Democracy in 1896 on the Free Silver issue. This was particularly true in the West, where Sound Money Democrats, especially the Germans, were so disgusted by the appointment as general manager of the Democratic party of "Coin" Harvey, the arch-apostle of "Free Silver at the God-given ratio of 16 to 1," that they actively and effectively espoused the cause of the Republican candidates.

Most of them now declare that they intend to remain permanently with the Republican party; and their affiliation constitutes the very best element added to that organization since the Rebellion, when it was expanded into a nation-saver by an army of stalwart patriots known as "War Democrats."

There is but one standpoint from which I can obtain a satisfactory view of political management and the results of political contests—that of the business man. To my mind, the most important victory is the one which insures to our country the longest term of industrial peace and financial security. So long as any avenue shall remain open to those who are determined to tinker with our money standard, or to discharge obligations by fiat, or to inject debased currency into the sensitive arteries of finance, there can be no such security or peace.

The recent elections closed those avenues, and closed them securely. Fiat Money, Free Silver, and radical tariff agitation will be innocuous for at least eight years; for that is the shortest assured period of "honest money" control of the United States Senate. Thus, the agriculturist may contract for a farm; the manufacturer, for an enlargement of his plant; the lumberman, for standing pine; the banker, for an increase of his capital; the transportation manager, for an extension of his railway or multiplication of his fleet of ships; and the wage-earner for his cottage home, and be sure of eight years of approved fiscal conditions in which to carry out their plans and liquidate their debts.

In all my experience, my countrymen have had no richer prospect. For having been placed where I could contribute any part toward insuring the blessings of this fruitful condition, I am profoundly grateful; and I hope to see my fellow-citizens so take advantage of it as to become more universally prosperous and contented than they have been during any like period of their history.

J. W. BABCOCK.

FOREST FIRES.

THE principal enemies of the forest are the axe and fire. The axe destroys its thousands; but, while witnessing this destruction, we are consoled by the thought that the stately trees thus brought low are felled for the use of man. From man's point of view, one of the purposes for which they grew, if not the chief purpose, was to minister to his needs—to provide material for his houses, to support his railway-tracks and telegraph-wires, and to warm him in wintry weather. Therefore, few people grudge to the axe its inroads upon the forest. We are consoled further by the thought, that in all probability the axe is destroying the forest no faster than it grows. Were the axe the only enemy of the forest, we might look with complacency upon its inroads, wasteful though they be; having the assurance that Nature was replacing tree for tree.

But where the axe has slain its thousands, fire has destroyed its tens of thousands; and here the destruction does not in any way conduce to man's welfare, but is a misfortune without one redeeming feature. Every year, when the summer heats have dried the vegetation, forest fires prevail over the Northwest, from the Great Lakes to Puget Sound, and over the pineries of the South; and thousands of square miles of forests go up in smoke. In addition to millions of dollars' worth of timber there are destroyed each year ranches, and even towns, which stand in the track of the flames, not to speak of the loss of life.

Let us get some measure of the amount of this destruction. In the year 1880, in connection with the Tenth Census of the United States, Prof. C. S. Sargent collected all possible information concerning the forest fires which occurred during that year. The results of that investigation, which, in the nature of things, could not be exhaustive, showed that there were burned at least ten and a quarter million acres of forest land—an area twice the size of New Jersey. The value of the property thus destroyed was more than \$25,000,000. This is the tale of one year, and a year not at all remarkable for its forest fires.

The thick forests upon the Pacific Coast, especially those of Western Washington and Oregon—the densest in the country, with the sole exception of the redwoods of California—are every summer the scene of

great and destructive fires. In this region there are only two seasons, a wet and a dry. From May to October it seldom rains. By the first day of August everything is as dry as tinder; and then the fires begin. For two months, until put out by the fall rains, they prevail; covering the land with a pall of smoke as dense as the fog of the New England Coast. The magnificent scenery of the Cascade range, with its great extinct volcanoes and its glaciers, is completely hidden from view. Because of the smoke, the navigation of Puget Sound and the Columbia River is as dangerous as in times of fog. The roads and trails are blocked, and travel on them perforce suspended, not only by the fires immediately, but by their tree-victims, which, weakened by the flames, fall for months and years after the fire has swept through the country. The smoke is often so dense and acrid as seriously to affect the eyesight; and yet, with their proverbial patience, the American people suffer all these ills without a thought of remedying them.

Within a generation a fifth of the magnificent forests of Western Washington have gone up in smoke,—a splendid tribute to the carelessness and wastefulness of the people of the Northwest. Timber having a stumpage value of \$30,000,000 has thus been thrown away in a part of this one State.

In the Rocky Mountain region the aridity of the climate is in general so great as to prevent tree growth except upon the slopes of the mountains. It is in this arid region, where timber is scarce and where it is greatly needed for mine timbering, fuel, and railroad construction, that fires are and have been most frequent. Indeed they have been so prevalent that there are few old forests in the region; nearly all of the existing ones being less than a century old. Over great areas the forests have been permanently destroyed; converting the denuded spaces into parks or elevated pasture lands. The summit of the Bighorn Mountains, in Wyoming, consists in large part of open park-land; the forests having been destroyed by the persistent burning of the country by the Indians for the purpose of driving game, or of increasing the area of pasturage for their ponies. Owing to the same cause, the Black Hills of South Dakota consist largely of open parks.

The fires in the Rocky Mountain region, besides the destruction of timber and the reduction in the forest area, have produced this result, viz., that in many parts of that country the timber which grows after the fires is of different species, and generally of less economic value than that which was destroyed. Thus, the Western white pine, yellow pine, red fir, and cedar are often succeeded by lodge-pole pine, Pinon pine, and

quaking aspen—species of little economic importance. Indeed, in general the character of this succession suggests that the climate of this region is becoming more arid, inasmuch as the evident tendency is to replace the burnt forests by more arid types of trees.

During the summer of 1898 forest fires were more numerous and destructive than they had been for many years, especially in the Rocky Mountain country and upon the Pacific Coast. They have raged over Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California. The newspapers from this part of the country have for months been filled with accounts of the destruction wrought; and there is abundant evidence, in the attention given to the subject, that such a terrible visitation was needed to awaken the people of that section to the necessity of protecting their timber supplies. In those States there is no provision for such protection beyond the United States laws, enforced by a newly organized body of rangers, under the control of the General Land Office; and this has been of little avail in either the prevention or the extinction of fires. Even in such States as Wisconsin and Minnesota, where fire laws exist, which under ordinary circumstances are efficiently carried out, fires during the past summer have been frequent and disastrous.

The cause of the increase in fires during the past season lies in the dryness of the summer. The rainfall was unusually slight all over the Northwest; so that the vegetation became very dry and ready to ignite on very slight provocation. In another way the dryness of the season contributed to an increase in the tendency to fires. Throughout the West the pasturage at low altitudes was destroyed by the drought, in consequence of which the sheep-herders, in order to prevent the starvation of their flocks, were compelled to take them to meadows among the forests high up the mountains. The presence of the herders has doubtless increased the number of conflagrations; for, as is well known, they are not over-careful with their camp-fires.

The evil effects of forest fires are not confined to the destruction of timber. A fierce fire injures the soil in such a way as to make it incapable of supporting forest growth for many years. Long after a fire the surface of the burn is covered with brush and briars; and the restoration of the forest goes on very slowly. Meantime, if the burned area is upon a mountain-side, the soil washes away; leaving perhaps only naked rock, upon which trees cannot obtain a foothold.

An indirect result of the fires, and one of great importance, is to be seen in the ordinary methods pursued in lumbering. As a rule, the lum-

berman clears the land as he goes of all the timber of any value. It would be more profitable to him, in the long run, as he well knows, if he felled the mature and larger trees only; leaving the saplings to reach maturity before being cut, and thus insuring a continuous income from his land. Under existing conditions, however, he cannot afford to run the risk of leaving a part of his property thus standing, owing to the danger of its destruction by fire; hence, for very good financial reasons, he makes a clean sweep of the timber.

Forest fires are not new; there is indeed good evidence to the effect that long before the white man occupied this country his predecessor burned the forest with quite as much activity and success. The prairie region bears witness to this; for, now that fires are abated, much of it—except where cultivated—is rapidly producing timber. The Valley of Virginia, which, when the white man entered it, was a prairie, is also becoming a forested region. In the Rocky Mountains we find forests of all ages; indicating the occurrence of fires at corresponding periods. And the high mountain parks are also evidence of ancient firing.

In the early stages of white settlement the forest was regarded as a positive nuisance; hence, in clearing land for cultivation, fire was freely used, and little heed was taken if it extended beyond the selected area. Consequently an enormous waste of timber always attended the earlier settlement of the forest regions. As settlement progressed, and timber became of value, there was less recklessness shown in its waste; and when it began to be scarce the people first awoke to the necessity of husbanding their resources. Steps were finally taken to prevent fires; but most of the timber had already been destroyed. Now that the pine of New England is practically exhausted, efficient means of prevention are taken. The stable door is locked; but the horse has already been stolen. We see, from east to west, all stages in this progressive appreciation of the value of timber—from the most criminal disregard and waste of it in the Far West to the careful husbanding of it in New England.

The causes of forest fires are numerous. No one cause can be pointed out as the principal source of the mischief. Nearly all are the result of accident or carelessness, and but few of malice. It is probable that fires set for the purpose of clearing land, and which get beyond control, are responsible for quite as much damage as those due to any other cause. In lumbering operations, after the lumber has been cleared from the land, the tops become dry and inflammable, and are easily ignited either by accident or by design. Such very frequently get beyond control, and run into the forest. Camp-fires, carelessly left burning, are doubtless

responsible for no small percentage. Fires are not infrequently set by hunters, especially Indians, to drive game from its covert. Sometimes the fires are set by prospectors to uncover ledges, and by sheep-herders to extend and improve the pasturage. Locomotives are doubtless responsible for many fires; and it is said that lightning contributes its quota.

Forest fires differ greatly in intensity and in the amount of resultant damage. The great majority merely run along the ground; licking up the grass, underbrush, and forest litter, and doing no damage to trees other than scorching the outer bark. Some develop sufficient heat to destroy the young saplings and to burn through the bark of the mature trees. In the latter case, fire scars are produced which may develop disease and eventually destroy the trees. Others, still fiercer and more destructive, make a more or less clean sweep of the forest. Fires of the last-mentioned kind are not common; but, on the other hand, they are naturally the most extensive. Among them may be instanced the "big burn" in Western Oregon, near the Pacific Coast, which extended from Tillamook southward to the neighborhood of Coos Bay,—a distance of 150 miles, with an average breadth of 20 to 25 miles,—and the burns in Whatcom, Skamania, and Cowlitz counties, Washington, which swept the timber for hundreds of square miles.

Different species of trees suffer from fire in different degrees. Resinous trees, especially those with thin bark, such as the pines, and particularly the yellow pine, are very combustible, and fall an easy prey to the flames. The red fir, the most valuable tree of the Northwest, is much less combustible, as it possesses a thick bark and contains comparatively little resin; while the California redwood is so wet that no fire can sustain itself among them. There have never been fires among the redwoods. In burnt areas it is common for fires to make selections among the trees; limiting the destruction to certain species.

Although forest fires were long recognized as an evil of the first magnitude, no concerted attempt was made until recent years to abate them. It was everybody's business; therefore it concerned no one in particular. The Federal Government, being the largest owner of timber-land, was naturally expected to take the lead in the matter. Until very recently, however, it did nothing; and it was long before any of the States took action. New York was the first to take up the matter in earnest. In 1885 a law was passed by the Legislature, providing fines and imprisonment for setting fires, whether by intention or carelessness; and an organization of fire wardens was made. This organization has proved efficient; and we now hear little of forest fires in New York State. Fol-

lowing New York's lead, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania have all, within the past few years, taken similar action; and until the present year these States have been almost entirely free from fires. Their experience demonstrates that the evil can be greatly diminished, if not eradicated.

Within the past few years the United States has withdrawn from sale and settlement a large part of the forest land yet remaining in its possession—lying mainly in the high mountains of the West—and is now organizing a force of rangers for the protection and administration of these forest reserves. Its ill-success in preventing and extinguishing fires during the past summer must not be accepted as evidence of incompetency on the part of its body of rangers; for they worked under most adverse conditions. The dryness of the season produced an unusual number of fires; and for the same reason these fires were most unmanageable. The men are, necessarily, lacking in experience; for men of experience in this work are not to be had. Most of the forest reserves were not manned until the season was far advanced and the fires were under full headway. Moreover, it must be said that throughout most of the Western country the people are not in sympathy with the forest-reserve policy; and their aid has been wanting in preventing and extinguishing fires. All these facts should be considered in making out a case against the management of the forest reserves.

It is probable, however, that the experiences of the people of the West during the past summer have induced a change in their attitude toward the forests and the forest-reserve policy of the Government, and that they now see that in the long run the Government's action will further their best interests. Hereafter the people will doubtless heartily second the efforts of the Government to preserve some portions of the forests for the permanent prosperity of that part of the country.

That fires can be practically prevented, is shown by the experience of the Northeastern States, where in recent years they have been almost unknown. This exemption is in part due to stringent laws, thoroughly enforced, and in part to a strong public sentiment supporting the enforcement of the laws. That they can be prevented even in the Wild West, is shown by the experience in Yellowstone Park, where for nearly a score of years fires have been practically unknown, although for three months of the year the Park is full of camping-parties. It is not practicable, however, for the Government to patrol its forest lands, comprising a hundred thousand square miles, as thoroughly as it does the comparatively small area of Yellowstone Park. It can easily, however, by

watching the roads and trails, keep an account of the parties entering these lands, whether campers, hunters, prospectors, or sheep-herders, and thus be prepared to fix responsibility upon the authors of the mischief. A knowledge that they are being watched will be sufficient to insure care on the part of visitors to Government lands. Furthermore, it might be of advantage in many ways to allow prospecting of these lands only under a Government license, and to issue permits to sheep-herders; assigning definite ranges to the latter, and making them responsible for fires occurring within their limits.

But, after all preventive measures have been adopted, some fires will still occur; and steps should be taken to limit and extinguish them.

Light surface fires can be easily extinguished by various means. Many of them can be simply beaten out with brush. If too serious for such treatment, the forest litter may be raked out of their track; leaving them little to feed upon. They can then be beaten out. Another method, which answers the same purpose, is to plough or trench the ground in front of them. More serious fires require more drastic treatment; and to provide against these, preparations should be made in all densely forested regions in advance. Broad roads should be cleared at frequent intervals, not only for quick and easy communication, but to serve as fire-lanes, up to which fires may spread, but beyond which they may be prevented from passing. These fire-lanes, which may be either roads or streams, commonly serve as the battlefields,—the scenes of conflict with the flames. Here “back fires” should be set on the side from which the fire is approaching. A strip the full width of the fire is burned over, and is checked at the fire-lane: this is usually sufficient to stop the fire. It may, however, overleap the lane in spots, which will then require special treatment with water, sod, earth, brush, etc.

For a struggle with a large forest fire, a considerable force of men is needed; and it is here that the sympathies of the inhabitants are required. A few rangers can do no more than watch for fires, and perhaps put them out if discovered in their early stages; but when a fire is in full sway a small army of men is necessary to conquer it.

A fire in the forests, especially at night, is one of the grandest and most awe-inspiring spectacles in nature. A wall of flame, a hundred feet or more in height, borne by a gale created by its own heat, rushes onward, with spurts of flame darting upward 200 or 300 feet, as each new victim is seized; burning brightly for a few moments, and then subsiding, to shoot up elsewhere. It is a magnificent spectacle, but one too expensive to be indulged in even by Americans. HENRY GANNETT.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

EXAGGERATED importance has been attached by extreme Civil Service reform advocates, as well as by political spoilsmen, to my recent interpretations of President Cleveland's Proclamation of July 14, 1886, relating to the political activity of Federal office-holders. Extremists have freely contended that I have let down the fences and invited despoliation of Civil Service principles by the wild steers from the farm of ward politics, and have accomplished something of unique advantage to my party.

I can see no ground for special excitement from any quarter. My only thought has been to give to men and women under my supervision, as First Assistant Postmaster-General, the exercise of the freedom conferred upon them by the Constitution of the United States.

The comments upon my action by the press, both *pro* and *con*, have brought me a large correspondence from people throughout the country, entertaining various views upon the subject: and I believe much good will result; for I am now convinced that only a small proportion of the voters of the country have a really fair conception of either the letter or the spirit of President Cleveland's famous order. Men who would throttle those in the Federal service, and forbid any expression whatever from them, have given President Cleveland's Proclamation an interpretation differing widely from its writer's intention. Here is the document in full:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 14, 1886.

To the Heads of Departments in the service of the General Government:

I deem this a proper time to especially warn all subordinates in the several Departments and all office-holders under the General Government, against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities.

Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the Government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship, their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

They should also constantly remember that their party friends, from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within

party lines, by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

The influence of Federal officeholders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair; and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns.

Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity, by officeholding.

A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used, is easy in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those intrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity under our form of government, of political action free from official coercion.

You are requested to communicate the substance of these views to those for whose guidance they are intended.

GROVER CLEVELAND."

President Cleveland penned the foregoing under peculiar circumstances. It was undoubtedly intended to meet conditions then existing that do not exist to-day. It is well to go back to the conditions which suggested the adoption of the original Civil Service Law, placed upon our statute-book January 16, 1883, in order to have a full conception of them and of President Cleveland's motives.

The Presidential campaigns of 1876 and 1880 are acknowledged by everyone to have been the most corrupt in the annals of our country's politics. There were a great many things in the campaign of 1876 which made honest men blush, and to which the good men of our country in all political parties refer to this day with shame. President Hayes himself vied with the earliest advocates of Civil Service reform in denouncing many of the proceedings of the campaign which resulted in his own election. Ward heelers and slum "bummers" were conspicuous factors in the Presidential campaigns of 1876 and 1880. Money was paid out with free hands by the managers of political parties. There was a great deal said in the campaign of 1876 about the millions of Mr. Tilden and the millions of dollars in the hands of the Republican managers. My own State (Indiana) was a storm-centre. Good citizens everywhere, after these famous campaigns, demanded a halt. When the Forty-seventh Congress convened in 1882, they joined hands in a demand for a law that would make corruption and improper conduct impossible in future campaigns.

In the campaigns referred to, postmasters, collectors of internal revenue and customs, United States marshals, and even men upon the

Federal bench, were leaders in political management. The post-offices of the country were the head centres of each community; and there clustered in them on week-nights and on Sundays the floating voters to accept their money, and managers to take instructions. Postmasters were largely the chairmen of ward, township, city, county, or district committees. They handled the mails with a view to party advantage. Their employees, every one, were of their own political faith. No man held a position for a moment who did not work and vote for the political principles of the party in power.

It was under these circumstances, with these proceedings and these recollections fresh in the minds of the members of the Forty-seventh Congress, that the Civil Service Law was conceived and enacted. Originally its scope was narrow; embracing only 13,924 positions, as against 83,817 classified ones to-day. It was believed that only clerkships in the Executive Departments paying from \$900 to \$1,800 should be under the control of the Civil Service Commission, or subject to its Rules. These positions were regarded as merely clerical, and without any real political influence.

I recall the complaints emanating from spoilsmen when President Arthur put into vigorous force the original Civil Service Act. Great pressure was brought upon him to circumscribe the Rules thereunder. Spoilsmen in office winced and murmured bitterly under the yoke of restriction placed upon them. It was with great difficulty that Federal office-holders of any grade adjusted themselves to the new condition of affairs. The narrow limitations of the Law and Rules at that time did not bring about the reform designed as speedily as was intended. In the campaign of 1884 there was a great deal of political activity, and much political favoritism and oppression was applied to men and women within the classified service. When President Cleveland was elected in that campaign the Civil Service Law and the Rules operating under it were yet restricted, and their enforcement in many respects lax. The campaign was a very bitter one, as everyone will recollect. Mr. Cleveland was elected by the narrow margin of 1,100 votes, the majority in New York State. It was alleged that there was extreme political activity among the Federal office-holders in Mr. Cleveland's own State; and of course he must have had a vivid recollection of the campaign when, two years later, on July 14, 1886, just at the opening of a congressional campaign, he penned the Proclamation given above, warning Federal office-holders against offensive or pernicious political activity.

Conditions existed in 1886 that do not exist now. President Cleve-

land, in the light of that day, may have been justified in restraining Federal office-holders in the exercise of their influence in politics.

The country has taken great strides in the purification of politics during the past decade. The people have been educated to respect the right of franchise. Nearly every State has now the Australian Ballot Law, which insures an honest vote and an honest return. Votes cannot now be openly purchased. Indeed, under the Australian system it is almost impossible to corrupt the ballot. A voter may be hired to stay away from the polls. Campaigns now cost money for education, literature, halls, bands, and speakers; but, by the very conditions existing, there is no longer much latitude for the exercise of official power in campaigns. Otherwise, Presidents would not be repeatedly defeated for reelection, and the political complexion of Congress would not so frequently and regularly change.

President Cleveland, at the time he penned his Proclamation, must have had in mind the unjust exercise by postmasters of official influence in campaigns; for I find the following section of "Postal Laws and Regulations" framed to conform to President Cleveland's Proclamation,—the language of the latter being paraphrased in the Post-Office regulation:

"Office-holders must not use their official positions to control political movements. They should not offend by obtrusive partisanship, nor should they assume the active conduct of political campaigns. A postmaster is not forbidden to exercise any political privilege, but should make proper discrimination between what ought and what ought not to be done by a public officer. He serves all the people, who are entitled to attention, civility, and assistance. He should be patient and helpful. No postmaster in whom the Government has, by virtue of his appointment, reposed trust and confidence, should find difficulty in deciding as to the proper course to be pursued in the premises. This is in consonance with the order of President Cleveland of July 14, 1886." (Sec. 435, p. 192.)

The above is now one of the regulations which govern the Post-Office Department and all employees under it. I notice that in the Report of the Civil Service Commission for 1896-97 (page 125) the statement is made that the "foregoing regulation has *peculiar* application to postmasters."

Undoubtedly President Cleveland intended to put a stop to the practice of making the post-office of a community the head centre of political activity, for the holding of caucuses and committee meetings, the raising of money for the conduct of campaigns, the issuance of instructions to workers, and the control of conventions and primaries. The Proclamation was vigorously enforced; and it had its intended effect. It is enforced to-day; but there is little cause to reiterate it. If there is

any post-office in the country where such political work is proceeding as was common at the time this Proclamation was issued, there is no one who would more cheerfully enforce the regulation and put a stop to the practice than the writer.

It was not intended by any intelligent advocate of Civil Service reform, no matter how extreme his views, that when a man entered the classified service he should lose his identity, that he should cease to be a citizen (in that his office-holding disfranchised him), or that he should neglect to vote or take an interest in the issues controlling political campaigns. When we strip office-holders of these rights some other influence than that secured by interest in politics takes their place.

In the District of Columbia social and religious ties wield the influence once exercised in official life in securing favors for office-holders. I do not mean to say that social or church influences curb the enforcement of the Civil Service Law, nor that no political consideration is given to those within the classified service here in Washington; but I do mean to say that the element of politics, as an influence in the classified service, has so far disappeared that the other influences named are actively and constantly at work to gain favor for those who are classified.

About a year ago I removed for incompetency a man occupying a prominent place in the classified service. He had been given the required charge in writing and had submitted his answer, but he failed to disprove incompetency. On the day on which my removal order became effective the man's pastor called upon me. He was very much provoked over my action, even after I had made it clear to him that the removal was purely on the ground of the man's glaring incompetence to perform his official duties. "Suppose he is incompetent," said the pastor, "he is one of the best men in my church. He has been an usher and a deacon, and he passes the plate!" Inquiry disclosed the fact that this man was appointed at the instance of President Cleveland, upon the request of the pastor of the church which the President attended, and that the incompetency of the man was so well known to the postmaster prior to the appointment that he protested against receiving him into the service. The President sent for the postmaster, and insisted that the man should be given the position. When the postmaster still hesitated, the President is said to have stated, with a smile, but with firmness: "Why, this man puts the plate under my nose every Sunday at church; and if I do not give him this place, after he and his pastor have insisted, I shall be ashamed to look into that plate again!" Though the position was un-

classified at the time of the application, the President must have known that one of his forthcoming Proclamations would extend the classified service to cover this appointment.

The question arises whether the substitute is better than the original, or whether it would not be better for the power of citizenship to be sufficiently active to neutralize other influences.

The Civil Service Law is a law of conscience with the President. It is a power delegated by Congress, with a mere outline of direction; the details being left to the regulations and rules prepared under the direction of the President, who is also empowered to make extensions and restrictions. I believe that every man who has occupied the office of President of the United States since the enactment of the Civil Service Law has faithfully endeavored to enforce that law.

I have had the pleasure of knowing nearly every individual member of the Civil Service Commission since the first was appointed. They have been men of a high order of character, education, and intelligence. They have performed their duties conscientiously, faithfully, and without fear. The present board is one of the ablest official bodies in Washington, and is composed of men who would wink at no hocus-pocus intended to defeat the purposes of the Civil Service Law or any of its Rules.

There is under my general direction more than one-half of the entire classified service of the country. I presume I have more business before the Civil Service Commission than all of the other Executive officers of the Government combined; and I am proud to say that my relations with the present Commissioners are as agreeable personally as they are intimate officially.

I have a vivid recollection of my introduction to the Civil Service Commission, shortly after assuming my present official position, in March, 1897. Mr. Rice, of New York, then occupied the chair now filled by Mr. Brewer, of Michigan. The Civil Service Law and its Rules constitute a complicated volume. There are extensive ramifications in them; and it requires a great deal of study and practice to become proficient in their administration. After a session of about two hours, in which I was taken through a "course of sprouts" by the Commission, a member of that body—I believe President Procter—turned to me and said:

"You can get a very fair conception of your duty in the administration of the laws for which we stand by considering yourself at all times and under all circumstances as the judge of a court, and looking upon the people as the jury. You are

a member of the Administration upon whom the duty is devolved of enforcing the Civil Service Law. Should you do anything at any time, or permit anything to be done, within the Civil Service that will be disapproved by the people, the Administration will pay the penalty. You will do well, as judge of the court over which you preside, to keep your eyes and your ears directed toward the jury—the people.”

I have never lost sight of this homely admonition. It was very early in the days of the present National Administration that the exercise of political freedom by classified office-holders was first agitated. A letter-carrier in Chicago wrote me, inquiring whether, if he should be elected a delegate to a political convention, without any effort or solicitation upon his part, he would be permitted to attend that convention, provided he secured a substitute to perform his official duties, and his work would in no wise suffer. In reply I stated that it was not the exercise of political freedom or political rights to which objection could be made, but the manner in which the rights were exercised. I admonished him to perform faithfully all of the official duties devolving upon him, and not to absent himself from his work during the hours of regular assignment; and I concluded by stating that if he conducted himself in an orderly way as a good citizen, was not offensive, and did not neglect his official duties, I could see no reason why he could not discharge the duties devolving upon him as a delegate to the convention. Shortly afterward I received a letter from the chairman of a Republican county committee in Ohio, making complaint that the postmaster of his town was a member of the Democratic county central committee, and requesting that I require him to resign from the position of postmaster. I wrote to my correspondent, inquiring whether the postmaster was an efficient official, whether he was offensive in his political views, or talked politics in the post-office, or met politicians there for consultation, or neglected his official duties on account of his connection with the Democratic county committee. In his reply my correspondent stated that he would be frank and fair enough to answer all my questions in the negative. He said the postmaster was a good officer and very popular, but that it was provoking to him (the writer) to see the name of the postmaster on the letter-head of the Democratic county organization, and to see the postmaster, after he closed his office at night, visit the headquarters of the county opposition, and consult and work with that party.

I carefully read over President Cleveland's Proclamation, and scrutinized the regulations of the Department bearing upon it; and I could find no provision condemning the attitude of that postmaster. He did

not use his official position to control political movements, did not give his time or labor to party work when he should have been at his official post of duty, did not offend anyone by the display of obtrusive partisanship, did not arbitrarily manage political affairs, did not throttle freedom of action within party lines; nor was it shown that he was manipulating political primary meetings and nominating conventions. In studying this case I could not keep my eyes off these words in President Cleveland's Proclamation: "Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity, by officeholding."

It will be seen by this quotation that President Cleveland encouraged, rather than denounced, individual interest in political affairs. In the many complaints that have reached me from various sections of the country respecting the political activity and political improprieties of postmasters and other officers, not one charge has been made that a postmaster coerced his employees, or levied political contributions, or neglected his official duties in attending a convention or in delivering speeches or in writing partisan articles for newspapers. Nearly all of the complaints have been that postmasters simply announced their political views, or were present at political meetings, or made political contributions outside their offices. I believe there was less political activity among Federal office-holders in the campaign just closed than in any campaign in the history of the country.

Much misapprehension and exaggeration exists to this day among intelligent and well-informed men as to the real meaning of President Cleveland's "pernicious activity" Proclamation and official interpretations placed upon it. Only the other day I received a letter from one of the oldest and best-informed Congressmen in the West. He wrote to me, under cover of secrecy, to ascertain whether a postmaster would be permitted to make a political contribution! The Congressman explained that he interpreted the Cleveland order as prohibiting a postmaster from making a political contribution. In reply, I stated that a postmaster was not permitted to make assessments or to solicit money for political purposes, but that, should he desire to make a political contribution outside of his office, I could find no law or rule prohibiting him from so doing; that a postmaster, as well as any other Federal officer, had the right to light a cigar with his money, or give it to charity, or make any other use of it he desired, provided he did so in a proper man-

ner. The Civil Service Law is based upon both Governmental interests and the interests of the public service.

I cannot find language sufficiently strong to satisfy me in denouncing some of the conditions that existed in official life prior to the enactment of the Civil Service Law, when post-offices were made clearing-houses for political corruption, as well as assembling-points for political runners, and when drunkenness, corruption, and bad government lurked in the very official atmosphere,—in other words, when postmasters unflinchingly and without conscience or self-respect debased their offices and wielded their official power in the interests of political candidates. There has been a wide reformation, however, in official life since the enactment of the Civil Service Law; and I am glad to say that all of the more objectionable elements have been permanently eradicated. The worst charge I ever entertained against any post-office employee did not approach the improprieties that were common prior to 1886, and which existed to a large degree at the time President Cleveland issued his Proclamation, more than twelve years ago. I find that President Cleveland himself realized that conditions had changed in this respect within a decade; for in his Message sent to Congress in December, 1896, he said:

"While they [classified employees] should be encouraged to decently exercise their rights of citizenship and to support through their suffrages the political beliefs they honestly profess, the noisy, pestilent, and partisan employee, who loves political turmoil and contention, and who renders lax and grudging service to an Administration not representing his political views, should be promptly and fearlessly dealt with in such a way as to furnish warning to others who may be likewise disposed."

I quote this, not so much to indicate that President Cleveland in 1896 must have realized that there no longer existed the necessity for an inflexible, rigid, and drastic enforcement of his order of 1886, as to show that he must have found that his order had been exaggerated in many respects, and a spirit engendered that he had not intended to create.

The Constitution of the United States itself is based upon the requirement of our citizens to exercise their political rights, and to take part in the discussions before the country, so that they may vote the more intelligently.

So much has been said about the famous order of President Cleveland, and so seldom have actual quotations from it been published, that the public and, especially, the Federal office-holders of the country have gotten far away from its letter and its spirit.

I have been repeatedly asked by men in the classified service in Washington whether it would be proper for them to go to their legal homes and register, with a view to voting at an election. Many of them have asked me whether they had the right to write political articles over their names and to take part in political discussions in the public prints. They added that they had interpreted the order of President Cleveland as forbidding any participation in political discussions or any expression of their partisan principles. In some quarters, I find, the Proclamation was so misconstrued, and the people were so ignorant of its actual text, that classified employees in the Federal service became nonentities. They lost almost all of their individuality as citizens, and were no more helpful in the selection of good men for high offices, in the purification of politics and society, and in the inception of good and wholesome laws, than were the denizens of the Fiji Islands.

It is the maximum, rather than the minimum, limit which may be attained by Federal employees in the exercise of political rights that lingers in my mind and frames my idea. I have repeatedly written, in reply to postal employees making inquiries along this line, that it was the manner in which they conducted themselves and exercised their political rights, rather than the exercise of them, which was in question; that I would not lay down a general rule forbidding and restraining the exercise of such rights, but that I preferred to take up individual complaints of improper action. A general rule would not fit all conditions and circumstances; and any such rule, when not at hand for the individual to consult, could be so misapplied and misinterpreted as to exercise as much evil as good.

As I interpret it, this position cannot be applied to the enforcement of general laws; for this is particularly a rule relating to a very delicate subject, and one requiring the exercise of honor, intelligence, and decency rather than having a single eye to the rigid requirement of the law. My entire thought is in the direction of encouraging the manly, proper, intelligent, and honest exercise of political freedom. I believe that letter-carriers and post-office clerks will be better carriers and better clerks through hearing political speeches, by attending primaries and conventions, and by going to the polls and voting. If a man did not attend church, nor hear a sermon, it would be very difficult for him to be saturated with religious thought. How can a man be intelligent and well-informed, and vote as a citizen who would do the best for his community and country, if he hears no speeches and never discusses political questions?

As there is a general lack of information as to the precise terms of the Civil Service Law and Rules relating to politics, I subjoin them here:

SECTIONS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW RELATING TO POLITICS.

SEC. 11. That no Senator, or Representative, or Territorial Delegate of the Congress, or Senator, Representative, or Delegate elect, or any officer or employee of either of said Houses, and no executive, judicial, military, or naval officer of the United States, and no clerk or employee of any department, branch or bureau of the executive, judicial, or military or naval service of the United States, shall, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, or be in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for any political purpose whatever, from any officer, clerk, or employee of the United States, or any department, branch, or bureau thereof, or from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 1784, R. S. No officer, clerk, or employee in the United States Government employ shall at any time solicit contribution from any other officer, clerk, or employee in the Government service for a gift or present to those in a superior official position; nor shall any such officials or clerical superiors receive any gift or present offered or presented to them as a contribution from persons in Government employ receiving a less salary than themselves; nor shall any officer or clerk make any donation as a gift or present to any official superior. Every person who violates this section shall be summarily discharged from the Government employ.

SEC. 1546, R. S. No officer or employee of the Government shall require or request any workingman in any navy-yard to contribute or pay any money for political purposes, nor shall any workingman be removed or discharged for political opinion; and any officer or employee of the Government who shall offend against the provisions of this section shall be dismissed from the service of the United States.

CIVIL SERVICE RULES BEARING UPON PARTISAN POLITICS.

2. No person in the executive civil service shall use his official authority or official influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof.

3. No person in the executive civil service shall dismiss, or cause to be dismissed, or make any attempt to procure the dismissal of, or in any manner change the official rank or compensation of any other person therein because of his political or religious opinions or affiliations.

4. No question in any examination, or form of application, shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning, nor any other attempt be made to ascertain, the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, competitor, or eligible; and all disclosures thereof shall be discountenanced. And no discrimination shall be exercised, threatened, or promised, against or in favor of, any applicant, competitor, or eligible, because of his political or religious opinions or affiliations.

* * * * *

Fifth, that no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligation to contribute to any political fund, or to render any political service, and that he will not be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to do so.

Sixth, that no person in said service has any right to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

SUMMARY OF POSITIONS, CLASSIFIED AND UNCLASSIFIED.

Number of persons classified in 1883 by the original Act.....	13,924
Inclusions or extensions by Republican Presidents.....	27,677
Inclusions or extensions by Democratic Presidents.....	27,892
Present number of classified positions in Federal Service.....	83,817
Unclassified positions.....	95,079

In the preparation of this article I have carefully consulted the Civil Service Law and Rules, as well as all of the information contained in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission (July, 1896, to June 30, 1897), a volume containing more than five hundred closely printed pages, and embracing not only the Law, Rules, and Regulations, reports upon all of the principal cases considered during the year, and statistics relating to the Civil Service, but also copious extracts from the important decisions bearing directly upon the Service rendered by the courts during that fiscal year. I can find in none of these decisions any reference to President Cleveland's Proclamation of 1886, nor any reference whatever to the exercise of political liberties. The whole contention at present before the public is founded upon President Cleveland's order and the constructions that have been placed upon it. In the various Messages of the Presidents to Congress references have been made to the proper exercise of political rights, and classified employees have been repeatedly admonished to inform themselves upon the political issues and to maintain their franchise and exercise their citizenship. A careful perusal of the Civil Service Commission's Report should be made by all persons who discuss the Civil Service Law; for it is a volume of great interest, and will shed much light in dark corners.

If I may be permitted to advert to a point not quite pertinent to this discussion, I should like to refer to a statement in the last Report of the Civil Service Commission, which caused me some amusement, inasmuch as it bears upon a section of country whence have emanated some of the bitterest criticisms of my recent interpretations of President Cleveland's Civil Service Proclamation. In certain sections of Boston I have been charged with great disregard of Civil Service reform.

I find that during the past fiscal year the percentage of changes in the classified service of Boston was $2\frac{1}{5}$, as against $4\frac{2}{3}$ in New York; the latter representing the "spoils centre" of the country. In Boston during the same fiscal year the percentage of changes in unclassified Federal positions was $16\frac{3}{4}$ as against 10 in New York. The logic of this is that either the Civil Service Law is more faithfully enforced in Boston

than it is in New York, or that in the latter city the condition of the classified service is not so good as it is in Boston. The thought also arises that, while Boston is faithfully enforcing the Civil Service Law, it has its eyes wide open for spoils, and is even more eager than New York to secure positions on account of politics, inasmuch as Boston during the past year made $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent more changes for political purposes in the unclassified service than did New York. It would also appear that the only restraint Boston has in securing office for partisan purposes is the law.

Pernicious activity or offensive partisanship are terms in themselves broad or narrow. They may mean much or may mean little: it all depends upon the construction placed upon them. In making complaint it is necessary to specify as to real or alleged infraction. That which may seem one thing to you may mean another thing to your neighbor. President Cleveland did not interpret. He did not specify. He may have meant much, or, on the other hand, he may have had little in his mind. His subsequent statements, and the orders of his subordinates, do not indicate any desire to disfranchise his office-holders. I believe his object was to exhort in behalf of fairness, decency, and moderation, and that even in that day of immature Civil Service reform he had no thought of curtailing the fair and proper exercise of political freedom.

In his reference to the control of primaries Mr. Cleveland undoubtedly had in view the old, disgraceful, and corrupt exercise of official power. He was too practical a politician not to realize that, as an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, a little intelligent and proper exercise of personal influence before and at the primary was worth any amount of energy at the election. When nominations have once been made, there is little left for the personal influence of the citizen. If one party is guilty of corruption, the other party is generally guilty. If pure citizenship is to count for anything, it should antedate Election Day. "Go out and exert yourself before the primary or the nominating convention: don't wait till Election Day," is an injunction as old as political procedure, and as wise as old. President Cleveland undoubtedly had no thought of saying to a postmaster or other Federal employee, "If you believe a candidate for nomination to office is an impure or incompetent person, you shall neither say nor do anything to defeat his nomination." He unquestionably had in mind only the means that might be pursued by the office-holder to defeat the nomination of an objectionable candidate. If this was his purpose, could there be any objection to permitting office-holders, in their private capacities, decently

and inoffensively to participate in nominations? If this was not his object, will any reasonable man gainsay that Mr. Cleveland was wrong?

All that any of us want—if we are law-abiding, self-respecting, good citizens—is good government, purity in office, and efficient public service. It must be presumed, as a premise to this controversy, that men already in office, especially those within the classified service, are deeply interested in the result. An efficient, capable, honest, fair, and effective service is the only one that will last; and those in it—barring, of course, a few subservient employees—can hope to succeed only by maintaining these characteristics. Are we not to proceed upon the theory that men in office, with the knowledge of the retribution visited in the past upon improper characters, have some sense of decency and propriety, and that they have in constant view self-preservation? My argument is that we are so far beyond the age of low “bummerism” in Federal office that we can afford to hesitate and ask ourselves, “Have we not gone far enough in proscribing citizenship in office? Have we not sufficiently restrained personal and political liberties to admit of free thought and of the free exercise of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution? Cannot we carry this matter of proscription so far as to do citizenship and the Republic more harm than good?” We have eliminated machine politics from Federal positions. We have restricted activity in partisanship to proper conduct. Is it not better to bend at times, like the willow before the storm, than to stand upright like the oak and be uprooted?

A minority can never hope to become a majority except by winning over some from the majority. One must be patient in all reforms. Civil Service reform has made wonderful strides, considering the reprehensible systems and practices in vogue when the Law was passed.

I can never forget the injunction of Grant, “If you think the law is unjust, enforce it: the people will do the rest.” It will also be recalled that he added, “If you don’t like a law, enforce it rigidly.” My idea is that we should have some patience and a great deal of consideration in enforcing the law of which I am speaking. Injustice and dishonor, as well as justice and good, may be committed in its name and under its authority. The future and not the present merely must be kept in view. A near-sighted captain should never be placed on the bridge.

PERRY S. HEATH.

THE RELATION OF JAPAN TO OTHER NATIONS.

FORTY-FIVE years ago Commodore Perry's squadron anchored in the Bay of Yedo. Five years later Townsend Harris concluded at Yedo the treaty which became the basis of Japan's conventional relations with Western nations. On July 17, 1899, those relations will be revolutionized. New treaties will then go into operation which will restore to Japan all the prerogatives of national sovereignty now in abeyance, and will open the whole Empire to foreign travel, trade, and residence. One important change will take place even earlier, viz., on January, 1, 1899, when the Japanese Government will assume control of the customs.

The significance of these facts needs no emphasis. In less than fifty years from Perry's time, Japan, which was then virtually *terra incognita* will stand on a footing of equality with Western nations! It may not be uninteresting to note some of the causes which have led to this result, so unique in the intercourse of Occidental and Oriental peoples.

When Commodore Perry planned his expedition Japan had been closed to the world for more than two centuries. Restricted commercial relations were tolerated with one European nation, but on terms so rigorous and humiliating that the wonder is that even the most robust greed for gain could have stomached them. The Empire was seemingly impervious to advances from without. Commodore Perry, however, showed that he understood the situation better than most of his contemporaries. He argued—we can now see how justly—that Japan's condition was the result of extraordinary, and not of natural, causes. In confirmation of this view he pointed to the fact that the Japanese were an energetic and enterprising people, who, before their country was closed, had carried their commerce and arms far abroad. Not even the strange and unnatural seclusion to which the nation had been so long subjected had been sufficient, in his opinion, to obliterate its strength and virility. In the civilization then existing and in the development of the arts, industries, and agriculture, he perceived promise of progress under more favorable circumstances.

It was fortunate for Japan that such a man should have undertaken

the task of bringing her into touch with the Western world. It was no less fortunate that the work which Perry began so successfully should have been taken up by a man like Townsend Harris, the first American Minister to Japan. Able and conscientious, firm yet tolerant, and possessing a wonderful intuitive knowledge of Japan and the Japanese, Townsend Harris may be regarded as one of the most noteworthy figures in the annals of Eastern diplomacy. Alone, and unaided by even the semblance of force, amid difficulties which would have dismayed one less patient and sagacious, he negotiated a treaty which was a model of moderation, and in so doing set an example which the envoys of other countries following him had perforce to imitate.

The years immediately succeeding the conclusion of these early treaties were fraught with momentous consequences for Japan. The Empire was rent by internal dissensions; and in a brief time the Shogunate, after two centuries of undisputed control, tottered to its fall. The changes which then came, one after the other, with such bewildering rapidity are too well known to be recapitulated here. The nation was stirred by impulses and aspirations thitherto undisclosed. Reforms were undertaken with a zeal and energy that sometimes seemed to border upon over-confidence. The criticism was frequently heard in those early days that Japan was "going too fast"; and it cannot be gainsaid that there appeared at times to be very plausible reasons for the belief. The result has proved, however, that, on the whole, moderation, with a correct comprehension of the capacities of the people, was the keynote of Japanese progress. The most important reforms have already passed the experimental stage. The rest may be safely left to the process of natural development. Without assuming the *rôle* of a prophet, I venture to say that retrogression is an impossibility. Confirmation of this assertion, it seems to me, is to be found in the fact that the most important progressive movements in Japan have been due not to accident nor to haphazard effort, but to intelligent and patient endeavor.

The approaching transformation in the Empire's treaty relations, to which allusion has already been made, is an excellent illustration of this statement. The radical changes in Japan's condition after the Restoration convinced the Government that some modification of its treaties was desirable. Such a modification was provided for in the Townsend Harris Treaty; but, by subsequent agreements not nearly so liberal and by a one-sided interpretation of treaty stipulations to which for the time being Japan could offer no effective resistance, the changes were postponed. As long ago as 1871 an embassy was sent

abroad for the purpose of persuading the Treaty Powers to agree to a revision, but with no result. The question then remained in abeyance until 1882, when the situation became such that some action seemed to be imperatively demanded. For one thing, the fiscal necessities of the Empire made a change in existing tariff arrangements most desirable. For another,—and this was an even more important consideration,—the growth of foreign intercourse rendered the further closing of the whole country to foreign trade and residence both difficult and anomalous. Railways and other improved means of communication were rapidly bringing the Treaty Ports into close touch with all parts of the Empire. Evidently foreign enterprise could not be much longer confined to the limits fixed by treaty; and yet the Japanese Government could never consent to the extension of consular jurisdiction throughout the Empire, which the effacement of those limits would entail. It was apparent that some effort must be made to harmonize the treaties with existing conditions; and for that purpose a conference with all the Treaty Powers was held at Tokio in 1882. After deliberations extending over several months the conference adjourned without having reached a final agreement. Another conference, convened in 1885, ended practically in the same manner.

These attempts cannot, however, be fairly regarded as failures. In fact, they served a most useful purpose; for, while neither of them resulted in an immediate revision of the treaties, each marked a distinct advance in that direction. They convinced the Treaty Powers, on the one hand, of the sincerity and earnestness of Japan's desire for revision; while, on the other, they showed the Japanese Government what steps had to be taken to attain that end. The improvement of the judiciary, the revision and codification of the laws, and other cognate reforms which have marked Japan's progress, are not due directly to the desire to improve her treaty relations. They were a part of the general advance movement which began at the time of the Restoration. But there can be no doubt that reforms of this character were stimulated by the hope of placing the Empire on a more equal conventional footing with Western nations. The relations of the two movements at various stages are significant.

In 1882 Japan asked only for a revision of the tariff convention and for some arrangement which would ensure the ultimate disappearance of consular jurisdiction. In 1885 the progress made in judicial and legal reforms enabled the Government to enlarge those demands. So, also, in the separate negotiations with the Powers which ensued,

each proceeded upon broader lines, owing to the closer approach of Japan's legal system to Western standards, until in 1893, when the final negotiations were begun, the Government was able to ask for the total abolition of consular jurisdiction, because when the new treaties went into effect the Treaty Powers would have the guarantee of accomplished facts in complete codes of law in successful operation, and in an educated and independent judiciary.

Evidences of intelligent foresight and of wise precaution can also be discovered in the inception of another most important reform; viz., the adoption of a constitutional form of government. To many this appeared at the time to be a hazardous experiment; although it was admitted to be the logical result of circumstances attending the resumption of the Imperial power in 1867. Every one knew that the promise then made by the Emperor would be fulfilled in due season; but, in the opinion of even some of the leading men of Japan, it seemed better to defer fulfilment for a time. The surrender of a portion of the Imperial prerogatives, which it involved, was wholly voluntary; the time, the manner, and the scope being dependent entirely upon the Emperor's will. Experience has shown, however, that this important step was not prematurely taken,—a result due in no small measure to the wise and prudent forethought with which all the details were arranged.

The change was not made instantaneously, but after formal notice allowing time for careful preparation. Nor was it attempted to settle off-hand all of the questions to which the introduction of liberal institutions would naturally give rise. Something was left to practical experience and to natural development. The manner of dealing with the question of government by party is an instance in point, and one to which recent events in Japan give especial significance. There has been a difference of opinion on this subject from the outset,—one party contending that the Cabinet is responsible to the Emperor alone; the other, that it is accountable to the Diet also, and, by natural implication, to the predominant parliamentary party. The constitution itself leaves the matter in some doubt,—purposely so, there is good reason to believe,—the object being neither to establish nor to interdict government by party, but to remit the decision to the operation of natural causes. In any case there is abundant provision for the orderly conduct of public affairs in all contingencies; and it speaks well for the capacity of the Japanese people for the measure of self-government granted to them, that in all the parliamentary crises to which this and cognate questions have given rise there has been no interruption of the

proper administration of government in accordance with law. Nothing reactionary or revolutionary has marred the Constitutional era in Japan.

What is more, the representatives of the people have shown in emergencies the capacity to sink their prejudices and to rise above party dissensions. The loyal, unanimous, and unquestioning support given to the Government during the war with China by a Diet the majority of whose members were not politically the friends of the Cabinet, apart from the credit it reflects upon Japanese patriotism, affords valuable assurance of the stability of liberal institutions in Japan. Let no one suppose, therefore, when reading about parliamentary struggles in Japan, that the Empire is approaching the danger-line, or that good government is imperilled. The Japanese are merely working out for themselves, by legitimate means and through the medium of practical experience, one of the great problems of public administration; and, whatever temporary inconveniences may result, there is no valid reason to fear for the future.

The intellectual and material development of Japan within the past three decades is familiar to all. International and political questions have by no means absorbed the attention of her people. There has been progress in many other directions,—an eager search for knowledge, with an earnest desire to utilize the agencies of modern civilization. The result is gratifying; although no true friend of Japan will claim that nothing remains to be done. With all the changes which this period of transition has produced, it is only natural that some relics of the nation's unique past should survive. That past could not but have left a strong impress; but the people have shown such capacity and such adaptability that it is not unreasonable to expect that any incongruities which at present exist will in time disappear, or be moulded into harmony with their new environment.

To no nation is the growth of this strong and progressive Power in the East of greater moment than to the United States. The latter country, by its liberal and enlightened policy, has earned the confidence and esteem of the Japanese Government and of the Japanese people. Townsend Harris, who set the example of just and honorable dealing, has had worthy successors. It must be acknowledged, however, that American interest in Japan has hitherto been to some extent sentimental. Now, however, the American people are beginning to realize that the relations of the two countries have a most important practical bearing upon the interests of the United States. Even before the stirring

events of the recent past drew the attention of the whole nation to the Pacific, it was evident that Japan's commercial and industrial development made her a factor of great consequence in the extension of American commerce. During the past few years trade between the United States and Japan has advanced in volume and value by great strides. The products and industries of each country supplement those of the other; and the future gives promise to both of substantial benefit from the continued development of commercial intercourse.

If this was true six months ago, how much more forcibly can it be said to-day, when the United States is about to assume a new position and new responsibilities in the East. This is a topic upon which I must touch with some reserve; but there is no harm in saying that the whole tone of public utterance in Japan shows that the Japanese people contemplate the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States with cordial approval. They themselves have important commercial interests in the Islands, for the protection and increased prosperity of which they find ample promise in American control. But, what is even more, they welcome a neighbor against whom they need erect no safeguards, and whose interests in the Far East are practically identical with their own. I am not now hinting at an alliance: that we know would be foreign to the policy of both countries. The United States and Japan have, however, the same deep concern in the unrestricted development of commerce in the Far East; and now that the United States is about to enter a sphere where no rival holds by right a higher place, and yet where America has so long permitted others to take the lead, public opinion in Japan regards the step as an added guarantee against the usurpation by any Power of any part of a field of enterprise where all are entitled to compete.

So much for Japan's attitude. On the part of the United States it is to be hoped there will be the same candid recognition of the importance of mutual interests. Thus far no divergence of opinion has even momentarily interrupted the cordial relations of the two countries. The Hawaiian incident is happily closed, and Japan has cheerfully acquiesced in the result; feeling assured that the rights which her Government sought to conserve will not suffer because of the frank and friendly interchange of views which occurred on the subject of annexation. An attempt was made during the pendency of that question to prejudice the people of this country against Japan on account of Japanese emigration to Hawaii. The motive was as obvious as unjustifiable. The Japanese as a race are not an emigrating people. Hawaii

has received by far the largest number of Japanese emigrants who ever went abroad to any one country ; and it can hardly be claimed that thirty thousand people at most, within a period of twelve years, is a large proportion of emigrants out of a population of over forty millions.

Moreover, this emigration took place under unusual circumstances, through the desire and the direct intervention of the Hawaiian Government, and in accordance with specific treaty stipulations. I only mention the subject in this place because it has been attempted in some quarters to prove, from the example of Hawaii, that the United States is in danger from Japanese immigration. No assertion could be more mischievously incorrect. There is nothing in Japanese immigration to this country which offers the slightest menace. It has always been small ; and there is no prospect of an increase either in the near or the remote future. Agitation on the subject has, consequently, no reasonable foundation, and can serve no useful purpose. Japan asks for her people in this country no rights that are not accorded to other strangers ; and the effort to represent that their presence is harmful to the interests of Americans can only be regarded as the expression of narrow and selfish views. It cannot be reasonably feared that such views will ever find definite expression in American public policy. Self-interest, if nothing else, would prevent that. The Government and the people of the United States have always shown that they appreciated the friendship of Japan. Now that the nation stands on the verge of one of the most important crises in its history, and when it is about to enter upon a career which will make closer relations with Japan not so much a choice as a necessity, there can be no danger of such a mistake as the needless sacrifice of that friendship. The friends of Japan have no fear on that account ; feeling confident that the relations of the two peoples will in the future be even more cordial, if that be possible, than in the past.

New Japan, the nation about to enjoy the fruition of labors and sacrifices which this country has done so much to lighten, and the United States, planting its flag for the first time on distant shores, have much to gain by mutual trust and helpfulness. And not only they, but others weaker than themselves may profit by their friendship. The example of two such nations presenting a firm front to aggression may very well serve as a warning to others less scrupulous in a part of the world where so much is heard of aggression. D. W. STEVENS.

THE EDUCATED NEGRO AND MENIAL PURSUITS.

THIRTY years have passed since the Negro was made a freeman and a citizen. In these years he has demonstrated to the world at large that he has mental capacity sufficient to cope with a rigid curriculum of studies; that he has industry amounting to thrift, as shown by the Census statistics of the wealth of the colored population; that he is fully as law-abiding as the rest of mankind, not prone to indulge in strikes, to join mobs, to incite riots or become either anarchist or socialist; that he is both brave and patriotic; in short, that while he is by no means a saint, neither is he the worst element of the nation.

Although this has been proved by figures that cannot be disputed, yet questions about the race are constantly arising. The truth is that, in some form or other, the Negro is ever in the public eye. There is one question, however, that confronts the student of economics and sociology,—the question relating to the means by which a livelihood is earned by the educated colored man or woman;—and while this, too, has many sides, one particular phase of it so presents itself that other phases are lost sight of. Still there is an inter-relation that will not admit of discussion of this phase without incidentally at least referring to others.

The particular question may be and is put squarely in this form: "Why is it that so many young colored men and women, after having acquired a high-school or college education, follow menial pursuits?" The question is pertinent, as in fact are all questions which touch a truth. This one is broad as well as pertinent. It cannot afford to be ignored. It suggests much that has to do with the position of the race before the world. It raises many other questions that reach out along several lines of life. It indicates that, despite unparalleled progress in many ways, the race must be perpetually on guard.

But let us see, first of all, whether there is such a broad basis of fact as the question would indicate. Is it really the educated Negro, the graduate, that is found so largely in menial pursuits? A reasonable doubt may be thrown upon the implied assertion, by a reference to some statistics. Taking up the catalogues of two institutions which may be said to represent most fairly Negro higher education and its results, we

find in one,—a college in the North largely controlled by colored men and largely taught by colored teachers,—the following facts; viz., out of three hundred graduates from courses ranging from normal, through theological, scientific, and classical, not more than twelve are known to have followed menial pursuits. These graduates are teachers, ministers, secretaries, in the employ of the Government as diplomats, chaplains, postmasters, clerks, mail-carriers, etc., or taking post-graduate courses; while many of the girls are mistresses of their own homes. In the other catalogue, representing a leading school for the race in the South, out of one hundred and fifty graduates not one is found who is in any position other than one far removed from menial occupation. Though without actual statistics before me regarding other schools, yet my personal knowledge of many is such that I feel safe in saying that the proportion of their graduates returning to menial pursuits is at any rate no greater than that found in the institutions I have cited.

There is another view which may be taken of the matter. It is doubtless true that many a graduate desiring to study for a particular profession, or to pursue higher courses, finds himself where the state of his exchequer will not allow him to proceed. Then, for the end in view, the quickest, easiest way for him to replenish it is by some work he knows how to do, which will bring ready returns, and to which he need not be bound longer than to satisfy these needs. It is no reflection on the colored youth that those ways are largely menial: it is simply a reflection on the civilization that holds him so largely to such ways. But that is another topic, which we shall reach in answering the basic question. In such a course the colored boy or girl is not alone; as we find even the poor white boy or girl doing the same at times, though not nearly so often, because of this very civilization to which I have referred. But a careful study will show that the colored youth—no more than the white youth who has such an end in view—does not remain wedded to such pursuits. The writer knows of one recent case that may be taken as a typical one in respect to the Negro. A young medical graduate of a Northern first-class medical college turned his knowledge of the duties of a waiter to advantage at a large gathering in one of our leading cities, in order that he might provide himself with means to take him to Texas, where he purposes to practise his profession. We know he will succeed. No: the Negro boys and girls, as a rule, if found engaged in such pursuits, do not continue to follow them.

There is still another standpoint from which to look at this matter.

The colored youth knows and appreciates the value set upon education by the world at large, and especially by the cultured classes with whom he may be thrown in contact. The colored youth is charged with being imitative. Be that as it may, knowing and appreciating the value the world sets on education, there have been instances where he has posed in a borrowed character, and has practised imposition upon those whose short acquaintance with him would not render him liable to exposure. Knowing his public, he has taken an unfair advantage of the unwary philanthropist, or philosophical social economist, and has led him to think that the youth who has been wielding his razor, passing his soup, polishing his russets, carrying his valise, or sweeping the halls, is a graduate because he takes pains to let fall the statement that he "finished at Oberlin." Whether Oberlin *college* or *public school*, or what interpretation is to be placed upon the word "finished," is not always ascertained.

But let us return to our first question, and analyze the supposable situation upon which it is predicated. Thereby we may perhaps furnish an answer that shall at least vindicate the Negro from the charge that his higher education is a mistake, that it is not appreciated at its true worth, that he does not know what to do with it, and that he turns to the "flesh-pots" naturally.

On the hypothesis that the supposedly educated Negro youth does seek to be waiter, caterer, bellboy, porter, bootblack, newsboy, chambermaid, or what not, in the list of callings termed menial, is it a matter of choice or a matter of necessity? If it can be proved to be the former there can be but one view to take of the case; viz., that a thousand-dollar education has been wasted upon a ten-dollar boy or girl. In such a case no inner compelling force is in existence to make the subject mount higher. There is nothing to cause that one to "break the bar of invidious circumstance." There are in every race some such who may be prodded up and on, but in whom, when the prod is removed, lower tastes reassert themselves, the dust triumphs over the "divinity within," and the person sinks into the mire from which he was once raised.

But, if it is a matter of necessity, it is quite another thing. I take the stand that, so far as statistics and experience go to prove anything, the majority of such cases are pushed to this extremity by necessity. This is so far true that, taking it into consideration with all that it implies, it is not only a matter of curiosity to the thinking white man, but is a matter of the deepest perplexity and concern to every thoughtful mem-

ber of the colored race. It is a matter of moment as to how the colored educated girl or boy shall make a livelihood. It goes so far that even university-trained negroes, when facing the situation, look dubiously upon the long years spent in preparation, and ask themselves in hours of discouragement, "Cui bono?" When such a man, mentally equipped with the wealth of education, finds influence the most potent factor in obtaining recognition where he can put his talents to use; when he sees that fitness so frequently plays only a small part in obtaining positions which he has studied hard and faithfully to fill; that barter is not confined to business solely, he questions himself seriously, as he finds he must either turn to work from which he shrinks, or beg or starve. And here I may say that the colored beggar is seldom seen, as also is the colored tramp. Is it because the Negro prefers to work at anything rather than take up these *rôles*? And, if so, is he lazier than his white brother? These are questions well worth considering.

With the conviction that the situation of the educated Negro as a menial, when found in such a position, is most largely one of necessity, let us see why it is so. The Negro boy or girl who has pursued an educational course to completion is in the most literal sense thrown out into the world to sink or swim. Let us look at this world into which a colored youth is thrown. Let us contrast his condition with that of his white schoolmate, and see if we can find a reason for the necessity that confronts him at almost every turn.

Why does he not go into an office, learn his father's business, become a merchant, a business man of some sort, or a clerk. Why does he not lead a life of leisure? Why does he not find himself called to the editor's chair, to the presidency of a college, to a professorship, or to a diplomatic position? The colored youth teaches and preaches; but such positions are limited both in number and in scope. He must do something else. Few offices are open to him; and these are besieged. Sometimes he gets a place as clerk, secretary, typewriter, stenographer; more often the only vacancy for him is that of janitor or doorkeeper. He may perhaps study law; but that brings him no income unless he plays the part of the lawyer's office-boy while so studying. As to learning his father's business,—if, fortunately, his father has been able to provide for him thus far, it is usually the case that it has been at the cost of much self-denial on the part of the parent. The father seldom has a paying business into which he can take his son or daughter. When he has, the graduate does not take to menial work.

Again, to become a man of business calls for capital as well as brains;

but every educated man is not cut out for a business life. Inclination and adaptability are to be considered here as elsewhere. Travel is out of the question, as a rule, because of lack of means; and the same lack precludes the possibility of the Negro's living a life of scholarly leisure. Should he wield a brilliant, trenchant pen, he can expect his talents to find recognition only as he enters the army of reporters. This he does at times; but a chair in the editor's sanctum is seldom for him. Though he may be a graduate and a post-graduate, he cannot expect the presidency of any but a Negro college. The majority of such positions are held by white men; and the professorships follow largely along the same line. Only the inferior appointments—tutor, instructor, etc.—may possibly be his. The fact that he is a specialist, a post-graduate, makes little difference. The same holds true in regard to diplomatic positions: only minor appointments are his.

When it comes to considering the possibility of a life of leisure, what shall be said? One of luxurious idleness is, happily for the race, out of the question; and a negro tramp, as I have said, is a *rara avis*. As for the enforced idleness of a felon's cell, the fact is that the educated Negro is very seldom a criminal—"Smoking Flax" and such atrocious misrepresentations to the contrary notwithstanding. Unfortunately some are lazy; but the vice of laziness is not peculiarly the Negro's. If the Negro youth starts out in law or medicine or business he has an exceptionally uphill task. The conditions are, however, growing better in these lines; for the race has more confidence in men of its own color than it once had. The colored lawyer, editor, dentist, physician, and grocer are all better patronized than formerly. It is all a matter of growth; and until a certain healthy maturity comes there will be the blighting influence of discouragement.

These, then, are reasons why the educated Negro youth does not do the things that the educated white youth does so largely. If he becomes pessimistic and thinks it all a mistake—this education he has gained at such an expense of pains and time—and should turn to a trade as a last resort for a livelihood, he finds himself again balked. Trades-unions have shut their doors; and the Labor party has see-sawed so much on the question of his admittance that it is difficult to know where it stands. Here and there he may succeed in attaching himself to a master-workman who will give him work and teach him the trade; but this is the exception. Because of these conditions there are many who, seeing only this phase of life, make the unqualified assertion that the Negro was vastly better off during the Slavery *régime*, when the Negro master-

workman was no rarity. But there is light ahead in this respect. Such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee, with their magnificent equipment of industrial shops, are helping to solve this part of the problem. They will give the Negro the knowledge. He must then push out and compete for the work.

But the dark side of the situation is such that it has prompted many to propound other questions, though not always with the humanitarian motive: "Why waste higher education thus? Why not give the Negro industrial training exclusively? Why not give him a pick instead of Latin and Greek?" The answer is, that higher education is not wasted on the race, no matter what facts are found as to his condition brought about by his environment. These facts were, however, to be confronted at some time, and the situation thoroughly canvassed; necessitating careful thought as to how it might be rendered better. It is no more wasted than it would be on white boys and girls, some of whom, with similar advantages, follow pursuits more or less menial in character. It is not wasted, because, even if done from necessity, there is the hope of a future for other boys and girls—a future with better conditions, I prophesy, when the experiences of those enduring the hardships and discomforts of the present situation will be for the advantage of coming generations.

If life is not to be looked upon wholly as a bread-and-butter existence, as our greatest and best philosophers continually assert, there is to be noted the uplifting influence in that home where the educated Negro youth is to be found, though conditions may force the boy or girl into menial walks. That home is the better, the more refined, for the education of some of its members. The race realizes this. It is not pessimistic at heart, though the outlook at times seems gloomy. The people will continue to clamor for the higher education; and the educated porter will heroically help younger brothers and sisters to its advantages, in the hope that there will be found a footing for some one of them, though his own has not been made secure. It becomes an aspiration that is ennobling to the highest degree. Then, who shall say that the educated youth may not bring to his menial task, if found in it, something higher and better out of himself that will have both a subjective and an objective influence?

Though conditions exist that may force the youth into such positions, the case does not present an utterly hopeless aspect; and certainly no friend of the race should become so impressed by it as to find in it an argument against higher education for the Negro. The race must have

higher education, just as it must also have industrial training. But good judgment must be used. It does not follow that every boy should be forced into the ranks of higher education, any more than that every one should be taught a trade alone. President Edward C. Mitchell, of Leland University, in an address to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, in May, 1896, answered those who labor under such false impressions in the following words, which cover the whole situation:

"Let us teach him what our colleges and universities were founded to teach. Let us teach him the only thing left him to teach. Let us teach the only thing the Negro cannot do as well for himself. Let us teach the thing which the experience of ages and the matured judgment of all true educators have decided to be essential for the full development of manhood. Let us teach the Negro what he is and what he is as God made him in his physical and mental structure. Let us teach him what the world is that God has made for him, with all its elements and powers and forces,—in short let us give him such glimpses of the whole range of science as shall tax his powers to the utmost, while it takes the conceit out of him and brings him nearer to the supreme discovery of Socrates, that he knows nothing."

Let us continue to teach him thus, and trust to the broader views, the wider philanthropy, the higher civilization, to leave the avenues of life's higher work open to him as to others; and then, with justice done, let him rise or fall on his own merits,—his inclination or disinclination to do or to be. With no barriers erected, we should soon listen in vain for even the echo of the questions that the present conditions force upon us.

But, after all, with the knowledge that the whole trend of these thirty-odd years has been upward, and that there has been at least some growth in culture, refinement, wealth, and intellectual achievements, would it not be well to leave these lower walks of life and to ask, "How many of the educated Negroes are following the higher paths?" Would not this question be well worth an answer? Would not the answer be of greater value to the sociologist?

W. S. SCARBOROUGH.

JOURNALISM : ITS REWARDS AND OPPORTUNITIES.

ONE of the commonest of man's frailties is his tendency to disparage the profession or business which he has voluntarily chosen as a permanent occupation. The man who does not sooner or later become impressed with the notion that he might have achieved greater success in some calling other than the one he has chosen, is a man of exceptional solidity of temperament, or enjoys the rich blessing of having been endowed with but one talent and with the good sense to select the one vocation for which that talent fitted him. The tendency to depreciate one's vocation is, perhaps, more pronounced among journalists than in any other department of professional endeavor.

It is true that the pecuniary rewards of journalism are inadequate. The salaries are not commensurate with the exacting character of its daily requirements. Editorial and reportorial duties call for a high order of mental equipment, for uncommon versatility and initiative, and for unflagging continuity of interest and application. Journalism involves a greater mental strain than any other profession. But, while the inadequacy of its earnings is conceded, it is my belief that the value of journalism as a profession should not be measured solely by the salaries paid to writers or editors. A just estimate of journalism as a vocation must, in my opinion, comprehend a broader survey of its possibilities. One must take into account the numberless opportunities which it offers to young men of talent and attainments. As a stepping-stone to more profitable occupations, journalism may well claim the serious attention of educated and ambitious men.

That the tendency to depreciate journalism as a life vocation is most pronounced among those employed on the metropolitan newspapers, where salaries are most attractive, is doubtless due to the peculiar exactions imposed upon those who fill the columns of these journals. Journalism in the larger cities is certainly a prolific breeder of pessimists. It fosters the destructive and reactionary forces of human nature.

Unfortunately it is the business of some of the writers in a certain school of journalism to ridicule society, to lampoon hypocrisy, to jeer at conventionality, to expose pretenders, to uncover corruption, to demolish

idols, and—quite too often—to satirize the honest, the simple, or the pure. To follow a profession that makes such demands upon talent and genius, naturally tends toward the development of a sordid mind,—one that sees very little good in anything, especially in the profession which seems to require a highly developed faculty for discovering the bad qualities only of the human race. It is the character of these exactions, arising from a perverted conception of journalism, that induces members of the profession to indulge in frequent jeremiads over its alleged inadequacies of opportunity and compensation.

“Is journalism, *i.e.*, the work of collecting news, writing editorials, and furnishing correspondence for daily newspapers, worthy the serious attention of educated young men seeking a permanent occupation that will yield an income sufficient for present needs and the necessary provision for old age?” Mr. Avenel, in the May FORUM, endeavors to prove the negative of this proposition by instituting comparisons which I regard as fundamentally fallacious. In supporting his contention, that journalism compares unfavorably, from the standpoint of pecuniary rewards, with other learned professions, Mr. Avenel commits the usual error of citing the professions of law and medicine, instead of the occupations that command fixed salaries. It is claimed by many, indeed, and with much reason, that journalism is not a profession; that it is a mercantile business, pure and simple. Under this classification, the actual writers, reportorial and editorial, could not be designated as journalists.

Without going into a discussion of the modern meaning of the word “journalism,” I think it will be generally conceded that the business of making newspapers has not yet advanced to that point where it may be properly characterized as a “learned profession,” in the sense that it requires a collegiate education or university training to practise it. No man can practise law, medicine, dentistry, or pharmacy in the State of Illinois without a permit from the State, which is issued only upon a diploma or other documentary proof that the applicant has received the requisite technical training at some institution maintained for the specific purpose. The man who should attempt to practise dental surgery without a permit from the State Board of Dental Surgery, or to practise medicine without a certificate from the State Board of Health, would be promptly arrested as a dangerous impostor. In the profession of law, admission to the bar is secured only after passing an examination which requires technical knowledge of the law and familiarity with court practice. It is a serious misdemeanor in most States to compound medicines without a certificate from the State Board of Pharmacy; and no

reputable druggist will employ a clerk who is not a registered pharmacist, or, in other words, is not a regular graduate of a school of pharmacy. Ordination to the ministry, in those denominations which have commanding influence in the Christian world, is also conditioned upon a high standard of scholastic attainment, as well as demonstrated proofs of consecration.

But the State imposes no conditions of scholastic attainment or technical knowledge upon the practice of journalism. The man who assumes the responsibility of moulding public opinion, of measuring the capacities of men, of discussing the problems of statecraft, science, society, or religion, recognizes no statutory restraints except the law of libel,—and even this can safely be disregarded in many States by journalists of no financial responsibility. The State requires no certification of moral or mental equipment for the practice of a profession which is capable of doing more harm to society and the State than any other calling in the whole wide range of human endeavor. A newspaper writer is not required, as a safeguard against poisoning or polluting the body politic, to graduate as a Doctor of Journalism.

No one denies the value of a collegiate education in the modern profession of journalism. It requires no argument to show that a profession which has for its field the entire domain of human thought has greater need of scholastic attainment and liberal culture than a vocation which imposes the limitations of a specialty. The wider the range of mental acquisition on the part of an editorial writer or reporter, the greater the facility for that embellishment and that diversification which enable a writer to lift his work above the commonplace, and thus to appeal to a constantly enlarging constituency of readers. While it is true, that the lack of that university literary training which enables a writer to enrich his daily productions with bright allusion and apt metaphor can be largely supplied by much reading and wide travel, there is little dissent among newspaper men from the general proposition that, while college training is not yet a *sine qua non* of success in modern journalism, it is a fact that such a preparation, combined with a natural aptitude for writing and with a certain amount of practical training in what is known as "newspaper style," supplies the best equipment for a first-class newspaper man. Journalism needs more college men. The percentage of college graduates among newspaper writers is now larger than at any previous time in the history of journalism, and is constantly on the increase. It is a fact, however, that many of the most brilliant writers and most capable all-round journalists in this country are not college

men; many of them having received nothing more than a high-school education.

Under these conditions, it is manifestly unfair and illogical to compare the rewards of the business of news-gathering and editorial writing with the earnings of the learned professions of law and medicine. A comparison of this kind will be allowable when the State surrounds the business of instructing and advising the common people with the same safeguards that are thrown around the professions of law, medicine, pharmacy, theology, dentistry, and pedagogy. So long as the State permits any political adventurer or irresponsible scribbler, without certificate of qualification, to practise journalism,—and thus to become a monitor of public ethics, an instructor of the people upon all questions affecting their political and moral obligations, and a purveyor of news that is sold with absolute disregard as to its effect upon the State, society, public sentiment, or private reputation,—it cannot be contended that such a calling is a learned profession.

Moreover, the salaries of newspaper writers are fixed. The method of compensation is the same as in stores or factories. The income of the lawyer or the doctor is governed by the extent of his practice. He hangs out his shingle; and his rewards, though generally commensurate with his talents, his training, his industry, and his success, are quite often more a matter of tactful advertisement of his capabilities than of superior professional skill. It would be just as fair to try to prove that bookkeeping is a very unattractive and unprofitable occupation, by citing the fact that the income of a good lawyer or physician is more than the salary of a bookkeeper. No man learns bookkeeping with the expectation of deriving from it an income equal to the earnings of a successful lawyer or doctor. Neither does anyone enter journalism with that expectation; although it is a fact that thousands of lawyers and doctors in the larger cities do not make as much as the salary of an editorial writer.

What are the opportunities of reward presented to educated young men by the profession of journalism? A proper point of view takes one outside the question of weekly stipends. Certainly no sane man enters journalism expecting to acquire a competency through the salary which he may command. The salary of the managing editor of the largest daily paper in America will not enable him to acquire property or provide against the future to any considerable extent. The same is true of nearly all other salaried positions. The possibilities of such a profession must not be measured by the contents of the pay-envelope.

In my opinion, the most attractive fields of profitable usefulness opened up by the pursuit of journalism are politics and the business of publishing. Those who have tried to show reasons why journalists should abstain from active participation in politics, and why they should refuse to enter the contests for public office, have never advanced an argument that will stand the test of logic or common sense. If a journalist, in the pursuit of his vocation, advocates certain governmental policies which may be embodied in the creed of a party, there is no reason why he should decline to accept a position that will enable him to have a part in the practical application of those policies when they are ratified by the people at the polls. The profession of journalism requires extended knowledge of politics and familiarity with the theory and practice of government. The successful journalist must of necessity be a constant student of national issues and party politics. He need not abandon the profession of journalism to enter a public service for which years of study and training have preëminently fitted him. Politics and journalism go together: they are inseparable. To say that politics is unworthy of the active participation of educated or literary men, is to say that the science of government should be turned over to men who are disqualified for the pursuit of any occupation requiring culture or mental attainment. To say that a profession which claims the prerogatives of criticism, as well as the right to suggest policies and create issues, should not be represented in the public service, is to contend that the man who frames the policies of a victorious party, and interprets the popular will upon public measures, is not to be trusted with the task of incorporating those policies into law, or with the enforcement of the popular decree after it has been registered in a constitutional manner.

As a matter of fact, the average journalist is better fitted for the public service than the representative of any other profession. There is no reason why politics or legislation should be regarded as the exclusive domain of the lawyer. There are a great many reasons why the business of lawmaking should not be entirely controlled by those who make money out of the practice of law. If public office disqualifies a journalist for impartial and fair-minded discussion of public measures, then the lawyer who is elected to Congress is disqualified from practice in any court. There is no reason why a journalist should expend the energies of a lifetime in helping men to secure public office, when he is himself better qualified, by experience, education, and training, for the public service than most politicians. The proverbial ingratitude of pol-

iticians should admonish newspaper writers that their surest hope of reward for party service is in active and aggressive participation in the contests for those places in the Federal service that are usually claimed by incompetents who have no especial fitness for them, and who have no claim upon the party, outside that which is established by corrupt manipulation of caucuses and conventions and which, to the disgrace of modern politics, is too often recognized.

Mr. George W. Smalley calls attention to the prominence of journalists in French politics. In the French Republic journalism appears to be a certain avenue to the responsibilities of statecraft and diplomacy. Nearly every Frenchman eminent in civil life since the Revolution began his career by writing for the press. Thiers, Guizot, and Gambetta were among the more notable French journalists who achieved distinction in politics.

While American journalists have been slow to appreciate and take advantage of their political opportunities, the last decade has witnessed a gratifying increase in the number of newspaper men in the public service. The Administration of President Harrison brought into the Federal service a larger number of trained and accomplished journalists than any previous Administration; and the Administration of President McKinley has evidenced an equally generous recognition of the men who, more than any others, were responsible for the "McKinley Movement" that swept over the country. President Harrison appointed as his private secretary Elijah Halford, then managing editor of the "Indianapolis Journal," a man of marked ability and ripe attainments, who had a singular gift for embodying State and national issues in party platforms. It was his pen that framed the forceful and striking appeal of the Indiana delegation in behalf of the nomination of Mr. Harrison. As a further recognition of the power and influence of the "Indianapolis Journal," Mr. Harrison gave its proprietor, Col. John C. New, the post of Consul-General at London, the best-paying office in the gift of our Government.

President McKinley followed the example of his Republican predecessor and appointed an eminent journalist, Mr. J. Addison Porter, proprietor and editor of the "Hartford Post," to a new office, that of "The Secretary to the President," now one of the most important positions in the gift of the National Executive. Although the present Administration is not yet two years old, the number of journalists drafted into executive, diplomatic, and consular positions is already large. Among them I recall the following: Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General; Perry

S. Heath, First Assistant Postmaster-General; J. L. Bristow, Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General; Frank H. Vanderlip, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; George E. Roberts, Director of the Mint; J. E. Wilkie, Chief of Secret Service; Wilbur F. Wakeman, Appraiser, New York; John K. Gowdy, Consul-General, Paris; Col. Chas. Page Bryan, Minister to Brazil; James Boyle, Consul, Liverpool; Rufus Fleming, Consul, Glasgow; W. P. Smyth, Consul, Hull, England; Col. W. R. Holloway, Consul-General, St. Petersburg; Oscar Durante, Consul, Catania, Italy; C. B. Hart, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Bogota, Colombia; Frank H. Mason, Consul-General, Frankfort, Germany; Francis B. Loomis, Minister to Venezuela; George G. Matthews, Consul, Para, Brazil; H. W. Diederich, Consul, Magdeburg, Germany; Major J. L. Bittinger, Consul-General, Montreal, Canada; Albion W. Tourgee, Consul, Bordeaux, France; John Hay, Secretary of State; Henry A. Castle, Auditor, Post-Office Department; and William Penn Nixon, Collector of the Port of Chicago. The appointment of Mr. A. D. Barlow as Consul-General at the City of Mexico was asked for by his brother-in-law, the publisher and editor of the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat"; and the appointment was made in recognition of the influence of that journal in the Southwest.

The late Major Moses P. Handy, who was appointed by the President as United States Special Commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1900, was one of the best-known journalists in this country; while the appointment of Hon. Whitelaw Reid, of the New York "Tribune," to be the Special Representative of the President at the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in London and, later, his appointment as a member of the Commission to arrange a treaty of peace with Spain, were most graceful and fitting tributes to the dignity and power of American journalism. I have no means at hand of ascertaining the number of journalists and newspaper writers who have been appointed postmasters under the present Administration; but the First Assistant Postmaster-General estimates that there are from three to five thousand. In second- and third-class offices, at least one-half of the postmasters are newspaper men.

After an experience of more than twenty-seven years in the newspaper business, and after having closely watched through twenty years of his life (about fifteen of which were spent at the national capital) the careers of many journalists, Mr. Perry S. Heath, the present First Assistant Postmaster-General, gives it as his opinion that "no man can rise higher through any channel than through the channels of journalism."

In the biographies of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, published from year to year in the "Congressional Directory," appear references to the fact that this or that Senator or Representative was at one time a printer or an editor. James G. Blaine always pointed to the fact that he had been a newspaper reporter, and then an editor, with greater pride than he did to any other in his history. Senators Gallinger, Hansbrough, Hawley, and possibly a dozen others in the upper branch of Congress, also take more pride in referring to their experiences at the printer's case, or the reporter's table, or the editor's desk, than to any other periods of their lives.

I am told that in the smoking-room of the lower House of Congress there frequently congregate fifteen or twenty Members, who regale one another with their early experiences as country or city editors, reporters, or type-setters. The same authority states that printers, reporters, editors, and newspaper publishers have furnished a larger percentage of successful public men than any other trade or profession, with the possible exception of the law. Further, that during the past quarter-century journalists have been among the very brightest and most influential of politicians and statesmen.

Congressman Amos J. Cummings, of New York, gives it as his opinion that a journalist succeeds easier in politics than in any other profession. Among the members of the Fifty-Fifth Congress who are now, or have been at some time in their lives, journalists or newspaper writers, may be mentioned: Representatives Willis Brewer, of the fifth Alabama district; Levin Irving Handy, of Delaware; Robert R. Hitt, of the ninth Illinois district; Charles B. Landis, of the ninth Indiana district; Samuel M. Clark, of the first Iowa district; George D. Perkins, of the eleventh Iowa district; Nelson Dingley, of the second Maine district; William E. Barrett, of the seventh Massachusetts district; Samuel J. Barrows, of the tenth Massachusetts district; Joel P. Heatwole, of the third Minnesota district; Charles F. Cochran, of the fourth Missouri district; Champ Clark, of the ninth Missouri district; Richard Bartholdt, of the tenth Missouri district; David H. Mercer, of the second Nebraska district; Amos J. Cummings, of the tenth New York district; George B. McClellan, of the twelfth New York district; Lemuel E. Quigg, of the fourteenth New York district; George N. Southwick, of the twentieth New York district; Rowland B. Mahany, of the thirty-second New York district; William R. Ellis, of the second Oregon district; James R. Young, of the fourth Pennsylvania district; Ernest F. Acheson, of the twenty-fourth Pennsylvania district; Freeman Knowles

and John E. Kelley, Representatives-at-large from South Dakota; Walter P. Brownlow, of the First Tennessee district; Henry R. Gibson, of the second Tennessee district; E. W. Carmack, of the tenth Tennessee district; Sydney P. Epes, of the fourth Virginia district; Jacob Yost, of the tenth Virginia district; also Senators Hansbrough, of North Dakota, Hawley, of Connecticut, and Pritchard, of North Carolina.

This list might be extended by the addition of the names of hundreds of journalists who have been prominently identified with State and municipal politics; but those already given will suffice to demonstrate the capacity of newspaper men for all departments of the public service.

If it be true that the future of journalism as a profession for men of literary taste is menaced by the increasing domination of the counting-room, I see no reason why the man who is broadly equipped for newspaper work should not turn his attention to the counting-room. If the publishing and advertising departments of the business offer the greatest promise of adequate rewards for mental application and journalistic knowledge, the resourceful newspaper writer can soon find a way to enter those fields of activity. I do not accept the stereotyped contention that continuous service in editorial or reportorial departments disqualifies a man for the commercial branches of journalism. If a newspaper writer improves his rare opportunities for fellowship and for wide contact with men in all departments of professional and industrial activity, there is no reason why he should not turn the experience and knowledge thus acquired to profitable account as a publisher or advertising manager. In the cities of, say, 20,000 to 50,000 population, the successful journalist must of necessity be an all-round newspaper man, thoroughly familiar with all the departments. He is generally able to talk advertising, to write advertising, and, if necessary, to turn out a column of editorial matter on short notice. He must be able to preside at a political convention, to make a good speech when occasion demands it, and to hold his own against the persistent advertising agencies which make continuous and ingenious assaults upon his advertising rates. To do all this successfully, requires versatility of talent, incomparable tact, and an unfailing faculty for gauging all sorts and conditions of men. The departmental writer or editor on the metropolitan press is generally deficient in this training; but even he is not debarred by any inexorable law from ceasing to be a writing automaton.

The ambition to become a publisher is as legitimate for the editorial writer or reporter as is the ambition of the prescription clerk to become

a general pharmacist. The income of the publisher is dependent upon the extent to which he can market his wares. He is a trader in the product of the brains of journalists. His business is to buy the product of editorial and reportorial industry, to put them on raw paper, and to sell the combined commodities at a profit. If the work of furnishing brains for newspapers becomes unprofitable, let the writers invade the commercial branches of journalism and become buyers and sellers.

If the Goths and Vandals of the counting-room destroy the *prestige* and profit of the writing end of the business, it will be the fault of the writers themselves. There is no reason why the man who daily fills the editorial and reportorial columns of a newspaper should obscure his personality behind that of the publisher. If this is contrary to the ethics of modern journalism, it is time the code was changed. The man who writes should assert himself. He should not become a literary recluse or an editorial scullion. He should cultivate men of affairs, and get in touch with the people. The men who do the writing have the power to be at the front in all lines of journalistic endeavor. If they hesitate to wield it, the profession of newspaper writing will soon cease to have any attractions for men of culture and literary attainments, and will be turned over entirely to hack writers and penny-a-liners.

The features of modern journalism which conspire to repel men of education and individuality are the tendencies toward impersonalism and "padding." The "blanket-sheets," which are padded with sensational stories, not only vitiate the public taste, but create a demand for the work of the hack writer, who writes for ridiculously small compensation. The average price for the stuff which fills the padded pages of the Sunday editions is seldom over \$6 a column, a sum that could hardly command the services of men who have enough mental equipment to write anything worthy of the serious attention of intelligent people.

We need a renaissance of the old-time journalism, which was the clarion voice of vigorous personality. Impersonalism means irresponsible journalism. Irresponsible newspaper writing means decadence of power and the gradual decline of a profession that should be paramount in its range of influence over all human endeavor. Every editorial and every article in a newspaper should be signed by the writer. The people who read newspapers should be able to identify every editorial utterance with a robust and potential personality which stands for the best attainment in some particular department of knowledge. This means individualization and specialization, both indispensable elements in any

line of successful professional endeavor. The lack of these essential elements of responsibility is the cause of the decline of the modern newspaper in its influence upon the people, particularly in politics and legislation. Unless journalism is saved from mercenary impersonalism, it must ultimately degenerate into a mere bargain-counter sale of advertising space and irresponsible narratives of daily events.

It is safe to presume that the man who enters journalism as a permanent occupation does so because he has ideas and convictions, and believes that he has a natural aptitude for expressing them in the kind of English that is adapted to the requirements of the modern newspaper. In other words, he adopts journalism not as a commercial or financial venture, but as an intellectual calling. There is more money in the manufacture of chewing-gum than there is in the profession of journalism. There is also more money in the manufacture of pills than in the practice of medicine; but the great discoveries in surgery and therapeutics were not made by the jobbers in pills. We must survey the opportunities and rewards of journalism from a higher point of view than the weekly pay-roll. In the scope of its activities; in the expanse of its field of political attainment; in the richness of those compensations that come from a realization of the power to exalt virtue, to uncover hypocrisy, to expose fraud, to redress wrong, to promote justice, to encourage high thinking, and to touch humanity in all its impulses, aspirations, and achievements, the profession of journalism is incomparable among the vocations of men.

TRUMAN A. DE WEESE.

RECENT CONSTRUCTION OF THE FEDERAL ANTI-TRUST ACT.

ON July 2, 1890, an Act was passed by the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," which has since been known as the Anti-Trust Act. It provides that

"every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal."

The only authority of Congress to legislate upon this subject is found in the constitutional provision that it shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. Unless, therefore, a contract, combination, or conspiracy restrains commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, or, as it is briefly described, interstate commerce, it is not within the prohibition of this Act. The statute has no relation to transactions within the boundaries of an individual State.

This rule was applied in 1894 by the Supreme Court in a suit brought by the Government under the Act.¹ By absorption of numerous other companies, a corporation had secured control throughout the country of the manufacture of refined sugar. It was claimed that this was a combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce, because it was contemplated that the refined sugar should be sold in States other than those in which it was produced. But the court held, with but one member dissenting, that the question where the sugar would ultimately be shipped was of no importance: the acquisition by this corporation of sugar refineries was merely an act done within the State where they were located, and not an act in restraint of interstate commerce, although it might indirectly affect such commerce. As the court pointed out, if that circumstance alone brought transactions within the national power, the National Government would control, to the exclusion of the States, substantially everything impor-

¹ United States *vs.* E. C. Knight Co., 156 U. S., 1.

tant in business operations and affairs. On the contrary, the court said, contracts, combinations, or conspiracies to control domestic enterprise in manufacturing, agriculture, mining, or production in all its forms, or to raise or lower prices or wages are not within the prohibition of the statute, although they may tend to restrain external as well as domestic trade. Congress did not attempt to limit and restrict the rights of corporations created by the States, or the citizens of the States, in the acquisition, control, or disposition of property, or to regulate or prescribe the price or prices at which the property or the products thereof shall be sold.

In construing this identical statute the court, therefore, held, in accordance with rules which have long been settled, that the various processes of production are antecedent to and distinct from interstate commerce; that commerce begins after production has terminated, and when the product "commences its final movement from the State of its origin to the State of its destination."¹ Restraint of this is the thing and the only thing which is prohibited by the Act of Congress.

In the case of the Trans-Missouri Freight Association,² decided in 1897, the court considered what contracts or combinations affecting interstate commerce were within this prohibition. The subject-matter involved was an agreement among a large number of railroad companies for the purpose of "establishing and maintaining reasonable rates, rules, and regulations on all freight traffic" of the parties, and containing provisions for accomplishing this purpose by their joint action. It was urged in support of the agreement that the statute was to be construed as prohibiting merely *unreasonable* restraint of trade or commerce, and that, as the agreement involved was reasonable, it was not unlawful. While some illustrations in the opinion seemed in a measure to yield to this view, still the court declined to recognize generally the reasonableness of a contract or combination in restraint of interstate commerce as the test of its lawfulness. It held that the prohibitory provisions of the Act apply to all contracts in restraint of interstate or foreign trade or commerce without exception or limitation, and are not confined to those in which the restraint is unreasonable.

These results had the approval of a bare majority of the court; while the minority expressed the view that the statute applied only to unreasonable restraints of trade.

The case of the Joint Traffic Association, decided upon October 24,

¹ Coe *vs.* Errol, 116 U. S., 517; United States *vs.* E. C. Knight Co., 156 U. S., 1, 14. ² United States *vs.* Trans-Missouri Freight Association, 166 U. S., 290.

1898, involved an agreement among a number of railroad companies "to establish and maintain reasonable and just rates, fares, rules, and regulations on State and interstate traffic," and for various purposes. The agreement differed in some respects from that contained in the case of the Trans-Missouri Association; but the court held that the differences were without importance.

In support of the agreement it was contended, among other things, that the Act, as construed in the Trans-Missouri case, was unconstitutional. The argument urged in that regard may be briefly stated. The power to regulate commerce granted to Congress by the Constitution is subject to the provision of that instrument that no person shall be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law. That provision secures to all persons freedom in the pursuit of their vocations and the use of their property, and in making such contracts or arrangements as may be necessary therefor; and this constitutional right can be limited by the legislative branch of the Government only in so far as may be required by the security or welfare of society generally. It is settled by conclusive authority that the mere fact that a contract restrains trade does not render it prejudicial to the security or welfare of society; the fact of such restraint alone, therefore, does not authorize Congress to limit the constitutional rights of liberty and property by prohibiting contracts of that character. In the Trans-Missouri case the court held that this Act of Congress applies to all contracts in restraint of interstate or foreign commerce without exception or limitation and without regard to whether they are reasonable or unreasonable. The Act is, therefore, merely an arbitrary declaration of the will of Congress that, irrespective of any considerations of the welfare or security of society, contracts of a lawful character shall be lawful no longer. As this is beyond the power of Congress, the statute violates the constitutional guaranty that no person shall be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law.

It was urged, in aid of this argument, that the effect of construing the statute as prohibiting all contracts in restraint of trade without exception or limitation would be to bring within its prohibition the great majority of business contracts or combinations, inasmuch as they restrain trade in some degree. As illustrations were suggested all organizations of mechanics engaged in the same business for the purpose of limiting the number of persons employed in the business, or of maintaining wages; the formation of a corporation to carry on any particular line of business by those already engaged therein; a contract of partner-

ship or employment between two persons previously engaged in the same line of business; the appointment of the same person by two producers to sell their goods on commission; the purchase by one wholesale merchant of the product of two producers; the lease or purchase by a farmer, manufacturer, or merchant of an additional farm, manufactory, or shop; a sale of the goodwill of a business with an agreement not to destroy its value by engaging in similar business; and a covenant in a deed restraining the use of real estate. .

The court recognized the validity of the constitutional rules above stated. It met the argument, however, by saying that contracts or combinations such as those mentioned had never been regarded as "within any legal definition" of action in restraint of trade; adding that

"the Act of Congress must have a reasonable construction, or else there would scarcely be an agreement or contract among business men that could not be said to have, indirectly or remotely, some bearing upon interstate commerce and possibly to restrain it."

The court said, further, that the effect of the decision in the *Trans-Missouri* case was not to render contracts or combinations illegal merely because they restrained trade in some remote or indirect degree; that the statute applies only to those contracts whose direct and immediate effect is a restraint upon interstate commerce, and does not apply where that effect is indirect or incidental only, or merely collateral to the main object of the agreement.

The contract in question, it was held, came within these rules; it directly affected interstate commerce by destroying competition and maintaining rates above what competition might produce; and Congress had the power to say that no contract or combination should be legal which should restrain trade and commerce by shutting out the operation of the general law of competition. The court said:

"The prohibition of such contracts may in the judgment of Congress be one of the reasonable necessities for the proper regulation of commerce; and Congress is the judge of such necessity and propriety, unless in case of a possible gross perversion of the principle the courts might be applied to for relief."

These views had the approval of the same members of the court who concurred in the *Trans-Missouri* case; while the minority still dissented.

In *Hopkins vs. United States*, decided October 24, 1898, the claim was that the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange was an illegal combination within the terms of the Anti-Trust Act. The Exchange was an association of persons engaged in selling on commission live stock consigned from other States, and remitting the proceeds to the owners. By

the practice of the Exchange, the members were somewhat restricted in their dealings with non-members; and the by-laws regulated the rates of commissions and the number and compensation of solicitors and other employees of the members, and prohibited telegraphing prepaid reports of the markets.

The court said that the Anti-Trust Act

"has reference only to that trade or commerce which exists or may exist among the several States or with foreign nations, and has no application whatever to any other trade or commerce; the contract condemned by the statute is one whose direct and immediate effect is a restraint upon that kind of commerce which is interstate; to treat as condemned by the Act all agreements under which, as a result, the cost of conducting an interstate commercial business may be increased would enlarge the application of the Act far beyond the fair meaning of the language used; there must be some direct and immediate effect upon interstate commerce in order to come within the Act."

Accordingly, the rule was laid down that facilities furnished, or services rendered, in connection with the transaction of interstate commerce are not a part of that commerce, and agreements or combinations to fix or maintain the charges for such facilities or services are not within the Anti-Trust Act. Although they may enhance the cost of transacting it, they do not relate directly to charges for its transportation, nor to any other form of interstate commerce, and are not prohibited by the statute. It was, therefore, held that in this case the business done by the members of the Exchange was merely the sale and purchase as commission merchants of live stock at Kansas City, and that its character was not affected by the fact that the larger proportion of the purchases and sales were of live stock sent into the State from other States and Territories. Where the stock came from, or where it might ultimately go after a sale or purchase, was unimportant; the services of those persons employed at the place where the cattle were sold were not a portion of interstate commerce, but were merely a local aid or facility provided for the cattle-owner; and an agreement among those who rendered the services relating to their terms was not a contract in restraint of interstate trade or commerce. The court was unanimous in reaching these results.

The construction which the Act has thus received establishes that its scope is very narrow and that few except those engaged directly in the business of interstate transportation are affected by its provisions. The statute applies to nothing save interstate commerce, which begins when the subjects thereof begin to move to their place of destination, and ends when they are sold. Local facilities or individual services incident to this operation are no part of interstate commerce, and are not covered

by the Act. It does not prevent combinations among producers even although the product is intended wholly for shipment to other States; nor does it prevent combinations among those handling the product at the place of consignment, even although it has all come from out of the State and is destined for shipment to still other States. The question affected by the Act, therefore, so far as merchandise is concerned, relates merely to the right to transport it from one State to another and to dispose of it in the latter.

What contracts or combinations restraining this right are prohibited by the Act? In the *Trans-Missouri* case, it was vigorously urged that the Act should be construed not literally, but reasonably, and that this would lead to construing it as prohibiting merely contracts coming within modern juristic definitions of the term "in restraint of trade," as embracing the feature of injury to the public welfare. The court rejected this view, and held that the Act must be construed according to its letter, and as covering all contracts in restraint of interstate or foreign commerce without exception or limitation.

Yet it seems that in the *Joint Traffic* case and the *Live Stock Exchange* case this rule has been qualified. In those cases, in answer to suggestions regarding the results of *literal* construction of the Act, the court said that the Act must receive a "*reasonable* construction," and that various contracts or combinations affecting trade are not within the statute because they are not within "any legal definition" of the term "in restraint of trade." It said, too, that while Congress had power to make regulations prohibiting restraint of interstate or foreign commerce, "in case of a possible gross perversion of the principle the courts might be applied to for relief." Still further, the court held, in the *Joint Traffic* and the *Live Stock Exchange* cases, that the statute does not apply to all contracts or combinations in restraint of interstate commerce "without exception or limitation," but merely to those which have that effect directly; that where that effect is indirect, the contracts or combinations are not within the statute. Many instances were stated of contracts or combinations of constant occurrence necessarily affecting the volume of interstate commerce or the prices of merchandise forming the subject-matter thereof; but it was said that these were not within the statute, because their effect upon interstate commerce was indirect.

In brief, then, the result of these recent cases is that, so far as merchandise is concerned, the statute affects nothing except the right to transport it from one State to another, and its sale in the latter State, and

that it protects that right only against contracts or combinations which, upon a reasonable interpretation of the Act, are in direct restraint thereof. Producers may combine to limit production or control prices; those furnishing services or facilities in the transaction of interstate commerce as above described may combine to fix the price or extent of those facilities or services; the consignees may combine to control the price of their services or the number of persons engaged in the business; but none of these combinations will be within the statute.

These results have naturally followed from the rule that the National Government has no powers save those expressed in the Constitution; for the express power granted to Congress extends to the regulation only of interstate or foreign commerce. But they make it clear that the statute can have little application save to those who are engaged in the business of carriers; inasmuch as interstate commerce consists of but little save that business. Aside from that, the Act, as now construed, like most efforts to regulate the laws of trade by statute, does not seem likely to have serious general effect. It is evident, too, how baseless is the clamor kept up in regard to the non-enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act; for the objects against which that clamor is principally directed do not come within the prohibition of the Anti-Trust Act nor within the powers of legislation conferred upon Congress by the Constitution.

DAVID WILLCOX.

GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN.—II.

IT would seem that Englishmen, after their recent experiences, would not find it difficult to abandon forever all speculations as to the possibility of instigating a Continental war. Indeed it would appear as if they should carefully avoid all appearances of such a design. Possibly many Englishmen may have been thoroughly in earnest in their desire to protect the Armenians and other Christian subjects of the Sultan against Turkish atrocities; but they should realize that we are not disposed to stand under fire because of English sympathy, and that we would rather have the Christians and Mohammedans of a Turkish island decapitate one another than see millions of Germans, Austrians, and Russians embroiled in war, and the whole continent of Europe deluged with blood.

Above all it is necessary for Great Britain to realize that her chances of inducing Central Europe to wage war for her against Russia are very slim. Although, in my opinion, Germany's Oriental interests are very considerable, they are not sufficiently pressing to warrant her acting as vanguard against Russian domination in the eastern hemisphere, in order that she may draw the chestnuts out of the fire for England. Germany can afford to be the last to fall into rank. If Englishmen believe that, by abandoning Constantinople to Russia, they will involve us in a life-and-death struggle with that Power, while they stand aside as neutrals, they are greatly mistaken. It is indeed a question of existence for Central Europe to prevent Russia from gaining a permanent footing in the Balkan States, on the Bosphorus, in the Dardanelles, in Asia Minor, and in Mesopotamia; yet the question of defence does not lie immediately with the Powers of the Triple Alliance. Even if England should abandon Constantinople and the Straits to the Russians, Central Europe need not immediately take up the sword.

As far as the Germans and Austrians are concerned, the principal gateways to and from the Orient are Salonica and the Suez Canal rather than Constantinople and the Dardanelles; and they can press forward to Salonica whenever Russia forcibly occupies Mt. Athos. Germany can wait until the crisis shall arrive when England is no longer able

to push other nations to the front, *i.e.*, in the Ægean Sea or before Alexandria. The immediate duty of German statesmanship is to hold back Austria from a premature and unnecessary attack on the Empire of the Czar.

The Germans should also have learned something in the course of the recent Oriental tangles. By our antipathy toward England we only play into the hands of Russia, which country, amid the unprofitable strife between Germany and England, laughs in her sleeve and reaps the harvest. In Athens, as formerly in Sofia, the people are in favor of the Czar. The situation in the Orient is to-day more strained, and riper for Russian *coups de main* against Turkey, than ever before. Such a condition is a menace to the peace of Europe and, consequently, to that of Germany.

Thus we see that both England and Germany have cause to ponder well the lessons they have just learned, and, instead of fostering antipathy, to devote themselves to the pursuit of high and mutual political aims. I am of the opinion that, to achieve this purpose, the same sacrifice will be necessary for both parties. Each must cast aside a great prejudice.

Englishmen believe that their colossal fleet alone will enable them to hold the Russians in check and to intimidate other nations at the same time. On the other hand, a large portion of the German people is of the opinion that the Oriental questions do not immediately affect Germany, and that, in the inevitable struggle for life and death between Russia and England, we may rest on our guns.

Each of these views, although widely accepted, is erroneous. Both nations are equally concerned in guarding against the universal dominion of Russia in the Old World; and both should pursue such a policy as would avoid a general clash of arms. This will be possible if England and the Powers of Central Europe stand prepared to assert their tremendous superiority by throwing into the balance the greatest army and the greatest navy in the world, to the end that the peace of the world may be preserved.

It is still the boast of Englishmen that their means will permit them to maintain the British fleet at such a high standard as will enable them permanently to assert their superiority over the rest of the world. But perhaps—and we Germans may say this quite unconcernedly—England is mistaken in her reckoning. The time may come when the combined fleets of France, Russia, the United States, Japan, and the Powers of the Triple Alliance may become so powerful as to take the

wind out of the British sails and to make it impossible for England to find sufficient men for her navy.

But we Germans have not the slightest reason to begrudge England a fleet which shall permanently be a match for the rest of the world. Indeed, it is just as much to our interest to have England maintain a formidable navy against France and Russia as it is to have this navy fairly counterbalanced by the fleets of Russia and France. We know that we can never wage a war upon British soil. We are therefore content, either alone or in union with other states,—whose fleets we can accommodate in the harbor of Kiel, in the North Sea, and in the Baltic Canal,—to guard the harbors and coast-line of the North and Baltic seas against a possible blockade, so that our own or other neutral merchant vessels may be protected.

We do not even fear an English war of extermination against Germany, such as was advocated a short time ago by the "Saturday Review"; for, by merely maintaining an armed neutrality on the Baltic, the Vistula, and the Danube in favor of Russia, Germany could arrange that England be menaced in Asia by a land attack from the entire military force of Russia. Consequently, there is nothing in Mr. Goschen's enlargement of the navy which can intimidate us or induce us to declare war against Russia.

Englishmen themselves should consider that Russia is well-nigh unassailable, so far as England is concerned. The transoceanic commerce of Russia will for a long time to come remain inconsiderable. England cannot therefore damage the prosperity of the Russian people. The most gigantic English fleet can scarcely blockade or destroy a few Russian harbors. At all events such a fleet could not pass over the Hindu Kush to Kandahar, or even reach the Upper Indus; nor could it sail up the Pruth, the Vistula, and the Volga, and fight land battles with naval ordnance. The great Land-Power of those Continental states whose future is also menaced by the supremacy of Russia must stand by the side of England to guard against usurpations on the part of Russia. Moreover, the fleets of the Triple Alliance would be a very valuable aid to England in that naval battle with Russia which may possibly have to be fought before Alexandria in order that the neutrality of the Suez Canal may be maintained.

On the other hand, it is clear that Germany is greatly interested in preventing Eastern Asia and the whole of Turkey from becoming the exclusive markets of France and Russia, and in forestalling all attempts to make Turkey an exclusive domain for the extension of the Slav

element to the south and west. Germany, together with Austria and Italy, must also ensure the freedom of the Suez Canal and keep Asia open for her surplus goods and population. Germany must not permit the domineering influence of Russia to penetrate to Prague, Agram, and Trieste. The Triple Alliance should be extremely solicitous to have the solution of the Oriental Question, upon the entire line from Constantinople to Peking, so conducted that the peace of the world may be maintained. This, however, is possible only so long as the Powers of the Triple Alliance have England's fleets upon their side.

Thus we see that while, in the event of Russian usurpations, Germany need not be the first to draw the sword, she is nevertheless immediately interested in the Orient; and if she has recently manifested her cognizance of this truth by the extremely opportune seizure of Kiao Chou, how much greater the necessity of preventing Turkey, the Suez Canal, and Egypt from becoming a prey to France and Russia. The fact is therefore indisputable,—assuming, of course, that England is willing to pledge herself to share advantages and sacrifices alike,—that the Oriental interests of both nations are identical.

In my opinion, a positive Anglo-German Oriental policy may be formulated as follows: The equal right of all nations to conduct intercourse with all Asiatic countries now under European guardianship excepting such only as have already become colonies of individual states, or, to use the words of Lord Salisbury, “the policy of open doors.” It only remains for all parties concerned to accept one and the same definition of the term. England would have to advocate such a policy not only in Western Asia, but in Eastern Asia as well. The privilege of “open doors” would have to be extended to all nations, including Russia, France, and North America.

Under the protection of the above policy, all nations would have to be just as independent of English as of Russian favor. They would have to be in a position to combine in order to maintain the inviolacy of the “open doors” of commerce and to ensure the freedom of the great straits of the world, should Russia endeavor to effect a *coup de main*; and, *vice versa*, they would have to combine with Russia should England endeavor to institute a similar policy. All the great sea-passages of the world, not only the Suez Canal, but also the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, according to the international proceedings of the Suez Convention, would have to remain neutral avenues, affording free passage to all naval and merchant fleets in times of peace as well as of war. Safe harbors, serving as *points d'appui* of trade and as stations for fleets, not

only in the Eastern Mediterranean, but in Eastern Asia as well, should be conceded to every nation,—harbors in the Mediterranean to Russia, and also to Germany, should the latter demand them.

The policy of annexation in particular cases, as in Tunis, Madagascar, and Ton-King, would have to be discontinued in China, Korea, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor; while the principles of the Congo Act should be extended to these territories. All the Powers should be placed in a position to fell to the ground the first who violates the policy of international parity, whether it be upon the Bosphorus, the Suez Canal, or in China. "Knock down the first who breaks the peace of the Eastern world!" Such is the interpretation which should now be given to the words spoken by the Earl of Aberdeen in 1854.

Will the English abandon themselves unreservedly to such an Oriental policy? That is the question. Should they do so, Russia and France will be unable further to carry on their colonial policy of "closed doors." They will everywhere find open markets for their own goods; but they will be unable to provoke a universal war in favor of Russian political supremacy. Should England eventually adopt a policy such as that outlined above, I hope that the German people and the German Government will not long remain averse to it. Even if Germany, thanks to its army and its army management, is still in a position—so long as it is disposed "to fear God and no one else in the world"—unaided to "front" against Russia and France at the same time, and this with excellent prospects of success, I nevertheless deem it desirable to avoid throwing the dice of war and to cultivate the works of peace.

Can a mutual Oriental policy be pursued, however, without a parallel policy in the Occident? My problem would be only half solved, were I unable to find a positive answer to this question. I have already stated that, as regards the trade in the Occident, *i.e.*, the trade with the civilized parts of the Old World and the New, Great Britain has hitherto not given the slightest cause for complaint. England has steadily maintained perfect freedom of intercourse, and has given foreign flags equal access with her own merchant vessels to all her markets. But all this may change. No one could blame England for actually closing her colossal markets in favor of her own industries and those of her colonies. In this respect, the other states have for years been ahead of her. There is already a considerable element in England to-day in favor of reserving the markets of Great Britain exclusively, or, at least preferably, for her own people. Canada not long ago took the first step. In Germany also, not only agrarian, but also commercial, Protectionism has pros-

pects of increasing influence. Possibly the further increase of German industrial duties may finally induce England to take the initial steps toward a gradual dissolution of the "Eleven Article Tariff."

The next developments of the commercial policy in the Occident must, therefore, be subjected to the closest scrutiny. They may exert a far more decisive influence than even the Oriental policy upon the relations between Germany and England. Either England will abandon her present passive policy of Free Trade, and proceed in the direction of Protectionism,—thereby increasing the antagonism on the Continent,—or she will actively pursue, in conjunction with Central Europe, a policy of free intercourse founded upon Reciprocity. In the latter case a joint procedure in the Orient would be greatly facilitated and strengthened. The intercourse between civilized countries,—more particularly between contiguous countries of the Old World, whose culture is of an older date,—is not less important than that with the Colonies and the younger economic factors in foreign parts. The greater the success attending the legitimate efforts of the younger countries of the world toward the development of their industries and trade, the greater the relative importance of the commercial relations between the countries of the Old World.

Now, there are no two groups of states in the Occident whose common interests are more closely identified with a mutual commercial policy than England, on the one hand, and, on the other, the following politically and economically closely related states; viz., Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and perhaps also the Balkan States and Roumania. A mutual, or at least a homogeneous, policy on the part of this populous group of states, extending, as it does, obliquely through Europe, is an immediate and pressing necessity, and will be a guarantee that in its relation to the rest of the world, Central Europe, in the more remote future, will not sink to the level in which we find Spain and Portugal to-day. If it be possible, in a political and commercial sense, to draw a belt around England and the Central European group from London and Glasgow to Constantinople and Salonica, such a belt should be drawn.

It follows that the principal thing is to find ways and means by which in the Occident also the doors of intercourse may be kept open, or rather may be opened more widely. I believe this is possible upon two conditions. A policy of "open doors" cannot be instituted between two or more civilized countries in the same way in which it would be arranged between the civilized countries of Europe, on the one hand, and the barbaric or semi-civilized countries of the Orient, on the other.

Consequently, the first condition would be that, despite mutual and homogeneous commercial interests, every self-governing state should remain undisturbed in its sovereignty and independence.

Homogeneity can be established only in the form of temporary commercial and tariff treaties; indeed, it would be more largely a matter of identical principles of independent action than of binding rules. The necessity for every important nation to possess harbors and stations on the coasts of other states—as, for instance, in Oriental regions—would not require discussion in its application to the Occident; and so we perceive that a permanent peaceable understanding might be facilitated by the extension of an existing principle.

A second and indispensable condition of a peaceable commercial policy is, that not only the political, but also the economic, individuality of every civilized nation, as distinct from every other, would have to be respected and recognized; and this, according to the degree of development which might be expected of each and every country at a given epoch.

Neither extreme Protectionism nor Free Trade in the sense of Cobdenism would be consonant with such an idea. One and the same tariff, that of the Eleven Articles, such as has long been in existence in England, can at no period become the universal tariff of the whole world; for it is impossible to predict that the same degree of development for each and every article of production will ever be attained and maintained by each and every country at the same time. A universal tariff, the dream of the orthodox Free-Trade party, will ever remain a Utopia, irreconcilable with the independent economic and industrial development of nations.

There is, however, a medium between absolute Free Trade and extreme Protectionism. It is what a few Englishmen call "Fair Trade." Each nation concedes to the other as much free intercourse as possible, and, in return, receives reasonable concessions regarding articles whose importation cannot prove detrimental, but stimulating. The concession of free intercourse is mutual regarding all goods which either cannot be, or are not at the time, produced by the country granting the concession. In this way the greatest reciprocal stimulus may be obtained; and, provided home labor is restricted within the necessary bounds, international competition may be engendered, which may prove fruitful everywhere and damaging nowhere. Fair Trade in this sense may really be established by the unanimous consent of the nations.

The great advantages of a homogeneous commercial policy based upon

this principle are easy to perceive. In the first place, it would be advantageous to those civilized nations who voluntarily concede broader intercourse to one another, and who are interested in keeping the doors open to the extent of admitting stimulating competition. There is, however, another consideration scarcely less important. A harmonious policy of Fair Trade, founded upon treaties not seriously interfering with the autonomy of the separate states constituting the parties to the contract, would create a powerful and effectual weapon against the brutal Prohibition of any third state or group of states. A united and systematic policy of countervailing duties is far more effectual than an isolated and unmethodic defensive attitude.

Again, a mutual policy of Fair Trade would surely result in moderating the extreme policies of Tariff parties everywhere. Agrarianism would be deeply interested in holding extreme Protectionist industrialism in check, because the latter would hamper the disposal of agricultural products to foreign countries. The converse also is true. A policy of moderation could not but obtain recognition and prove of particular advantage to all nations,—the older nations as against the younger, and *vice versa*.

It is scarcely necessary to expatiate upon the meaning of such a policy at a time like the present, when a universal tariff war between all nations is constantly becoming more threatening. Had Great Britain at once retorted to the latest tariffs of Germany, Russia, and the United States by effectual countervailing duties; had she annulled her Eleven Article Tariff, and instituted differential duties,—in the Colonies in favor of the Mother-Country, and in the Mother-Country and Colonies in favor of all such Central European States as were willing to make reciprocal and favorable concessions to Great Britain,—the doors between the civilized countries of the world would have remained more widely open than they now are or presumably will be in the near future.

Nor can a mutual or homogeneous policy in the Occident on the part of Great Britain and Germany be rightfully interpreted as an infringement of the individual development of any third group of states, or even as a menace to Russia and North America. Countervailing duties, when instituted in the true spirit of Fair Trade, would never be carried so far as wilfully to restrict any nation's privilege of free intercourse, when the restriction would prove seriously detrimental to such nation's industrial and economic welfare. It would not happen, for instance, that England and Central Europe would dictate to Russia or the United States conditions of Free Trade concerning industrial products

any restriction upon which would seriously damage the best interests of the countries themselves. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Russians, Americans, Australians, Canadians, or Africans at the Cape will ever prescribe for European countries a ruinous tariff concerning agricultural products and live stock. Brutality on either side would be bridled.

Nor would a parallel policy of Fair Trade on the part of Great Britain and Central Europe ever become a menace to any third group of states; for, the sole purpose of such a commercial union would be to induce other states to unite also, and then to deal with them upon a basis of reciprocity,—opening the doors and keeping them open so far as circumstances permitted.

It is quite natural, however, that the older states lying closely together should take the initiative; that Central Europe should be the first to assemble under the flag of a just and neutral Fair Trade; that those European nations, in short, who have reached the same degree of economic development, and whose institutions in this regard rest upon similar principles, should be the first to unite. It is for them to consider, above all, how they may maintain a respectable and commanding position by the side of the empires of the future, so mighty in their plan,—the empires of the Slavs, North Americans, Australians, South Africans, and yellow races.

Like Germany and the other Central European countries, England would lose her position in the foreground of the world's commerce so soon as her free or Crown Colonies should seek independently to develop their trade and industries by inaugurating a policy of Protection. In a commercial sense, therefore, England must seek her future by the side of Germany; but not for the purpose of a joint policy of hostility against the United States and Russia. States already comparatively small, or in imminent danger of becoming so, should naturally be the first to stand together; so that, by their unity, they also might constitute a body sufficiently large to enable them to enter into the far broader relations of the future. A combination on the part of England and Germany would place those countries in a position to organize their commercial policy upon lines suggested in North America and Russia at the very outset by the much greater extent of territory of those countries. The principal thing at present is to see to it that in the near future Western and Central Europe, commercially speaking, shall not sink to a mere Lilliputian existence. Even if Great Britain and Germany should seasonably recognize their identity of interests in the Orient as well as in the Occident,

the chances are that, within a few generations, Central Europe, instead of maintaining a position in the first rank, will be eclipsed by rival influences.

Have I in the foregoing abandoned myself to an unpractical "music of the future"? I do not think so, for the following reason: Both nations are, as it were, momentarily at the cross-roads. They can institute Fair Trade; but the danger lies near that they will not do so. What, in fact, is the general sentiment prevailing in the two countries respecting a commercial policy?

In Germany, the contrast between Agrarianism and Industrialism, between commercial capital and that of production, is more strongly accentuated than it has been at any other time since the formation of the German Customs Union sixty years ago. Whoever, like the author, has personal recollections of the fanaticism for Free Trade, which thirty years ago agitated all Prussia and notably the great farmers of the land, must be completely at sea concerning the present aspect of economics in Germany. Since 1879 the duties on industrial products have become higher than ever before; and it seems that the unappeasable hunger for greater Protection is still increasing. In addition to this, the upper as well as the middle classes among the agricultural population are to-day waging a violent agitation in favor of protective and prohibitory agrarian duties, as well as for prohibitory duties on imports of cattle and agricultural products. There are many to-day who believe that the distress among the farmers, who are now so heavily burdened with debts, cannot be permanently alleviated by protective duties and enactments against pestilence, but only by a thorough reform of our modern latitudinary credit system. Yet so great is the distress at present prevailing that even these persons can understand the violence of the Agrarian agitation.

For the moment, at least, the situation in Germany is such that Industrialism and Agrarianism may at any time give rise to a tariff war of unparalleled magnitude. After all, the renewal of Germany's commercial treaties with foreign states is not due until 1903. The more progress a rational policy of "open doors" shall make until then, both upon the other side of the Canal and upon the other side of the Atlantic, the greater the hinderances which extreme Protectionism will encounter in Germany. Thus we see that for Germany also a policy of Fair Trade is of actual and pressing importance.

The same is true of Great Britain. It is a well-known fact that there is a powerful party in England to-day identified with the old Brit-

ish sentiment,—a party whose enmity Germany has already encountered in her colonial and Oriental policy. The aim of this party is to form Great Britain into a "Greater Britain." England is to arrange an Inter-British Customs Union with her Colonies, providing for preferential duties in favor of the industrial products of the Mother-Country as well as for the agricultural products of the Colonies. Who could find fault with England, were she to pursue such a commercial policy? Indeed it is astonishing that British patience was not exhausted ten years ago, and that the first steps toward a universal British Customs Union have not already been taken. England, with her Colonies, represents a territory of production and consumption to which even the Russians and the Americans at their present stage of development can furnish no parallel. The raising or lowering of the tariff-screws in a "Greater Britain" would in itself constitute the strongest retaliatory weapon against all other nations. Even the foreigner can understand how seductive the idea of a "Greater Britain" must be to every Englishman. So we see that the question at issue is whether Fair Trade is to be instituted in union with Central Europe or in the form of an exclusive Inter-British Customs Union in every part of the world. This alternative in its bearing on England also is of the greatest practical importance in the future.

I am of the opinion that a joint Fair-Trade policy on the part of Germany and Great Britain would also be greatly advantageous to England, if not in the immediate, at least in the more distant, future. "Greater Britain," when we view it more closely, is not without its serious drawbacks. The Australians, Canadians, Cape Colonists, and the East Indian Colonists whose factories were, and are still being, organized with European capital,—all these are debarred by their own finances from according the Mother-Country full Free Trade in industrial commodities.

On the other hand, the Mother-Country will be unable to raise the price of bread and raw materials by introducing preferential duties in favor of the Colonies.

Furthermore, the time will come when all the Colonial possessions of Great Britain will endeavor, by means of Protection,—possibly even of Prohibition,—to develop their industries independently, and will create an active merchant marine. They will follow the same commercial policy that was pursued by the Americans, the Russians, and by the English themselves at a similar stage of their economic development. Indeed, this time is not far distant. I will not deny, however, that Germany's interests in what I have designated as Fair Trade are even

greater than those of England. An exclusive commercial policy on the part of the entire British Empire would possibly give the English a considerable advantage for half a century; but Germany's export trade would be greatly injured in consequence. True, we should not be entirely defenceless against England; for we might retaliate to a policy of exclusiveness on the part of a "Greater Britain" by establishing favorable conditions facilitating reciprocal exchange between American and Russian agricultural products, on the one hand, and our own industrial products, on the other. But the advantages which would be derived from a parallel commercial policy on the part of Great Britain and Germany could not be so easily compensated: we should lose and at once.

As regards economic questions, the author's most ardent wish is that England and Germany may arrive at an understanding concerning the adoption of a policy of "open doors" for all nations; and the lasting benefits to be derived from such a policy should recommend it to England.

Will England and Germany realize the solidarity of their interests and act accordingly? What sensible member of either nation would desire differently? But it is impossible at present to gaze with unconcern into the future. In the face of the violent political storm of conflicting tariff interests, the calm observer is reminded of the awesome words spoken by one of our greatest philosophers of history—Herder: "The majority of people are hard, iron animals, whose danger must be great indeed before they leave their accustomed paths." Will the iron animals of to-day soon become soft? It frequently happens that at first many stupid paths must be traversed before we enter upon the right road, although the latter may have been quite near at the beginning.

In conclusion, I would express my general view only in the form of a hypothetical opinion. Adapting the words of Von Bülow, I should say: Unless Germany and Great Britain during the approaching century realize the necessity of standing side by side in the sunshine, in union with all civilized nations, they will, in the twenty-first century, find themselves placed in the shadow. ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

THE PROTEST OF THE PILLAGER INDIANS.

Is our attempt to civilize the Indian a failure? This is the question heard on every side since the recent so-called outbreak of the Bear Island Pillagers, a band of Chippewa Indians living on and near the borders of Leech Lake in Minnesota.

Is our Caucasian civilization a failure? By the same token, yes. A few days before the Pillager trouble, a mob of white men hanged a Negro in a thickly settled district of Maryland. A few days after the Pillager trouble a murderous riot occurred in a mining town of Illinois, because a gang of white laborers were unwilling either to work at certain wages or to let Negroes take their places and their pay. A few days later still a Negro in Mississippi resisted arrest, and a party of his friends fired into a white sheriff's posse with fatal effect. The citizens of the neighborhood then armed themselves and set out upon a Negro hunt, in the course of which they killed several blacks.

Let us try to be just to the Indian. Is it a sign of the failure of any scheme of civilization that under it race antagonisms survive, individuals usurp the functions of organized justice, and masses of ignorant men, despairing of any other means of resenting a supposed trespass on their rights, resort to bloodshed? In the light of the illustrations just cited, shall we paraphrase the most familiar precepts of our Indian philosophy and say that "there is no good Marylander except a dead Marylander," or that "the only way to settle the Labor Question is to exterminate the laborer"?

The purpose of suggesting this parallel is not to approve of violence as a means of redressing grievances. Both the white rioters and the Indian insurgents did wrong. But some differences between their methods of procedure will be noted. If we had asked a member of the Maryland mob why he helped to hang the Negro, he would have answered that the Negro had committed a gross offence against social morals. When? Last night. If we had asked an Illinois striker why he took up arms against the imported "scabs," he would have answered that the "scabs" had come to rob him of his livelihood. When? To-day. In both instances we see the impelling cause immediately back of the

act of outlawry, and something like a proportional relation between the incentive and the act. But when we inquire what motive the Pillagers had for their violence, the only one in view is an attempt by a United States marshal and his deputies to serve a subpoena upon an Indian who was wanted as a witness in a liquor case. This looks like a trivial reason, indeed, for taking human life. Much as we may deplore the acts of the mobs in Maryland and Illinois, they are not incomprehensible. We can conceive of an access of righteous rage driving men of usually peaceful temper to take the law into their own hands. We can grasp the idea of rough men, accustomed to struggle for their share of daily bread, rebelling when they see others about to snatch it from their mouths. But the Pillager's readiness to shoot and kill merely for the purpose of avoiding service of a harmless writ passes the ordinary white man's understanding, except on the ground of the utter depravity of the Indian nature.

Now, in this contrast is summarized most of the difficulty which, as a nation, we have had in solving the Indian Problem. We have not begun by trying to measure the chief human factor in it. The Indian does not, like the white man, strike his blow in response to a momentary impulse of revenge. The sense of wrong which moves him to it is cumulative. He nurses his first grievance; a second is presently added to this, and both rankle in his soul; a third serves to magnify its predecessors; and so the process of accretion goes on, like the gradual increase of the weight of an avalanche, till by and by comes a cause of complaint, trifling perhaps in itself, but heavy enough, when added to the mass already gathered, to start the whole upon its mission of destruction.

In the case of the Pillagers, the attempt of a marshal and his posse to serve a subpoena was only the last of a series of irritating incidents which, but for the forbearance of the Indians, would have brought about an armed collision long ago. The Minnesota Chippewas originally owned a large area of territory; holding it by what is currently known as "Indian title"—that is, immemorial possession, and continued and undisputed occupancy. This title our Government voluntarily recognized by negotiating for cessions first of one tract and then of another; the Indians never manifesting any unfriendly spirit as the boundaries of their territory were gradually pared away.

A memorable instance, and one thoroughly typical of the white man's general treatment of the Indian, occurred in 1847, when the Government bought of the Pillagers a tract containing some 700,000 acres for the sum of \$15,000, or at the rate of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents an acre. The Pil-

lagers were loath to let this land go, but ceded it upon the promise of the Government commissioners that it should be given to the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin, who were to be removed thither and to make it their home. The Chippewas regarded this as the most important feature of the bargain: for the Menominees were their friends of long standing; the ceded tract lay between the home of the Chippewas and that of the warlike Sioux, their hereditary enemies; and the Menominees, being friends of the Sioux as well as of the Chippewas, would by their presence there make a barrier against the much-dreaded Sioux raids, thus insuring the peace of all parties. The disappointment of the Pillagers, when the Government failed to carry out this programme, may be imagined. In strict justice it should be said that the Government, although it ought to have been more prudent about making promises till it knew just where it stood, was not wholly to blame for the failure. The Menominees decided that they did not care to be removed to Minnesota. They preferred to be settled upon a part of their old home in Wisconsin, and made a clever bargain to this end, whereby they sold back to the Government for \$242,686 the land purchased for them from the Pillagers for only \$15,000. If the same rule had been followed then as in a similar transaction between whites, the next step would have been the restoration of the *status quo ante*. In other words, the Government, having defaulted on an essential part of its contract, would have offered the Pillagers the privilege of buying back the ceded land for the original price or, at any rate, for that sum with reasonable interest added. No such offer was made, however. The Pillagers, ignorant of business methods and having no one to advise them, helplessly folded their hands, and set this down as an act of bad faith on the part of the Government, for which there was no redress short of violence; and to that they were unwilling to resort. Here was their first serious grievance.

That the Indians have not set up a mere visionary claim in this case, we have proof in the testimony of Hon. Henry M. Rice, a prominent citizen of Minnesota, who was a member of the Commission of 1847 and also the leading member of the Commission of 1889. At the request of Flat Mouth, Chief of the Pillagers, who expressed his fear that the death of the parties to the agreement of 1847 might leave posterity without positive knowledge of what had taken place, Mr. Rice wrote out the following memorandum and gave it to the Indians:

"October 4, 1880.

In 1847, when the Pillager Indians, by treaty, sold to the United States the Leaf River country for a nominal consideration, it was understood that the country

ceded had been selected for the future residence of the Menominee Indians, who were friendly to the Chippewas, and the country would remain Indian territory. Not only this, but the Menominees would form a barrier between the Pillager and Sioux Indians, who had for centuries been at war. The old men thought by having the region thus occupied peace would follow; hence their consent to yield to the request of the Government.

They were sadly disappointed; for after the ratification of the treaty other provisions were made for the Menominees. The Leaf River country was thrown open to settlement, the game driven out, and the Pillagers exposed to all the evils that beset a frontier border. . . . The sale was positive. The Pillagers have no legal claim to the land, but morally have a claim upon the Government, which claim I hope may at some suitable time be acknowledged by giving to this poor band such aid as will improve its condition.

(Signed) HENRY M. RICE,
One of the Commissioners."

During a council held in 1889, of which the official stenographic record is on file in Washington, Mr. Rice reinforced this written exhibit by an oral statement to the effect that it had been understood between Flat Mouth and himself in 1847 "that that land was not to be used by the whites, but that it was for the use of the Menominees."

Forty years passed. The Government had meanwhile opened the ceded lands to white settlement; and a pioneer population had entered them. White prospectors, looking about for speculative enterprises, had cast covetous eyes upon the fine pine-forests in the remaining Chippewa country. The Red Lake reservation contained a particularly tempting growth. So Congress authorized a fresh negotiation for agreements authorizing the Government to dispose of a large part of the timber and agricultural lands of the Indians for their benefit. A commission visited the several Minnesota reservations and drew up agreements satisfactory to all parties; but when these were laid before Congress they were rejected because their provision for the Indians was too generous. Congress then took its own characteristic way of getting what it wanted: it passed an Act containing the features it wished to have incorporated in a general agreement with all the Minnesota Chippewas, and sent another commission to induce the Indians to give their consent to this. The Indians, having had their suspicions aroused by the first failure, held out for some time against making a second agreement. The commission, resolved not to go home with its errand unaccomplished, argued and urged and promised this and that, and in time succeeded in patching up an understanding; and, though the Bear Island Pillagers opposed the whole scheme almost to the point of violence, the Act of Congress received enough Indian signatures to constitute a technical ratification.

When it was too late to do any good, it was discovered that the language of the ratified statute, and the terms which a large body of the Indians declared were included in the oral negotiations, differed widely. In such a case the ignorant red man is at the mercy of the clever white. The Indian cannot read what is written in the formal instrument; and his interpreters tell him what they please. The Chippewas who took part in the councils of 1889 have always insisted, for instance, that the White Earth band were promised allotments of land of one hundred and sixty acres apiece, instead of the eighty acres which they actually received; that the Mille Lacs band were assured of the regular payment of certain annuities, which the Government afterward withheld to their great distress; and that to other bands were promised houses, sawmills, smithies, and the like, which have not been built for them to this day. It was the same way with the assurances which the commission gave the Indians as to the fabulous wealth they would derive from the sale of their pine-lands, without so much as a hint that the process of sale would be attended with any expense to the sellers. How those glittering prophecies have developed into fact will be seen at a later point in this article.

The Act of Congress to which, reluctantly and with many misgivings, the Indians at last consented, provided for the appointment of a commission of three members, to receive \$10 a day each, with an additional allowance of \$3 a day for expenses, and with necessary clerical assistance, who should allot the lands of the Minnesota Chippewas to the members of the tribe in severalty on the basis prescribed in the general law on this subject; the surplus lands to be ceded by the tribe to the United States Government. The bulk of these ceded lands would, of course, be covered with timber; and this the Government was to have appraised and sold for the benefit of the Indians. The method of appraisal was as ingenious a device for despoiling the Indians as any in the annals of our Century of Dishonor. There was not an enterprising lumberman in that Northwest country who would not gladly have sent his own estimators into the field, at no cost to the Government or to the Indians, and made offers based on actual inspection and calculation. Competition between the various bidders, and the means the Government possessed of sending its special agents to a tract here and there to verify the estimates—just as it examines imports every day in its custom-houses by samples seized haphazard—could have been relied on to keep the business somewhere within the bounds of ordinary honesty. At any rate, though the purchasers might have made goodly profits, the Indians would have been protected from such wholesale robbery as was

practised under the system adopted. This system consisted of the appointment by the Commissioner of the General Land Office of

"a sufficient number of competent and experienced examiners [who should] go upon said lands . . . and personally make a careful, complete, and thorough examination of the same by forty-acre lots, for the purpose of ascertaining on which lots or tracts there is growing or standing pine timber . . . the minutes of such examination . . . showing with particularity the amount and quality of all timber standing or growing on any lot or tract. . . ."

The pay of these examiners was set in the original Bill at \$4 a day; but Congress revealed its motive for adopting this method of appraisal by increasing the figure to \$6. From that moment it was obvious to everyone who had watched such matters in Washington that the examiners would be chosen on the patronage principle by Congressmen and local political managers, and that their "competence and experience" would be the last and least consideration entering into their selection.

As was expected, the three-headed commission set out with a leisurely deliberation calculated to prolong its employment and to continue its pay indefinitely; while the corps of examiners was made up, for the most part, of men whose only knowledge of timber-measurement had been gained in some other occupation—paper-hanging or bar-keeping, for example—before falling into this soft "Government snap." All of them, however, were in political accord with the Federal Administration and with the party leaders through whose influence they had gained their appointments. The commission, which was continued for some six years at an immense and wasteful cost, and was then shorn down two-thirds because of the fear at Washington that the Indians might rebel against further imposition, was bad enough; but the corps of examiners, numbering thirty or more at a time, was worse. With exceptions so rare as to emphasize the rule, they were utterly worthless. The first lot were appointed under President Harrison's Administration; and the scandal of their employment was so noisome that President Cleveland's Administration, when it came into power, made short work of them. But those who stepped into their places were no better. Indeed, the Cleveland Administration before its retirement ordered an investigation of its own accord; and the revelations this brought forth were so shocking that the Administration made substantially a clean sweep of its own men. A third set are now at work; and, so far as can be ascertained, they show but little, if any, improvement upon their predecessors.

The investigation mentioned above, made by one of the most upright

and intelligent inspectors in the Indian service, showed that, of thirty-one examiners employed under one chief, eighteen had had no previous experience whatever in the line of work in which they were engaged; while the experience of the others amounted to almost nothing. They were divided into camping-parties of three; but their estimates were too often cooked up in the bar-rooms of country inns, or between deals in a game of cards, and were for all intents pure guesswork. To show the value of these guesses it may be noted that in one group of eighty-five tracts, on which 9,635,000 feet of pine lumber had been reported, a conservative estimate made later by real experts showed 17,271,000; and another group of sixty-one tracts, reported as containing 5,547,000 feet, showed 12,472,000. One tract reported as containing 11,000 feet actually measured up 295,000; another, reported at 65,000, measured 782,000; a third, reported as containing 15,000, measured 125,000; while a fourth, reported at 25,000, measured 75,000. On a tract reported to contain 45,000 feet of pine no pine at all was growing; on a second, reported as containing none, there were 450,000 feet; on a third, reported as bearing 11,000 feet of white pine, there was no white, but about 200,000 feet of Norway, pine. Of course the lumbermen who bought the pine were not fools. They had their "cruisers" out, and made their own surveys quietly; but they had to buy on the basis of the official appraisal. Consequently, tracts which the Government examiners had grossly underestimated found purchasers as soon as the figures were announced; while those which had been appraised at anything like a fair valuation were a drug in the market.

The heavy cost of the commission engaged in allotting lands in severalty to the Indians, with the expense of this farcical process of appraisal added, has reached a total estimated at \$350,000 at the present date; and it is still rising. All the money thus squandered must come finally not out of the treasury of the Government, but out of the tribal purse of the Chippewas; for every cash advance made by the Government on account of salaries and expenses must be reimbursed by the Indians out of the net returns from the sale of their lands and timber. At the pace at which things are going, the Indians will be lucky if they ever rescue a dollar from the proceeds of this gigantic fraud. Is it strange that the Pillagers, who have watched the growth of the outrage, and who are liable to be among its victims in spite of the fact that they refused to sign the agreement under which it is perpetrated, have a sore feeling toward the whites?

In passing from this second grievance to a third—the ill-treatment

of the Indians by the United States deputy marshals—a few words of preliminary explanation may be necessary for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with life and civic conditions on our frontier.

The fee system of compensation for United States marshals and their deputies in the thinly settled Western country has been a perennial source of scandals from the day when it was first put into operation. So gross have been some of the abuses under it that Congress was shamed into making a change about two years ago, so that now the marshals and their office deputies are paid stated salaries. But the field deputies—those who do the work at a distance from the headquarters of the marshal—remain under the fee system as before. These deputies receive certain fees for serving writs, making arrests, subpoenaing witnesses, bringing in prisoners, attending court, and the like. Besides their fees they receive mileage for journeys which they make in pursuit of their calling; and their expenses are paid on these journeys and while attending court. Mileage and expenses are also paid by the Government for the prisoners and the witnesses whom the deputies have in charge, both on their journeys and during the sessions of court, and for such guards as are needed for watching and handling parties brought in from the field. No one who inspects the huge bills which are sent to Washington for such services, and reflects that the Government is practically at the mercy of the thrifty accountants who render them, can wonder that appointments to the force of field deputies are eagerly sought by a rough and often unscrupulous class of frontiersmen. Here and there, doubtless, a man enters the service because it offers him a living, or because he finds in it the excitement which his restless nature craves, or because it will give him a certain importance in the rude community where he lives; but it is safe to say that the controlling motive in most cases is the hope of unlawful pelf. One fundamental theory of government to which men of the deputy-marshal class are educated from their cradles is, that the National Treasury is a rich institution, and fair plunder for anybody who can get a chance at it. If a prisoner lives in the back-country, two or three days' journey from headquarters, the deputy who owns a horse can run up a fine bill for mileage. At night, if the weather be fair, he can roll himself in his blanket and sleep peacefully in the lee of a fallen log or a bank of earth; and if it be foul he can seek the hospitality of a settler's cabin,—in either event charging the Government the legal maximum for lodgings. Though he find his prisoner in the most complacent mood, this need not prevent his giving one of the neighbors a job as an additional "guard" and taking a share of the

guard's fees and bogus expenses, on the same principle that an employment-agency charges a commission on the wages of the working-people for whom it finds places. When the prisoner reaches the city where court is held, there is liable to be a considerable delay before his case is called; so the deputy hunts up a bondsman and keeps the prisoner at a hotel, the proprietor of which is usually willing to "do the right thing" by the deputy in recognition of the patronage brought to the house. And so it goes.

But prisoners are a poor resource as compared with witnesses. A prisoner may take a fancy to make trouble for his custodian, particularly if his arrest be on a charge which the courts are disposed to view harshly. A backwoods witness, however, is almost always good-natured. He may feel disinclined to tell tales about a neighbor and friend, even to a court; but, on the other hand, he may be vain enough to believe that he can evade the questions of the lawyers and the judge, and not actually reveal any more than he wishes. In any event, the prospect of a visit to the city at no expense to himself presents a strong temptation to one who leads his lonely life. The chances are not only that he will be willing to go with the deputy, but that he can furnish the names of two or three acquaintances who know as much about the case as he does. Before the deputy has finished his task for that term of court he is liable to have subpoenaed a round dozen or more of witnesses, every one of whom helps to swell his income legitimately or by private pickings.

On the borders of Indian reservations the deputy marshal finds a particularly profitable field for his activities. This is not because Indians are especially given to crime; for such offences as they do commit—or, more strictly, those of which the law as a rule takes cognizance—belong rather to the class of misdemeanors than of crimes. An Indian, for instance, very rarely murders a white man; and when he murders another Indian the agent punishes him, and the courts ignore the affair. But the Indian commits, or is suspected of committing, thefts of various degrees. If he is hungry, he may help himself to a white settler's steer; or, if he needs a horse, he may take one from a white neighbor's corral. Above all, the Indian is open to temptation on his convivial side. Fire-water he can seldom pass by. The borders of a reservation, therefore, always swarm with whites and mongrels who are ready to pander to his thirst, in defiance of all the prohibitory laws that Congress can enact.

Here, then, is the deputy marshal's finest labor market. He can hunt down and arrest an illicit liquor-dealer and subpoena Indian wit-

nesses by the score. It makes no difference whether these witnesses know anything or nothing: in either event, they count as witnesses and help to swell his fee- and expense-accounts. The liquor-seller, moreover, makes so large a profit out of his business that he may be ready to submit to arrest now and then, just to oblige a former crony who has become a deputy marshal. The worst penalty he can suffer is a brief sojourn in jail, after which he goes back to his bar with a clean score and refreshed energies.

The Indian witness is usually far more profitable to his custodian than a white witness. The Indian knows nothing of business. His ideas of money and its relative values are rudimentary; so that, when the court pays over to him his \$1.50 a day for the full term of his attendance, he has usually mortgaged the bulk of the sum due him for good things furnished on trust. He has enjoyed the fare of a tenth-rate boarding-house, which is royal luxury compared with what he has at home, and for which the charges are proportionately high; he has visited the cheap shows; he has smoked shag tobacco to his heart's content; and he has had as many surreptitious drinks of whiskey as he could be trusted to sleep off in his bedroom. By collusion with the attorneys concerned, it has been possible to stave off the trial of the case till the latest possible day, or perhaps to throw it over till another term; so that the period of recreation for the Indian and profit for his keeper has been greatly prolonged. When, finally, the day arrives for the Indian's return home, he is put aboard the cars with a ticket in his hat and three or four silver dollars in his pocket; and what has become of the balance of the money which the law requires the Government to pay him he neither knows nor cares.

This is a pitiful picture; but it is one familiar to everybody who has lived in or near the Indian country. In one region one tribe figures in it; in another, another; but the chief elements are everywhere the same. The collusive arrest and subpoena trade has been worked in some parts of the West to the last limit of endurance. In Minnesota the practice of carrying Indians away from their reservations, as petty offenders or witnesses, reached such a pass a few years ago that the Secretary of the Interior, as guardian of the Indians, had to make a formal protest to the Attorney-General, as chief of the Department which employs the marshals, against it. Some three hundred Indians were gathered in the city of St. Paul on such pretexts during one term of court. The Chippewas, of course, have been the chief sufferers from the nefarious system; and the Pillagers, owing to the fact that their band contains so large a non-

progressive element, easily accessible through their ignorance to bad influences, have probably furnished an undue proportion of victims.

Ignorant as the non-progressive Pillagers may be of worldly matters familiar to us, their sense of ordinary justice and fair dealing is as keen as that of the most highly educated Caucasian; and, according to the stories current in the district where the recent fight occurred, they have had at least one real cause of resentment. It is said that one of their number, having been taken away as a witness, was left stranded after the court had discharged him, and was refused even the customary ticket to carry him home on the cars. The consequence was that, without food to eat by the way, he had to tramp a distance of one hundred and sixty miles back to his camp. When he found himself once more among his friends, sick and famished, he made a vow to the Great Spirit that never more would he permit a white man to lure him from his home. Another subpoena was made out for him a few weeks ago. The deputy sent to serve it had a hard time finding the Indian, who, when the paper was forced upon him, tore it to pieces before the officer's eyes and refused to stir one foot in the direction of the court. When he was arrested a little later, he called upon his friends for assistance; and they fell upon the officers and rescued him. The officers announced that when they came again it would be with an escort of troops. Warrants were sworn out for all the Indians engaged in the rescue, and a marshal's posse was sent to serve them. A few soldiers went along to overawe the Indians, but were unable to accomplish anything. A larger body of troops followed, and took up a position on a promontory opposite Bear Island, where most of the Indians subject to arrest were supposed to be. While preparations for dinner were in progress, it is said that one of the soldiers accidentally discharged his gun. A group of armed Indians—supposed to have numbered twenty-five or thirty at most—had concealed themselves in an adjacent thicket, and were watching operations. The shot from the soldier's gun they took for a signal that the troops were about to open fire; and they forestalled this purpose by pouring a volley into the invading force. For two days desultory hostilities appear to have continued, with a total loss of seven lives; then came the beginning of a series of peace parleys. And this is what was advertised throughout the country—in the press despatches with lurid head-lines, and in editorial leaders filled with misgivings of an epidemic of massacre and rapine all over the great Northwest—as the "Pillager Outbreak."

From this brief review of three episodes in Chippewa history during the last fifty years the reader will understand more clearly the propo-

sition on a former page that the justification of an act of violence by Indians must not be sought simply in its nearest exciting cause, but that the visible incentive will usually be found to be the last of a cumulative series. The Chippewas, as a tribe, have been from the first the stanch friends of the white men; and they deserve only kindness at our hands. The early history of white exploration and settlement in Northern Minnesota and Western Wisconsin teems with evidence of the goodwill of these people, more commonly known through the old chronicles as the Ojibways. When the Sioux went on the war-path in 1862, and the Government at Washington had to divide its attention between the conduct of a great war in the South and the peril of a general Indian uprising in the North, the Chippewa, resisting the allurements and defying the threats of the insurgent tribe, remained faithful to his pledges of friendship for the pale-face and of loyalty to the Great Father. And what have we done to show our appreciation of our red brother's good conduct? We have procured cessions of his land under promises never fulfilled; we have stripped him of his rich timber in order to provide jobs for a lot of irresponsible political heelers; we have heaped upon his tribal treasury a load of debt which bids fair to swamp it; and we have allowed our law officers to make merchandise of his ignorance and childishness under the guise of prosecuting the business of our courts.

These are the main features of our scheme of compensation. But the Indians cherish also the memory of some lesser, but equally characteristic, manifestations of our gratitude. For example, we have been for years in the habit of paying them an annuity of nearly \$10 a head. Suddenly, without warning, we cut this down to a little more than \$5. It is not the purpose of the present writer to defend the annuity system any more than the practice of dispensing free rations among the Indians; for everything which wears in their eyes the look of a gratuity tends to pauperize them and to undermine their natural independence of character. But, having once entered upon an annuity system with a tribe, we should aim to modify it by such gradations and with such explanations that the Indians will understand the reasons underlying the change, and not be left with a sense of injustice rankling in their hearts. In this particular instance the Government technically justifies the reduction by a clause of the latest treaty which provides for spending a part of the Indians' money on schools for their children; but pains ought to have been taken to make the matter perfectly plain to the people affected by it.

Again, under a provision of law which permits the sale of the Indians' "dead timber, standing or fallen," at prices far below those fixed

for live timber, and under a departmental definition of dead timber as any that has been damaged by fire so that the worms are likely to infest it, white lumbermen have been doing a brisk business with the Indians wholly apart from the fraudulent process of examination and appraisal already described in detail. From the day this privilege began to be operative, fires in Chippewa forests have been of suspiciously frequent occurrence. The Indians have ascertained that the fires were started in many instances by unscrupulous lumbermen who wished to buy a lot of standing timber cheap; and this development has not increased their confidence in the good faith of their white neighbors.

But the crowning touch was added to all the Chippewa's grievances by the discovery that his despoilers had reached into his own circle of kindred, and were actually buying his flesh and blood away from him. There is reason to believe that parties interested in procuring the agreement of 1889 secured the votes and influence of some of the cleverer "mixed-bloods" by bribery. It is positively known that when work began under that agreement, any Indian who was considered to possess too much knowledge of the appraising swindle would be silenced by placing his name on the pay-roll in some capacity. The same practice has prevailed in the case of the collusive whiskey prosecutions. Half-breeds have been appointed deputy marshals, or hired as guards, because they could exert a greater influence among their kinsmen than any white man could. It is this use of money for turning Indian against Indian which has driven some of the "pure-bloods" almost to desperation. In the newspaper reports of recent peace councils we read of the protests of Indian speakers against letting half-breeds cut the tribal timber and against sending half-breeds to make arrests on the reservations. Editorial comments on this phase of the matter show that an idea prevails in the East that the non-progressive members of the tribe are trying to rob the half-breed of his means of earning an honest livelihood, because they hate the white blood in his veins. Nothing is further from the truth. The mere fact that the "mixed-blood" has one or more white ancestors, does not figure in the case at all. What does trouble the red Indian is the fact that his lighter-skinned brother puts his allegiance upon the auction-block, and knocks it down to the highest bidder. When a white man comes upon the reservation, he bears in his face a warning to the Indians that they must weigh his pleasant words with caution and not accept his promises too readily. When the "mixed-blood" comes, speaking their own tongue, worshipping their own deity, entering with hereditary ease into their mode of life, they are taken off their

guard. They trust his Indian lips; awakening too late to the fact that those lips speak the words of a white heart. As long as the half-breed casts his lot among them as one of themselves, the Indians have no prejudice against his color; but all their indignation is aroused when the whites hire him to go among his own people and play the part of a cats-paw and a spy.

The purpose of this paper has been to show that the so-called "Pillager Outbreak" was not an outbreak in any fair sense of the term, but an attempt of a handful of Indians to resist, on their own soil, what seemed to them a gross aggression on the part of an armed force of whites; and that even in that diluted form the trouble was not traceable simply to the service of an unwelcome subpoena, as at first represented, but was the culmination of a half-century's history of Indian friendliness and white overreaching.

What has been said of our treatment of the Pillagers is equally applicable, with various local modifications, to our treatment of the Indians all over the West. The other day witnessed the strange spectacle of a committee of Indians from the Indian Territory making a journey of two thousand miles to Washington for the purpose of seeing the President and ascertaining from his own lips whether a certain Act of Congress was really a law. Why? They had suffered so much at the hands of lying white men who had visited the Territory, and told them one story and another which afterward proved groundless, that they had no faith left to waste upon the representations made to them about this particular Act. They must have the Great Father's own word for it, or they would refuse to believe what they had heard.

Could any commentary be more striking? If our attempt at civilizing the Indian is a failure, whose fault is it? The Indian's?

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ETHNICAL SOURCES OF THE GREATNESS OF VENICE.

THE traveller on the Grand Canal of Venice cannot fail to be impressed by the gigantic palaces which line its shores. What a contrast between these marvellous structures, beautiful in proportion to their age, and the modern buildings by which they are surrounded! As I contemplate this scene a whole series of problems presents itself to my mind. Wherefore this contrast, this difference in taste, in freedom of outline, and in architectural impressiveness from age to age? We compare the features of the modern Venetians with those of their ancestors, but fail to discover differences sufficiently marked to explain the present degeneration; nor can this be explained upon historical grounds. It is true that the destruction of the Venetian harbor, the discovery of America, and new geographical conditions generally have been instrumental in diverting the course of trade and wealth from Venice. Activity and skill remain permanent factors, however; and where these exist nations discover new paths to enterprise. In illustration of this rule it is necessary only to point to England. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that, while the discovery of America and India proved detrimental to Venice, new opportunities were opened to her in the Far East as well as in Africa—opportunities of which she utterly failed to avail herself.

I.—ETHNICAL GRAFTING.

Probably the most important factor of a country's progress is ethnical grafting. The first, and perhaps the greatest, of human inventions, the alphabet, may be traced, it appears, to the Semitico-Egyptian graft. The Semitic shepherds, in their endeavor to transcribe Semitic names into the Egyptian, were compelled to resort to phonetization. They were obliged to select for their purpose certain hieroglyphics; leaving to these the power of sound only.¹ The Dorians, as a pure race, were not great. As soon, however, as they became blended with the Italianized Sicilians and the Pelasgi of Sicily and Magna Græcia, they wrought a

¹ ROUGÉ'S "Origines égypt. de l'Alphabet phœnicien" (1859).

revolution in Etruscan art. Indeed, many men of genius, such as Archimedes, the Pitagorici, etc., sprang from this ethnical graft.

Although the Japanese were originally inferior to the Chinese,—possessing neither the commercial and financial talent nor the extraordinary activity of the latter,—they have since shown themselves much more progressive than their neighbors; quickly adopting European clothes, tools, railroads, universities, and new forms of government. The Japanese of to-day possess a strong admixture of Malayan blood; while the Chinese, although superior to the Malays, are nearly pure.

The graft of the German race—very potent because then in its formative stage—produced the phenomenon of Polish culture. The development of Poland in the midst of her Slavonic neighbors, who were still uncultured, was rapid and most marvellous. The Sicilians reveal greater evolutionary tendencies than the Neapolitans, and this because of their strongly mixed blood. Noteworthy, also, is the fact that the spirit of progress is strongest in Palermo, where the mixture of Norman and Saracen was strongest. The isolation of Venice is by no means a proof that the ethnical graft was missing. Long before the Venetians sought refuge in their islands, a mixture of Roman, Greek, and Slavonic blood had taken place among them. In the “Chronicon Altinate” (vol. xiv), we find a reference to the Greek elements in the people of the Island of Malamocco, for some time one of the capitals of Venice. Furthermore, many dialect words of the Venetians bear the impress of the Hellenistic element: for example, *calcirei* (copper; brass); *zigo* (to cry); *aponon* (to hazard), etc. In the abundance of final diphthongs also, and in the numerous geographical terms, we find unmistakable traces of Greek influence. Indeed, the art of glass-working and that of mosaics were originally imported into Adria and Altino from Greece.

Stronger and deeper, however, are the traces of the Roman strain. These we find in the nomenclature of the political orders—*magister militum*, *i tribuni*, *i fasci*, *le porpore*, etc.; in the custom of decking doors with garlands during festivals; in numerous dialect words, such as *nessa* for *neptis*, *goto* from *guttus* (a vessel for oil), etc.; in the unswerving fidelity and loyalty of the Venetians to the Roman power (even in the days of Hannibal, when the great Italian conspiracy afforded them an opportunity for liberation, they remained steadfast allies of Rome); in the numerous vestiges of Etruscan and Euganean populations; and in the fact that Adria and Ravenna were ancient Etruscan harbors.

The legend, derived from Strabo, Herodotus, and Justinian (“No-

vella," 29), points to a Greek and Illyrian derivation of the Venetians; representing that the Greeks, coming from Paphlagonia, after having dwelt at Troy, wandered about Illyria and along the Adriatic until they came to Venice. This justifies the Greek as well as the Asiatic and Illyrian origins. That, in addition to the Græco-Roman mixture, the Illyrian influence was very strong, appears clearly from some anthropological characteristics of the Venetians, which indicate a remarkable resemblance to the Slavs. These are: the high stature (1.66 m. for Venice; the general average for the Kingdom being only 1.64 m.); the large proportion of persons of the blond type (14.2 per cent; the percentage for the whole of Italy being but 9.3); a higher cranial index (85 in Venice as compared with a general Italian average of 82; and this feature becomes particularly manifest in the Slavonic province of Udine); the talent for navigation, possessed in a high degree by the Liburnians; the historical incursions of the Liburnians and Illyrians into the lands bordering upon the Adriatic; words of Slavonic origin found in lexicons; and the names of many rivers and provinces.

The strongest graft, however, came to Venice from the Byzantine Greeks; and it is from these that the Venetians derived that artistic inspiration and commercial ability which made them the greatest people of the Middle Ages. By itself Greece, already in a state of decline, could not flourish, nor contribute much to progress. When grafted upon another nation, however, the Greek stock produced excellent fruit.

Of the Byzantine influence we have numerous proofs; viz., Grado was a sort of harbor of the Greek fleet, and was occupied by a Greek garrison; the garb of the doges resembled that of the exarchs; prayers for the doges were offered in the churches according to the Greek ritual, while the funereal rites for a doge were partly Greek and partly Longobardian. Again, though the exact conditions of the political dependence of Venice on Constantinople have not yet been fully ascertained, we know that Venice was sometimes compelled to lend her fleet to the Greeks, and that claims of at least a nominal subjection to the Greek power were continuous. When Pepin desired to subject the Venetians, he received from them the reply, "We might yield to Byzantium, but not to thee"; an evident proof of the sympathy and dependence which bound them to the Greeks. Even under Narses the Venetians submitted to a kind of nominal protectorate exercised over them by the Cæsar at Constantinople, whom they evidently recognized as their liege lord, and whose name they appended to their laws. The Venetians adopted, or at least accepted, for their doges and generals some titles purely Byzantine, such as *Ipatio*,

Protospadaro. The Greek party in Venice frequently rebelled against the doges who had Frankish or German proclivities. The early custom of blinding or incarcerating the doges was Greek in its origin. The treaty of Nicephorus with Charlemagne (A.D. 803) declared that Venice was outside the dominion of the Franks, and under the sway of Constantinople. In 1085 Alexis Comnenus, in recognition of the aid given by the Venetians and the victories gained by them in the wars against the Normans, granted his Venetian subjects special privileges, such as immunity from all harbor duties and the right of establishing shops in Constantinople. After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the Venetians had their own quarter in that city; while a number of Greek islands and coast-lands were also given to them, in recognition of their services. In addition to these possessions they acquired Candia, which they purchased from the Duke of Montferrat. When Constantinople was reconquered, the Emperor Palæologus granted new concessions to the Venetian Colony,—among others, the right to elect a city magistrate;—and these privileges endured even during the wars between the Greeks and the Venetians. In 1225 the question was long discussed in the Grand Council, whether Venice should not be transplanted to Constantinople, so intimate were the relations between the Greeks and the Venetians. Up to the tenth century the patron saint of Venice, St. Theodore, was a Greek; and that the Venetians did not adopt the feudal government, with its barbaric code of justice by ordeal and single combat, was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Byzantine Greeks, who, although barbaric, were, when compared with the Franks and Longobardians, entitled to rank as a civilized nation. It is to their influence, also, that the artistic richness and delicacy born of the union of the Byzantine, Moorish, and Gothic styles, still visible in the splendid structure of St. Mark's, may be traced. The art of working in glass was introduced into Venice by the Greeks. The Greek officers of the garrison furnished contributions, in order that the pavement of the Church of St. Euphemia might be completed; and the Emperor Leo, after sending the body of St. Zacharias to Venice, despatched thither many architects to build monasteries and churches in honor of that saint. Furthermore, we owe to the Greeks the foundations of the Ducal Palace (A.D. 820) and part of the Basilica of St. Mark. The Venetians learned from the Greeks the art of working in gold, silk, and silver; and at the sacking of Constantinople they acquired much valuable booty, which again furnished them with new ideas and magnificent artistic models.

But there was also an Eastern Syrio-Saracenic graft, which, in the very earliest times, had found its way into Venice. The coloring of the palaces, the richness of ornamentation in gold and mosaics, the manufactures in ivory and tapestries, and the art of gilding leather,—all these came originally from the Orient. Romanin justly observes that the merchants were naturally driven to the East, because all the West was at war. At times there were laws against buying Asiatic slaves,—for example, during the reign of Candiano IV, who, for this purpose, convoked the people and the nobles. In 959 and 971, at the request of the Greeks,—an additional proof of Greek influence,—it was forbidden to furnish the Saracens with arms or lumber for ships, under pain of a fine of 100 gold lire. Ash-wood, cotton, and dishes were sold in Syria and Africa, however—an indication of the continuous intercourse between those countries and Venice.

II.—CLIMATIC INOCULATION.

Climatic conditions also contributed considerably to the greatness of Venice. The Venetians—formerly dwellers on the mainland, and many of them mountaineers—came to live on coasts and islands: they fled before the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Goths, the Huns, and the Franks. Until the invasions of the two last-named peoples, the Venetians frequently returned to their original home. When, however, the Longobardians had pursued them to their very islands, the Venetians definitely quitted the mainland. They completely changed their habits and occupations; from field-laborers and horsemen becoming at once fishermen and sailors. In short, they passed through what I should designate as a “climatic inoculation,” *i.e.*, a transformation due to a change of climate, but more particularly of occupation. This change of occupation is extremely useful to a people; impressing on them entirely new characteristics. Indeed, there are instances where the character of a people has been completely changed in this way, as, for example, in the case of the Hebrew race, which, although never crossed by other nations, has yet, owing to change of climate and occupation, become an entirely new people; differing entirely from its forefathers, and endowed with progressive ideas such as the ancient Jews never possessed.

III.—SELECTION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

Another cause of the wonderful growth of Venice was the selection which took place in consequence of the various migrations, in which only the most crafty and the most skilful could survive. Obligated, as

they were, to live on desert islands,—at one time cruising about, at another engaged in the salt-works,—only the most vigorous remained to carry on the struggle for existence. This struggle went on through the successive invasions which kept these islanders in continual danger, never-ceasing motion, and perpetual apprehension. How many times did the exiles have to change their capital! From Rialto, necessarily to Grado, Albiola, Torcello, Heraclea, Malamocco, and, finally, to Venice. Moreover, there were the internal struggles by which Italy was continually agitated during the Middle Ages. Also the frequent encounters between the partisans of the Franks, Goths, Longobardians, and Greeks, in which we may trace a faint resemblance to the struggles between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines on the Continent.

The greatest source of trouble, however, was the struggle against the sea. Even in the days of Rome, the Venetians began to drive piles and to make dikes against its invasions; and they also constructed bridges to connect the islands. About A.D. 600 they invented a new system of water-supply, the famous "Venetian wells"; and these have lasted to the present day. "The nature of the soil," writes Romanin, "necessitated a new system of hydraulics, and new methods of building embankments, canals, and dikes"; while the constant danger of attack made new methods of fortification for the canals themselves imperative. These things made Venice famous, even from the eighth century. The magistrates gave much attention to the drying of the soil; and from the time of Cassiodorus, the Venetians were known as the most skilful mariners.

During this long struggle it was inevitable that the Venetians should lose all the qualities least needful to their preservation, and that only the most robust and the most prudent should be developed. Hence that profound wisdom which characterizes the Venetian Government from its very beginning, and which seems to me greater than even that of Rome; for, while in Rome force often supplied prudence, in Venice prudence supplied force.

IV.—COMMERCE AND WEALTH.

It was by reason of this energy and prudence that the fishermen and salt-miners of Venice became great merchants. Their experience of many years had made seamen of them. At first, they cruised along the coasts and rivers of their native land, and acquired their first gains in this way; and so they penetrated by the Po into Ferrara, by the Piave into Belluno, by the Brenta into Padua. Gradually, however, they pushed farther on into Croatia, Sicily, Dalmatia, and eventually reached

India, Egypt, and even Siam. At first they sold salt and salted fish; then cloth, chests, bowls, and lumber; then, little by little, they extended their traffic until they became the purveyors of the drugs of India, the gold fabrics of Constantinople, and the slaves of the Saracens. They were in touch with the nations of Eastern Africa at a time when Europe generally was unknown in that part of the earth. Mercantile skill, prudence, and wisdom, valuable attributes at all times, were especially so at a period when all daring belonged to war, and when the art of trading only survived among a few persecuted and despised Hebrews and among the usurers of Lombardy. In A.D. 1200 Venice had a "Bureau for the Administration of Trade"; and even at that early period she was demonstrating the utility of free exchange. From 1336 there existed in Venice a true national bank or "Chamber of Loans." This bank supported the cultivation of olives in Cyprus, provided for the improvement of waste lands, gave special grants in Belluno for metal-founding, in Brescia for cloths, in Cyprus for mining, conceded to a certain Lapidida the contract for the Dalmatian alabaster, and bestowed certain privileges for a period of ten years to inventors of machines; thus displaying a fervor for progressive ideas such as is found, at present, only in America.

Owing to the religious and political liberty enjoyed at Venice, many heretics and rebels established themselves in that province, as in 1328, when the fugitives of Lucca, fleeing from the tyranny of Castruccio, introduced the manufacture of silk stuffs, etc. Printing and numerous other inventions were also introduced in this way. The Venetians sent commercial agents, *consoli*, to establish agencies in Hungary, in Flanders, and even in Trebizonde. The Brothers Morosini alone had fifty commercial houses in Syria, with agents, factors, etc. This firm exported to Spain cloths, silver manufactures, velvets, new coins, and, alas! even false coins, and brought back tin, drugs, pearls, amber, as well as the pistachio and other nuts. Other houses bought sugar in the Levant in exchange for wool; they sold the sugar in Flanders; and, by these transactions, frequently quadrupled their capital in a single voyage.

This commercial activity resulted in immense wealth, more particularly after the year 1500, when the doges themselves were engaged in mercantile pursuits. Rents rose enormously. There were palaces with apartments renting at 800 sequins a year. A little room frequently cost 20 sequins a year; and tiny shops in the Rialto paid an annual rent of 100 ducats (1,300–1,800 lire). In a tax-book for 1357 the houses in

Venice are appraised at 2,882,818 ducats. The National Bank of Venice, the first in Europe, had, in 1386, a capital of 246,390 ducats; and foreigners competed for the privilege of investing in it. From a speech of the Doge Mocenigo, at the early part of the fifteenth century, it appears that the annual sales of Venice in Lombardy alone were as follows: Woollen cloths, 400,000 ducats; linen, 10,000; Spanish wool, 240,000; cotton, 250,000; thread, 30,000; gold and silk cloth, 250,000; soap, 250,000; spices and colonial goods, 549,000; dyes, 120,000 ducats.

Here we have sales amounting to more than two millions of ducats; the dyers, weighers, packers, and sailors making a profit of half a million ducats from this commerce. From 1420 to 1450 Venice had thirteen hundred ships. At the Fair of the Ascension, which lasted fifteen days, the inns could not accommodate all the visitors; many being compelled to find quarters in private families.

V.—THE FORMATIVE PERIOD.

Neither the Græco-Slavonic mixture nor the selective process engendered by her long struggle for existence would have been of avail to Venice, had not these conditions existed from the first, at the very infancy of this new people. This combination of circumstances, in an ethnological sense, corresponds to the *stato nascente* of vegetable chemistry, in which an old shoot, grafted on a new one, becomes more fruitful than either of the two plants would have been alone. In my "Delitto politico" I have shown what a wonderful effect this state has on the condition of a people. "Locality," writes Spencer, "has the greatest influence in the beginnings of civilization." This is the reason why Florence, despite her advantageous position and her very clever race, no longer produces such splendid types as formerly. This is also the reason why religion, although in former times it had such enormous power, has now so little influence on civilization. The race-graft produced in Poland an extraordinary evolution, which disappeared entirely after its first action was over.

VI.—FREEDOM.

The greatest factor of Venetian progress, however, was the high degree of freedom—at times almost anarchical—by which the government of the islands was characterized. Many historians incline to the opposite opinion, because of the close, intolerant oligarchy of the past four cen-

turies, which, being nearer to us, impress themselves more strongly. These historians overlook the fact that the visible, dazzling splendor of despotic governments is only the last result,—the echo, as it were, of the true greatness attained under free government. This was as true in the days of Venice as it was in the age of Pericles or of Augustus: freedom in Venice began with the origin of the city, with the gathering, almost without organization, of the refugees from the Continent. True, not a few of the exiles were wealthy, and brought with them their dependents, workmen, etc.; but their authority over these was limited. Under Prætorian and barbaric influences the powerful structure of aristocracy had vanished from the Roman Empire; so that the tendency, outside the army, was toward equality. Furthermore, the only sources of gain in the islands of Venice were the salt-works and maritime pursuits; and as the rich were dependent upon the laborer, the condition of the latter became greatly improved. "The poor and the rich," wrote Cassiodorus, "are equal, and eat the same food. The only resources they have are the salt-works and their boats."

It would be difficult to find anywhere a more democratic government than that which for ten centuries prevailed in Venice. From the year 432, *i.e.*, after the invasion of the Goths and Huns, the islands, where Venice was to be, began to be populated. Each of these islands elected for the common defence a "Tribune," to administer justice and to superintend public affairs; the office lasting one year. The tribune was responsible to a General Council of the twelve islands or provinces, which Council held the true sovereignty. The Tribunes of the Islands had for a centre, rather than for a capital, Grado. This continued for one hundred and fifty years. After A.D. 657, during the new invasions of the Longobardians and the Franks, when Malamocco and Grado were taken, the Venetians found it advisable to choose an official head of the government. Thus arose the office of the Doge, who was elected by popular suffrage. So late as 1071 the election of the Doge Selvo was by an assembly of the common people, held on the shore of the Lido. In this way also Contarini was chosen in 1069. In questions of greater importance, the people, summoned by a bell, congregated in the open space before the Cathedral, rank by rank, and decided as to the sovereign power. In 1127 we hear for the first time of representative suffrage. Each quarter nominated two Electors; these, collectively, nominated forty-seven Grand Electors and these, again, sixty Senators. After the year 1168 the doge was chosen in this way. In appearance, however, his election was based on the popular vote; for even as late as 1192 the

doge, as soon as selected, had to pass through the Piazza St. Mark to receive the public approval of his nomination. Whenever the doges were inclined to tyrannize they were forced to abdicate; being blinded, banished, or killed. When, in 755, Gallia, blinding his predecessor, usurped the power, he, in spite of all his efforts to have his nomination confirmed by the people, was assaulted and finally driven away. Not one moment of true feudal dominion did Venice endure; her palaces or castles were never fortified, as those of Verona, Florence, and Rome; nor did she ever make appeal to judgment by ordeal or single combat. She always had a real form of judicial procedure, conducted partly by her tribunes and partly by so-called "Judges of the Palace." Even the nominations of the priests and bishops were made by the people, who also took the liberty of removing those functionaries whenever they became unpopular. Religious independence lasted for a long time in the Republic, which, in this respect, was like an oasis in the midst of the Latin desert. Here heretics and Jews always enjoyed special protection; and when Venice was forced to accept the Inquisition, she limited it, placing it under the presidency of the doge and of the Council of Ten. In this way the Inquisition was for many years restrained in Venice by the popular judgment, which did not share the devilish fanaticism of the Inquisitors.

Little by little, after 1300, popular suffrage was abolished, until, after the closing of the Grand Council in 1310, it was entirely obliterated. As we shall see, however, all this happened without excesses. The populace was deprived of universal suffrage, successively by the establishment of the Greater Council in 1172; by the election of the doges by four or five successive stages; by the election of the magistrates; by complete exclusion from the Grand Council; and by the more infrequent convocation of the popular assembly, or Arrengo. In 1423, the latter also was abolished, it having been enacted that the decisions of the Greater Council had no need of popular approval. Finally, in 1472, even the *forms* of popular government were taken away; and in 1618 the aristocracy claimed all offices, even those of the cities and provinces. But, though this oligarchical transformation was gradual, it was not without grave popular reactions, such as the conspiracy of Bocconio in 1299, of Baiamonte Tiepolo, and of Faliero. A certain respect for the people always existed, even during the oligarchical *régime* in Venice; and in 1300, a year so fatal to democracy, three officers were appointed to protect the interests of the people; while in 1363-68 the *Giustizieri* were elected to supervise all contracts made for children working in factories,

and to see that they were well treated—a thing that our present liberal Italian Government has not yet done.

There were ordinances also against the sellers of bad grain,—ordinances such as have never been adopted by what is called “Liberal Italy.” Even the hours of labor were limited, never exceeding nine in winter; and these hours were announced by the great bell of the Rialto. Convents were urged to pay taxes on their property; individuals were persuaded to enrich their land; and it was forbidden to take domestic cattle in pledge.

In 1317 provision was made as to guides for strangers in the city; and in 1537 an Advocate for the Poor was appointed. Penal questions were settled by a majority vote after argument. There were purveyors of food, supervisors of health, and disinfectors of rags. Too great an interference on the part of the doge was prevented after the year 1200 by the so-called “*Correttori della promission ducale*.” Upon the death of every doge these *Correttori* sat in judgment upon his acts, and proposed remedies for obnoxious laws. In this way the power of the doge became more and more limited.

On the mainland the municipal government was still democratic, as it had been in Venice at the time of the Great Council. Bergamo elected a Council of ninety-two who governed the city; remaining in office thirty-two months. Two “Defenders,” or tribunes, were appointed to protect the interests of the people; while two other citizens were selected to pass judgment upon the various officials after their retirement.

Municipal government gradually became aristocratic, however; and this transformation, although slow, could not fail to stir up violent reactions. It engendered warlike ideas of conquest, which endangered the interests of the common people, and diverted the Government from its true aim, that of increasing commerce; involving it in continual struggles on the mainland against the Lombards, Franks, and Hungarians,—struggles waged with the help of mercenaries and faithless allies. Thus was prepared the downfall of the Republic.

The closing of the Grand Council (A.D. 1310) is contemporaneous with the war with Padua; and the closing of the Arrengo, with the great wars of the Foscari. It is noteworthy that the first attempt at tyranny by Candiano IV (A.D. 976) is associated with the increase of the army and attempts at conquest. The people, however, were not deceived by these attempts; for they killed Candiano, burned his palace, and threw his corpse into the slaughter-house. Upon the whole, it may be said that the decadence of Venice was owing to the loss of liberty; the attention

of the people being diverted by foreign conquest, and this at a time when the great geographical discoveries endangered the monopoly of Asiatic and African commerce, which Venice had hitherto enjoyed. Romanin justly says:

"It was not the discovery of America that caused the decay of Venice: it only marked and aggravated it. The cause of the decay was in the proportion, always increasing, of its conquests on the mainland."

Venice was withdrawn from sea and entangled in the vicissitudes of war; expending enormous sums, and ever forcing new taxes upon the people. Hence those grinding imposts, that extended even to dresses of the women and door-locks of the peasants. In consequence of these exactions, the peasants of Venice, like those of Turkey to-day, abandoned their fields. In this way the population was diminished by 80,000 souls in the year 1590 alone. Continuous and fruitless struggles, not only with the Turks and the Moors, but with Spain, Florence, and the Pope, were followed, first, by coalition's with the great Powers, then by defeats, and, finally, by an uncertain and contradictory policy which made Venice suspected by all. As a result of these circumstances, the great wealth of Venice gradually disappeared.

At the opening of the fourteenth century the true condition of affairs was not yet manifest, because of the vast amount of hoarded riches. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the symptoms were unmistakable. There were at the Arsenal, instead of 1,000 intelligent workmen, only 450 ignorant apprentices. With the loss of prosperity, wealth, and mutual confidence, freedom also disappeared; and when, at last, the Holy Office obtained complete control, every vestige of municipal liberty was lost, and there succeeded an oligarchical tyranny as severe and suspicious as a monarchy.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS:

NAPLES, RAVENNA, AMALFI, GENOA, FLORENCE, AND VENICE.

In order that the reader may grasp the full scope of my deductions, I would remind him of the fact that in ethnology and sociology, as in biology, causes are frequently numerous and complex. Thus, wealth springs from trade; trade is partly the fruit of freedom; and higher culture comes now from the one, now from the other, of these influences. Freedom increases the means of culture and wealth; favoring exchange, facilitating the arrival of persecuted foreigners, and in this way frequently introducing new forms of industry, as in Venice, Flanders, and Switzerland. The means of culture are introduced, in their turn, by commerce,

by reason of the facilities it affords for the dissemination of knowledge; and growing commerce, in its turn, increases wealth. If we contemplate all these influences as acting together, we shall begin to understand the true cause of Venetian greatness; for, while one or another of these causes may be seen operating singly in other parts of Italy,—as in Naples and Calabria,—in Venice we find them all combined. The mixtures with the Greeks, the Longobardians, and the Goths also existed in Calabria, where, for many centuries, all laws and public records were written in Greek. Here also, excellent physical conditions prevailed; while the sea furnished means of communication. But Naples did not receive the graft in its budding stage: her freedom was intermittent; and she achieved greatness in music and philosophy only.

Ravenna, a still stronger example, was compelled at first to struggle against the sea, and, like Venice, was built on piles. Ravenna also could boast of a mixture of races; for, according to Strabo, it was at first a colony of the Thessalians, then of the Sabines, then of the Romans. The Goths captured it in 493, and held it until 553, when it became subject to the Greeks, in whose hands it remained for a period of one hundred and eighty-five years. Then the Longobardians held it for thirty-one years, when it was given by the Emperor Charlemagne to the Pope. After that, it was governed by the Archbishop with the aid of three tribunes chosen from the people, and thus became a kind of republic. From 920 until about 1400, it was ruled by dukes and tyrants. It had a spacious harbor; and there could have been no lack of commerce. Wealth therefore was not wanting; nor were the struggles requisite to the development of power. Yet all these causes did not act together; nor were they present in the formative stage, as in Venice. In Venice moreover, the mixtures were tempered; while in Ravenna they were excessive. The too extensive Greek infiltration may have brought wealth and good taste; but at the same time it gave rise to effeminacy and a spirit of servility. We should remember, also, that when Ravenna might have made rapid strides forward, like Pisa and Genoa, she found in Venice a rival that throttled her.

The same may be said of Amalfi. In the tenth century that city carried on a considerable trade with the East. She had an excellent position on the coast, and was not, therefore, like her neighbors, compelled to acquire energy by fighting against the sea. Here, however, the mixture of foreign blood was not considerable; and the span of freedom was very short. There was also less fighting to do, and this only with the Saracens and the Longobardians.

Genoa and the Ligurians, too, had to contend against difficulties; yet their period of independence was very brief. At first they became slaves of the Romans, then of the Goths, and at last of the Franks; and it was only after 850,—more particularly from 1015 to 1050—that they could boast of any independence. In 1087 they were allies of the Pisans against the Moors. From 958 to 1100 they had indeed a free form of government, which consisted of a kind of tribal system; eight tribes being under one consul, as at Venice. But with commercial prosperity and triumph in war came loss of liberty. Compelled to give up their possessions in Greece and in Asia, and engaged in wars with Pisa and Venice, their attention was diverted from the maintenance of their liberty at home. Discords between the aristocratic Dorias and the Spinolas broke out; and the inhabitants took sides now with one faction, now with another. The people were represented by *podestas*, captains, and abbots, and finally by doges; but changes of title did not prevent their subjection to the nobility, who arrogated to themselves all the offices—offices originally devised as safeguards of liberty. Finally, foreigners, such as Henri IV, Robert of Naples, the Visconti, the Sforzas, etc., were called in to settle existing differences. Conquest and war extinguished liberty; and the people were always ready to follow the first demagogue who suggested a diminution of taxes.

Of Florence almost the same story may be told. Up to 1050 the Florentines recognized as their rulers bishops and margraves; they saved all their anger for heretics; and did not trouble themselves about liberty. Florence was not really free until about the year 1200. She was almost the last of the Italian republics, and enjoyed far less freedom than any of her predecessors. When Venice was beginning to lose her freedom, that of Florence was complete. Like that of Genoa, it was dimmed and interrupted by struggles with the feudal nobles,—almost all Germans,—who, from their castles, first hindered trade in the roads and then came into the city; menacing peace and liberty. The artizans and the peasants never had any real power. The chief sources of Florentine greatness, therefore, were native talent and an enterprising commercial spirit. This spirit, which revealed itself in the invention of bills of exchange, opposed the feudal customs that stood in its way, and became the prime factor in Florentine opulence.

Another source of Florentine greatness was the crossing with the Germans; for all the lords of the country, the Guidi, Uberti, Alberti, etc., who had come with their followers, were of Germanic stock. Tuscany had been swept clean by the Romans, and afterward by the Goths.

In speaking of this province, Perrens, in his "*Histoire de Florence*," records that "in many places not a man is to be seen." Tuscany, therefore, had to be repopled; more especially as it lay on the road to Rome. Here, then, we have a mixture of races, combined with liberty, and this during the formative period and among a people possessing natural talents and favored by physical conditions. Furthermore, there were the party struggles, which brought into play all the talents of the people. These conditions explain the greatness of Venice during the era of liberty—1200–1400. They were not conducive to political power, however; for the elements of prudence, energy, and perseverance were missing.

Venice eclipsed all these cities, because she united in her formative period all the necessary conditions which the other great centres of civilization possessed only separately. She was forced at the very outset to develop more energy in her struggle for existence, and also enjoyed a longer period of liberty.

Similar causes—liberty and the struggle against the sea—contributed to the greatness of still another people, a people otherwise not highly gifted, viz., the Low Germans and the Batavians. The original inhabitants of Holland certainly had not displayed great energy, nor an extraordinary love of liberty: they acquired these characteristics in their conflicts with the sea. By an inundation which took place in that country during the fifteenth century, sixty-two villages were destroyed and one hundred thousand persons drowned. From 1540 to 1648 twenty-five thousand hectares of this land were reclaimed from the ocean and cultivated. It is not astonishing that, amid such conditions, the Batavians, who originally lived in a low plain (a condition very unfavorable to development), should, eventually, have been transformed into a free nation.¹ At a time when the fashion for freedom was almost unknown in Europe, the people of Holland fought fiercely for their liberties against the aggressions of Spain and the tyranny of the Duke of Alva. Now when we consider, in this connection, that Venice enjoyed a longer period of freedom than any other nation of Europe,—eight hundred years,—we can understand why she surpassed all others in political greatness.

From all this it is easy to understand why government by the many, even though almost anarchical, should call into exercise all the talents, and afford opportunities for great men. From the time of the Tarquins, tyranny has always opposed, persecuted, and suppressed all individual greatness; and it is easier for art, politics, and science to prosper under a period of anarchy—when not too long—than under a tyranny or an

¹ I have elsewhere shown that great despotisms usually arise on great plains.

oligarchy, even though inspired for some time by a man of genius. Who would compare the art and the scientific works of Paris during the Napoleonic Empire to those of Athens or Florence in their anarchical times? Thus we can understand the somewhat puzzling phenomenon of the greatness of Florence as compared with that of Naples and Palermo, where we find no trace of any great work of art, and where all the great geniuses together do not rise to the Tuscan level.

Of course, as I have shown elsewhere, it is probable that geniuses are born in all countries. Frequently, however, their anomalous and unusual characters prevent recognition; and therefore they do not come to the front. Notwithstanding these conditions, it must be admitted that in democratic governments, where the ferment of freedom creates tolerance for new things, men of genius make their way much more easily, and readily find their proper spheres of usefulness; while applause rewards them and encourages them to new labors. In oligarchies or monarchies, on the other hand, everything tends to military glory, and all achievements redound to the honor of the chief, who thus maintains his *prestige*, and diverts the attention of the people from more useful aims. Hence the immense difference between the two great countries, the United States and Russia, both of which are progressive. Yet men of genius, who are thrown into prison in the latter, are in the former held worthy of the highest honors. Geniuses frequently arise in Italy; but, not being understood by the people, they disappear without leaving a trace,—unless, perhaps, free America adopts their inventions. Students of criminal anthropology are likewise repulsed by the authorities; and, if they do develop, it is because they receive the encouragement of more liberal countries. Sanarelli, who discovered the serum used against yellow fever, found only in the South American republics that recognition which was withheld in his own land.

In view of these facts, we may already catch a glimpse of the day when New York, so great a centre of commerce, liberty, wealth, and science, shall concentrate within herself, as once before did Venice, the true power of the world—the power of progress.

The principles involved in this article are applicable to the dangers now besetting the United States; and in view of my affection and admiration for that great country—a veritable paradise in the minds of thinking men of old Latin Europe—I cannot refrain from stating a few ideas which, in this connection, suggest themselves to me.

Those who have read the preceding pages will be convinced that the greatness of the Venetian States must be attributed primarily to the

liberty they enjoyed, and that the decline of their liberty was brought about chiefly by conquests in distant lands—conquests entailing tremendous expenses, hateful taxes, enormous armaments, and the surrender of the supreme power into the hands of men who ended in tyrannizing over them and in completely suppressing their liberty.

The latter purpose was the more readily accomplished because the masses, who were always inclined to war, were suffering from the complacency of vanity resulting from the glory of victories and conquests, and were therefore rendered less sensible to the gradual loss of freedom. The country being exposed to invasions by hostile forces, the suppression of liberty became a necessity; which suppression, though temporary, yet accustomed men to the idea of dictatorship.

Conquests, it is true, afforded a temporary wealth, and were fascinating to the people; but this wealth exhausted itself by its own excesses tending toward idleness and irremediable poverty. To the populace, conquest is fascinating; it is a drink which exhilarates. But precisely because it exhilarates the people, it intoxicates them, rendering them always ready to commit new blunders and quick to take offence; thus urging them on to foolish and shameful wars, in some one of which they finally lose their *prestige*.

Let the citizens of the United States carefully consider these facts before drinking the intoxicating, but poisonous, cup of conquest. Let them remember that the greatness of their country lies in its perfect independence of the rest of the world; that, once embroiled outside of America, it will, at the very least, obligate itself to alliances which will bring in their train formidable masses of adversaries. Let them bear in mind that there is nothing more dangerous for a nation founded on popular suffrage than to enter upon the descent toward war, down which declivity the popular instincts of all countries push and slip, in spite of the most powerful restraints. The breaking through of these restraints is, alas! fraught with the most imminent danger to America's greatest blessing, which is liberty, and the richest fruit of liberty—the absence of every form of militarism. Let them beware of militarism; for this is the source of all the evils that are ruining our Latin races.

C. LOMBROSO.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC.

LESS than a year ago the name of Edmond Rostand was hardly known outside of France, and not widely known there. Now he is one of the most famous of living dramatic poets; and the name of Cyrano de Bergerac, the "knight of the nose," the hero of his latest drama, is on the lips of theatregoers the civilized world over. Truly it was fame at a bound. "La Samaritaine," "Les Romanesques,"—they were good spring-boards. But Cyrano is a better one; and the leap is a *fait accompli*.

But another has shared in Rostand's fame. Cyrano de Bergerac—I mean the Cyrano of history—has also been "made," or shall I say remade? For he was one of those paradoxes, a practically unknown historical character, whom the encyclopædias summed up in a few lines, hardly as long as his nose.

Let us inquire for a moment who the real Cyrano was, and what in the way of historical material Rostand had to work upon. Fortunately, the latter was very scant. I say fortunately, because it gave the dramatic poet unhampered opportunity to deck his hero out with qualities that would make him dramatically interesting and effective. One thing about Cyrano is very certain; viz., he had a nose. But that it was the next largest peak to the Himalayas, as some more or less imaginative writers concerning him have playfully asserted, may be doubted. He was baptized in 1619 and died in 1655; and during his ebullient life he did several things which M. Rostand has cleverly utilized in his play. He was both a poet and a soldier; he wrote satiric verses and plays, from at least one of which Molière cribbed the scene beginning: "Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?" in his "Les Fourberies de Scapin." He also wrote a "Comic History of the States and Empires of the Moon," passages in which are said to have suggested to Swift the writing of "Gulliver's Travels."

Like the hero of the play, Cyrano was a Gascon Cadet of the company of Carbon de Castel-Jaloux; was wounded at the siege of Arras; and, according to eye-witnesses, put to flight, single-handed, a hundred men. He was killed, as in the play, by a log of wood being dropped

on his head; and his hours of death were eased by visits from his aunt, who was a prioress of the Convent of Daughters of the Cross, and by the gracious offices of Madeleine Robineau, widow of the Baron de Neuville—circumstances which will certainly interest those who know how finely Rostand has utilized these mere suggestions.

But, undoubtedly, what most struck M. Rostand about Cyrano was the large nose. Without that proboscis our author would probably never have thought of setting himself the task of constructing a play the reader and hearer of which would be brought to love a grotesque and ugly individual. Fantastic as the statement may seem, M. Rostand has really written his play with Cyrano's nose.

It is within bounds to say that he has given us one of the greatest plays, if not the greatest play, of the latter half of this century. Certainly nothing like the excitement created by it in dramatic and literary circles has been seen in France since Victor Hugo produced "Hernani" and bowled over the three unities of the classic drama as if they were so many ten-pins.

Numerous pæans have been sung in M. Rostand's praise by French critics; but, of all that has been said of him, I value most the opinion of the actor who created the rôle of *Cyrano* at the Porte St. Martin, Paris, December 28, 1897. Who should be better able than a distinguished actor—in this instance the most distinguished representative of the French stage—to deliver an opinion upon the qualifications of the author whose work he has interpreted so successfully?

Shortly after the production of "Cyrano," M. Coquelin wrote:

"I have seen him [M. Rostand] live, that is to say, I have seen him work seven or eight months; and I have never seen anything like it. He presents the most wonderful ensemble of *qualités de théâtre* which it is possible to conceive. This young man has everything and knows everything. I do not believe there exists a piece more effectively composed than 'Cyrano.'

M. Rostand is as great in placing his work in scene as he was in creating it. He sees everything; he pays attention to everything; he is incapable of neglecting the slightest detail; and no person could play *Cyrano* better than he. He has all the artifices of diction,—he has these with all the points of finesse, delicacy, and profundity of thought in expression.

He is a painter and a musician: he is a complete artist. To work with him is an enchantment. Need I say anything about him as a poet? He has in him all that is best in classic art, in romantic art, and in modern French art; and his tastes have all the *hauteur* of his talent. Here you have a little of what I think of him. It is as nothing compared with my full recognition of him; for I have as high an opinion of him as he has a right to have himself."

This is a striking tribute from an actor to his author, but no more

striking or charming than that which the author paid to his actor in the dedication of "Cyrano":

"It is to the soul of Cyrano I would dedicate this poem ;
But since that soul has passed into you, Coquelin, to you I dedicate it. "

But now for the piece itself. No one can read it, much less witness the finely tempered representation of it given by Mr. Richard Mansfield, the creator of *Cyrano* in English, without understanding at a single reading or a single hearing why it fairly flashed upon the world. Even when merely reading the printed page the stage-craft stands out so vividly that one seems to see the action transpiring before one's very eyes; while in watching the performance, the literary charm of the lines is, in such episodes as the balcony scene, wafted from the stage like the odor of violets. We have plays of action and plays of character-study; but here is one in which adventure, romance, and character-development combine with the highest literary qualities to make a play whose hero alternately amuses us with his fantastic conceits, charms us with his poetic feeling, moves us to admiration by his valor, and appeals to our deepest emotions through a self-sacrifice as pathetic as it is beautiful.

With rare dramatic instinct, M. Rostand works out these qualities in graded succession—amusing us, charming us, and thrilling us in the order named, and in the end moving the more sympathetic of us to tears. It is this admirable blending of humor and pathos, this laughter-and-tears quality of the drama, which give it its hold upon the entire audience. Yet it is all done according to the highest canons of French literary art,—the lines of the original are Alexandrines;—so that, full of action as the piece is, it never descends to melodrama, and, though the adventure and romantic portions interest and stir us, we never lose sight of the leading character, so very complex yet so very simple because, withal, human. What that character means can best be brought out in a running commentary on the principal scenes in the play.

The first act opens in the hall of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1640, where a theatrical performance is about to begin. The real stage represents the auditorium; the mimic stage being set up to the left. The audience is gathering. A most life-like picture of the period is presented in this scene, which is enlivened by numerous incidental episodes, as, for instance, that in which a party of brisk young pages angle from the gallery, with a thread and pin, for an old fellow's wig; finally

hooking it and drawing it up amid screams of laughter. The characteristics of each group in the audience are admirably drawn. One hears, too, some talk of *Cyrano* and of his grotesque nose, and of his propensity to fight a duel with any man who comments upon it.

Cyrano's entrance is capitally managed. The curtain on the mimic stage has gone up, and a fat actor, named *Montfleury*, has come forward to the tallow foot-lights and begun his mouthing speech. The artistic sense of *Cyrano*—*Cyrano*, roysterer, Gascon Cadet, duellist, and poet—has been outraged by *Montfleury's* poor acting. Moreover, the actor has dared to ogle at the fair *Roxane*; and *Cyrano* has forbidden his appearance for a month. *Montfleury* has hardly spoken a few lines before one hears *Cyrano's* voice bidding him retire. There is a protest from the audience, who wish the play to go on. As the audience surges around *Cyrano*, still vehemently protesting against his interrupting the play, he challenges the whole pit collectively: "Let all who long for death hold up their hands!" There are a few more scattered protests; but *Montfleury*, choosing discretion as the better part of valor, disappears as through a trap.

This leads to one of the episodes and speeches of the play that have become famous. A certain *Viscount de Valvert*, taking offence at *Cyrano's* interruption of the performance, and at the same time desiring to display his own valor to the crowd, goes up to *Cyrano* and says: "Sir, your nose is . . . hm . . . it is . . . very big!" *Cyrano*, apparently imperturbed, takes the *Viscount* to task for not having displayed more originality in his remark. This is the famous speech of the nose. Had the *Viscount* desired to be descriptive he might, says *Cyrano*, have remarked:

" 'Tis a rock! . . . a peak! . . . a cape!
—A cape, forsooth! 'Tis a peninsula!"¹

On the other hand, had the *Viscount* wished to be gracious, he might have said:

"You love the little birds, I think?
I see you've managed, with a fond research,
To find their tiny claws a roomy perch!"

Or he might have exclaimed with truculence:

"When you smoke your pipe . . . suppose
That the tobacco-smoke spouts from your nose,—
Do not the neighbors, as the fumes rise higher,
Cry, terror-struck: 'The chimney is afire'?"

¹The quotations are from the translation by GLADYS THOMAS and MARY F. GUILLEMARD.

Or had the *Viscount* been capable of human tenderness, he might have expressed this caution concerning the nose:

“Pray get a small umbrella made,
Lest its bright color in the sun should fade!”

And so *Cyrano* runs the gamut through a speech of no less than fifty-four lines of such variety, and at the same time so capitally illustrating the cynicism and satirical acumen of his character, that the interest is sustained from beginning to end.

A duel ensues between the *Viscount* and *Cyrano*; the latter premising that he will compose a *ballade* while he fights and will “touch” the *Viscount* on the last line of the *envoi*. The duel begins; *Cyrano* parrying each thrust of his opponent, and at the same time improvising the three eight-lined stanzas of the *ballade*. Here is *Cyrano’s envoi*:

“Prince, pray Heaven for your soul’s weal!
I move a pace—lo, such! and such!
Cut over,—feint!”

(*Thrusting.*)

“What ho! You reel?”

(*The VISCOUNT staggers. CYRANO salutes.*)

“At the *envoi’s* end, I touch!”

Cyrano now has the whole mimic audience with him. Even the women in the boxes,—among them *Roxane*,—who were much chagrined at his interruption of the performance, have found the poetic duel far more interesting; and they applaud him loudly.

When the audience has dispersed, *Cyrano* confesses to his friend *Le Bret* that he is in love with *Roxane*, but that, on account of his grotesque nose, he can never hope to win her or any other woman. The lines are full of pathos:

“At times I’m weak: in evening hours dim
I enter some fair pleasaunce, perfumed sweet;
With my poor ugly devil of a nose
I scent spring’s essence,—in the silver rays
I see some knight,—a lady on his arm,
And think, ‘To saunter thus ’neath the moonshine,
I were fain to have my lady, too, beside!’
Thought soars to ecstasy . . . O sudden fall!
—The shadow of my profile on the wall!”

Le Bret, however, tells him that he saw *Roxane* herself deathly pale as she watched the duel; and when, a few minutes later, *Roxane’s* duenna comes to *Cyrano* with the request that he appoint a meeting

with the fair lady for the morrow, he is inspired with the hope—alas! only too soon to be dashed to pieces—that, despite his grotesqueness, she may love him for his valor. The act ends with *Cyrano*, once more in his character of swashbuckler, going forth to fight single-handed one hundred men who, he learns, are lying in wait for one of his friends.

It would be profitable, if space permitted, to go into some detail concerning the earlier scenes of the second act, which are laid in *Ragueneau's* pastry-shop; but I can only touch upon them. *Ragueneau*, the poetic pastry-cook, who allows the poor poets to come and feast upon his dainties; *Lise*, his shrewish wife, who turns the manuscript pages of his own poems into paper bags for tarts and puffs,—these and other characters are capitally drawn; and the humor of the episodes lightens the action of the play.

It is here that *Cyrano* meets *Roxane*. The latter confesses to him that she is in love: and her description of her lover—as one who knows not that she is in love with him; as a poor youth who all this time has loved timidly from afar and dared not speak; and one who belongs to *Cyrano's* own regiment, is in fact a cadet in *Cyrano's* own company,—rouses in *Cyrano's* breast the hope that *Roxane* is confessing her love for himself. But as soon as she describes her lover as proud, noble, young, intrepid, *fair*—*Cyrano* knows at the word “fair” that *Roxane* is not for him. She has, in fact, come to beg him to exercise a kindly protection over her lover, *Christian de Neuville*.

Poor *Cyrano*! Not only can he not win the woman who is the consuming passion of his life, but he is asked to be a guardian to his rival. From this point begins the self-effacement of *Cyrano*. We have been amused by his grotesqueness, and moved to admiration by his valor. But now he begins to creep into our sympathy; for from now on he practises the self-sacrifice which grows more beautiful as the play proceeds, and fills us with love and pity for this strange creature until his very nose—which, by one of the strangest yet most admirable freaks of genius, Rostand has made the root-cause of all his hero's woes—becomes pathetic instead of grotesque. Were *Cyrano* a handsome man, his self-sacrifice would not arouse the pity it does. His very ugliness makes his self-sacrifice the more touching.

Occasionally, it is true, the old roysterer and swashbuckler in him break out again, as when he introduces the Cadets to *De Guiche* with the famous *chanson des Cadets de Gascogne*:

“The bold Cadets of Gascony,
Of Carbon of Castel-Jaloux!

Brawling and swaggering boastfully,
 The bold Cadets of Gascony!
 Spouting of armory, heraldry,
 Their veins a-brimming with blood so blue,
 The bold Cadets of Gascony,
 Of Carbon of Castel-Jaloux!"

But we are soon brought to the turning-point of the play, that wonderful conception of Rostand's which inspires *Cyrano*—when he discovers that *Christian*, though handsome, has not the wit by which *Roxane*, being a *précieuse* of the day, sets so much store—to write love-letters for *Christian* and to teach him love-speeches to address to her. In other words, the ugly *Cyrano* puts his own poetic soul into *Christian's* beautiful body; thus making him an ideal lover for a woman like *Roxane*, the while bearing his own suffering with a smile. It is quite impossible to follow out all the scenes in detail; but from this point on they are most skilfully contrived to emphasize *Cyrano's* love for *Roxane* and the pathos of his self-sacrifice.

These are beautifully set forth in the balcony scene of the third act. *Roxane* is leaning over the balcony; while *Christian* speaks to her words which *Cyrano* whispers to him. But *Christian* is not quick enough; and, when *Roxane*, leaning over the balcony, asks why he speaks so falteringly, *Cyrano* pushes him aside and, imitating *Christian's* voice, pours forth his own love for the fair lady. One impassioned phrase follows another; the scene reaching its climax when *Cyrano* asks her for a kiss and then stands aside while *Christian* climbs the lattice and receives it. The lines are charming:

* "A kiss, when all is said,—what is it?
 An oath that's ratified,—a sealèd promise,
 A heart's avowal claiming confirmation,—
 A rose-dot on the 'i' of 'adoration,'—
 A secret that to mouth, not ear, is whispered,—
 Brush of a bee's wing, that makes time eternal,—
 Communion perfumed like the spring's wild flowers,—
 The heart's relieving in the heart's outbreathing,
 When to the lips the soul's flood rises, brimming!"

The line, "A rose-dot on the 'i' of 'adoration,'" has already become almost a familiar quotation. Pathetic are the words in which *Cyrano* expresses his own suffering, as *Roxane's* lips meet *Christian's*:

"Strange pain that wings my heart!
 The kiss, love's feast, so near! I, Lazarus,
 Lie at the gate in darkness."

Several humorous incidents are introduced in this act to relieve the

"sweetness long drawn out." The *Count de Guiche* is in love with *Roxane*; and, fearing an interruption from him, *Cyrano* stations a party of lute-players on the street nearby, with instructions to play a sad air if a man appears, but a merry tune for a woman. In the midst of the love-making the lutes are sounded. They play first sadly, then gayly. "What? Neither man nor woman?" queries *Cyrano*. "Oh, a monk!" This speech and the entrance of a friar immediately upon it never fail to raise a pleasant ripple of laughter.

The monk is, however, introduced for a further purpose: his coming has a direct bearing upon the action. He has a letter from *De Guiche* for *Roxane*. *Roxane*, by giving a false reading to it, makes the monk believe that it is a request from *De Guiche*, who is her guardian, that she marry *Christian* forthwith, because the Gascon Cadets are about to be ordered to the Spanish War; and the friar follows *Roxane* and *Christian* into the former's house, in order to perform the ceremony, while *Cyrano* remains outside, to detain *De Guiche* whose speedy coming the letter really announced.

The ensuing scene is one of the cleverest in the play. The night is dark, save for the faint illumination of the moon. *Cyrano* climbs upon the wall and, as *De Guiche* enters, suddenly drops from it and, with his cloak wrapped round him and crouching low, appears before the *Count* like a black spectre. He capers about, asking all kinds of unintelligible questions, until *De Guiche* exclaims: "He's raving mad!" *Cyrano*, constantly keeping between the *Count* and the house,—thus preventing the nobleman from entering,—plays the part of a sprite dropped from the moon. He feigns ignorance of where he is. He asks if it is Africa or Venice or Rome, until *De Guiche* tries to pass, with the impatient explanation, "A lady waits!" "Oho!" exclaims the moon sprite, "I am in Paris!" *Cyrano* keeps this up in an assumed voice; interesting *De Guiche*, in spite of himself, until there has been time enough for the ceremony to have been performed, when, dropping to his natural accents, he exclaims, to the *Count's* dismay:

"I'll hinder you no more:
The marriage-vows are made."

The act closes with a charming scene. Bear in mind that all *Christian's* love-letters have been written by *Cyrano*. They are obliged to hurry off to the war together. Distant drums are heard. *Roxane*, turning to *Cyrano*, begs him to promise that he will see that *Christian* does not risk his life; that her lover will be prudent; that he will not

catch cold; that he will be faithful. *Cyrano* shrugs his shoulders to all these requests. He will do his best, but promise?—that is another matter. *Roxane* has another request to make. "Promise that he will write oft!" "That," says *Cyrano*, who has written all the letters that have so charmed *Roxane*, "I promise you!"

This little turn at the end is so felicitous and, with all its humor, nevertheless throws again into such strong relief *Cyrano's* self-sacrificing nature, that, as the curtain goes down, the audience, not knowing whether to laugh or to wipe away a tear, simply applauds vigorously. *Cyrano* has completely won its sympathies: it now loves him.

The tumultuous fourth act, representing the siege of Arras and the almost complete annihilation of the Gascon Cadets, serves to bring out in still stronger relief *Cyrano's* self-sacrifice. Twice daily he risks death in stealing through the enemy's lines, in order to send to *Roxane* love-letters which he himself has written, but which are supposedly from *Christian*. In a very charming scene *Roxane* arrives at the camp of the Cadets; bringing them provisions and cheer at a time when they are sadly in need of them. She confesses to *Christian* that, while she at first loved him for his beauty, she now loves him for his soul, as shown in his letters. *Christian* immediately realizes that it must be *Cyrano* whom she loves, and charges the latter to explain the true situation to *Roxane*. *Cyrano* is almost on the point of doing so, when the enemy begins an attack, and *Christian* is killed at the first discharge of musketry. Then, rather than appear to slander a dead friend, *Cyrano* keeps the secret of their double wooing to himself.

Superb is the end of this act, when the Spaniards, coming in full view of the dead Cadets, *Cyrano*, standing erect amid a storm of bullets, and speaking as if he were introducing his slain comrades to the foe, rips out with:

"The bold Cadets of Gascony,
Of Carbon of Castle-Jaloux!"

and plunges into the thick of the fray.

In exquisite contrast to the storm and stress of this scene is the tranquil opening of the next and last act in the park of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Paris. There, for fifteen years, *Roxane* has lived in retirement, mourning *Christian's* death; and thither every Saturday has come the faithful *Cyrano* to bring her the news of the outer world. She playfully dubs him her "Gazette." In the very last scene of all *Roxane* is finally brought to a realization that it was *Cyrano* who wrote

the beautiful letters which she had supposed were *Christian's*, and that it was he whose voice crept into her soul from under the balcony that moonlit night.

Cyrano's satirical verses have made him many enemies; and, a few steps from his house, as he is issuing forth to visit *Roxane*, someone lets fall a large piece of wood which, striking his head, wounds him mortally. Nevertheless, after having it bandaged, he covers the wound with his beaver as well as he can, and makes his way to *Roxane*. Weak though he is, he begins detailing his budget of news, and when he faints in the midst of it, attributes his faintness, after he has been brought to, to an old wound received at Arras.

This naturally leads to reminiscences; and *Roxane* gives him a letter to read,—a letter addressed to herself, and bearing stains of tears and blood, which she had found on *Christian's* body. It is one of *Cyrano's* own letters. He begins reading it aloud. After a while she looks up and notices that he is not reading, but reciting it, and that, though the shades of evening have darkened so that the written words are illegible, he still continues. At the closing words of the letter:

“Here, dying, and there, in the land on high,
I am he who loved, who loves you,—I . . .”

Roxane places her hand on *Cyrano's* shoulder, and, with a simplicity which adds to the pathos of the scene, says through the dusk:

“And, fourteen years long, he has played this part
Of the kind old friend who comes to laugh and chat!”

But something besides the love of *Roxane* has come to *Cyrano*. The chill of death is on his brow. *Roxane* may exclaim, “Live, for I love you!” but it is too late. The approach of death seems only to deepen the tenderness of *Cyrano's* love for *Roxane*. How exquisite are the lines in which he protests, when she exclaims, “I have marred your life—I, I!” Resting his eyes upon her he answers:

“You blessed my life!
Never on me had rested woman's love,
My mother even could not find me fair;
I had no sister; and, when grown a man,
I feared the mistress who would mock at me.
But I have had your friendship—grace to you,
A woman's charm has passed across my path.”

No critic, however keen, could analyze *Cyrano's* character more completely than Rostand himself has done by words which, in this

scene, he has put into his hero's mouth. They sum up the whole pathos of his self-sacrificing nature :

“Look you, it was my life
To be the prompter every one forgets !
That night when 'neath your window *Christian* spoke
—Under your balcony, you remember? Well !
There was the allegory of my whole life :
I, in the shadow, at the ladder's foot,
While others lightly mount to Love and Fame !”

As the end approaches, *Cyrano* once more pulls his failing forces together ; and, starting up with the strength of one in delirium, cries out, “What ho ! Cadets of Gascony !” Then, bracing himself against a tree, he faces death :

“It comes. E'en now my feet have turned to stone,
My hands are gloved with lead ! But since Death comes,
I meet him still afoot, and sword in hand !
. . . Why, I well believe
He dares to mock my nose? Ho ! insolent !
What say you? It is useless? Ay, I know !

You strip from me the laurel and the rose !
Take all ! Despite you there is yet one thing
I hold against you all, and when, to-night,
I enter Christ's fair courts, and, lowly bowed,
Sweep with doffed casque the heavens' threshold blue,
One thing is left, that, void of stain or smutch,
I bear away despite you.

(*He springs forward, his sword raised ; it falls from his hand ; he staggers, and falls back into the arms of LE BRET and RAGUENAU.*)

ROXANE.

(*Bending over him and kissing his forehead.*)

'Tis? . . .

CYRANO.

(*Opening his eyes, recognizing her, and smiling.*)
My plume.”

And so, like a knight, *sans peur et sans reproche*, the honor and the faith which enabled him to sacrifice his own love for his dead friend and for the woman he worshipped still unsullied, he passes away.

Poor *Cyrano* !—“You strip from me the laurel and the rose” ; but what death has taken away, has not a young French poet given back to you with a stroke of his pen ? Your ashes, which, during the Reign of Terror, were taken from their resting-place and scattered, has not *Rostand* gathered them again and deposited them in an exquisite urn—the glory of the literary France of to-day ?

GUSTAV KOBÉÉ.

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THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOR a people of peaceable disposition, almost entirely devoted to the varied pursuits of civil life, the citizens of the United States take very great pride and interest in their soldiers. This pride and this interest are not misplaced. Compared with the immense standing armies of Continental Europe, our army is insignificant in point of numbers; but man for man, in the possession of qualities that go to make the soldier,—physique, intelligence, and courage,—it can safely claim the highest place.

As the status of a community depends upon the enterprise and integrity of its individual citizens, so the army, as a whole, must reflect the character of the soldier. Viewed in this light, it is no wonder that the army has risen high in the public esteem and has won for itself new laurels. The time has passed when the private of the regular army might be truthfully made the butt of scornful jest, or when the fact that he was an enlisted man might be taken as *prima facie* evidence of his failure in life. On the contrary, the legal requirements which must be observed before a man can enlist, and the physical examination which he must pass, make it certain that his acceptance is a guarantee of many excellent qualifications. The courage and patriotic devotion of the regulars are most convincingly attested by the battles of El Caney, San Juan, Santiago, and Manila, and by the several engagements in Porto Rico: of their conduct while cooped up in transports, or when pressing forward on the fatiguing march, let the records speak. From the time that the Fifth Army Corps left Tampa,

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June 14, until it went to Montauk Point, August 24, the commanding general was not called upon to order the trial of a single officer or private by general court martial. This is a wonderfully clean record for an organization of more than twenty thousand men.

Within the past few years the *personnel* and the *morale* of the United States army have improved to a remarkable degree. Compared with the conditions which existed twenty-five years ago, the change is almost marvellous; and it is the purpose of this article to dwell briefly upon the reasons which led to new methods, and to glance at the improvement which these new methods produced. One need only go back to the eighties, for instance, to recall the laxity which attended enlistments. The recruit who easily entered through the front door made his exit from the army with equal smoothness; the result being that, for a time, the desertions outnumbered the enlistments and became a national disgrace. The necessity for reform was evident; and this reform very properly began with a closer scrutiny of the men who offered themselves for military service. As the years have gone by the gantlet which the applicants have been forced to run has been made more and more severe, until last year only about 3 men were accepted to every 10 rejected; or, to be exact, while 29,521 recruits were obtained, 98,277 applicants were rejected as lacking in legal, mental, moral, or physical requirements.

In the first place, it is worth while to emphasize the fact that the army of the United States is American in every sense of the word. It is a legal requirement that the accepted soldier shall be a citizen of the United States, or shall have declared his intention to become a citizen. So well is this fact known that, although nearly 130,000 men presented themselves to the recruiting officers last year, about 5,000 only were aliens; and these were, of course, promptly rejected. Of the 29,521 accepted applicants, 24,490 were native-born, and 5,031 of foreign birth. These figures afford pleasing evidence of the fact that the American youth does not regard the army with aversion. So long as this percentage of native blood is annually injected into the army, there will be no lack of enthusiastic and noble devotion to the country's flag, or of heroic defence of the national honor, whenever the latter is assailed.

The private soldier must be not only an American citizen, but also a good citizen. When this point was insisted upon, a great step in the direction of obtaining a better army was taken. The recruit must bring with him, when he seeks admission to the army, testimonials of good

character signed by two persons; and it is a part of the military requirements that

“if satisfactory evidence of good character, habits, and condition cannot be furnished by the recruit or be otherwise obtained, the presumption should be against him and he should *not* be accepted.”

In addition to being of good character, generally speaking, he must specifically be free from intemperate habits; and recruiting officers are directed to seek closely for evidences of intoxication or other forms of debauchery. The regulations in this regard are so strict that the recruiting officer would be perfectly justified in rejecting men upon whom the smell of liquor was perceptible. The intelligence of an applicant is also a factor in influencing his acceptance. Under the law he must speak, read, and write the English language. The day of the drunken and illiterate soldier has passed; and in his stead we are securing a most desirable class of citizens. It is pertinent, in this connection, to quote from “Tripler’s Manual,” the official guide for officers in their examination of recruits:—

“The examination of men for enlistment may, in general terms, be divided into the *physical*, the *intellectual*, and the *moral*. In the emergencies which our troops are called upon to meet, where celerity of movement and ability to endure privations and hardships are indispensable to success, the necessity for able-bodied men is obvious. Intellectually, although no educational standard is officially established, a soldier should be able to read and write, and should also be quick and clear in his understanding. The advance in the science and art of war and the improvement in modern fire-arms call for a higher degree of intelligence than was required of the soldier in the past. This is recognized by the Government by the establishment of schools and libraries, by providing reading-rooms that are liberally supplied with periodicals and newspapers, and by opening the way for promotion to all who will avail themselves of these opportunities for advancement. The care and attention that the soldier is required to give to his weapon and ammunition, the drill which their use entails, and the skill which may be attained by the practice of rifle-firing develop individuality, excite interest and ambition, and tend to make the profession attractive. It is, therefore, desirable that men should be selected who can appreciate this life and who have the mental capacity to profit by it.

The moral character should be scrutinized with care in order that enlistments from the vagrant and criminal classes may be avoided. The recruiting *rendezvous* is a favorite haunt for these men; and a study of their personal characteristics will well repay the recruiting officer for his labor. The vagrant seeks admission to the army, usually at the beginning of winter, for shelter, food, and clothing, without any intention of completing his enlistment or of performing any more service than he is compelled. The criminal seeks to bury his unsavory history under an assumed name, and, by service in distant stations, to escape the observation of those who know him. The evil influence of even one of this class cannot be overestimated; and no degree of physical perfection or soldierly bearing should induce a recruiting officer to accept his service.”

I have quoted at this length in order to impress upon the reader the care which is now exercised in selecting even the private soldier for the army of the United States; but I should still fail in my purpose if I did not indicate some of the questions which the applicant is compelled to answer before he passes into the hands of the examining surgeon:—

“Have you given your true name or an assumed one?”

Do you understand clearly the nature of the oath of enlistment, and are you fully determined to serve the United States honestly and faithfully?

What is your object in enlisting? Do you clearly understand the nature of the ‘Declaration of Recruit,’ connected with enlistment?

Are you familiar with the Act of Congress ‘to prevent desertions from the army and for other purposes?’

Do your parents or other relatives know of your intention to enlist?

Are there any reasons for your parents or other relatives objecting to your enlistment?

Give the names of two reputable persons, residents near the home of your parents, who are acquainted with them?

Have you given up any occupation on account of health or habits?

By what firm or individual have you been employed in the past six months?

Was your character good when you left that employment or service?

State residence of firm or individual, with post-office address.”

There are numerous other questions, concerning the man’s father and mother and his own personal physical condition, and whether he has been convicted of a felony or imprisoned in a jail or penitentiary. The inquiries relating to his bodily health are particularly rigorous. Nor have I yet mentioned the safeguards which the Government has erected in order to insure the highest type of manhood for its army. The recruiting officer is held to a rigid accountability for the enlistment of men who may be found unfitted for service; and if the enlistment has been carelessly made in violation of regulations, the expenses incurred may be deducted from the officer’s pay. Above all, the army regulations expressly provide that recruiting officers shall not allow any man to be enticed into the service by false representations, but that they shall personally explain to every man, before he signs the enlistment paper, the nature of the service, the length of the term, and the amount of pay, clothing, rations, and other allowances to which the soldier is entitled by law. In short, it is the purpose of the Government to secure not the greatest number of men, but the best men,—the men who are sober, intelligent, sound in body and limb; who present, in fact, the highest type of American citizens. Of such is now the *personnel* of the army of the United States.

The barriers to the enlistment of unsuitable men are much greater

than in any other country. Great Britain, for example, requires only applicants for the Household Cavalry to give certificates of good character; while the educational tests are restricted to those who desire to enter the Engineer Corps. In this country, moreover, the essentials as to height, weight, chest measurement, and age are also more exacting than in England. Notwithstanding the severity of the examinations, however, the War Department, as I have already shown, has been very successful in securing a sufficient number of men to fill the ranks to the limit at present allowed by law, viz., 60,000. If the army shall be increased to 100,000 men,—as we hope it may,—the Department will be compelled to seek 40,000 additional enlistments. It is a well-known fact in military experience that enlistments are always slower in times of peace than in war; the excitement of the latter period offering inducements to adventurous men. In addition to this, a period of commercial activity, which gives employment to thousands of men who had been living in enforced idleness, decreases the desire to find in the army a refuge from threatened poverty. Under these circumstances, it will, in my opinion, become the duty of Congress to enact legislation that will make more attractive and encouraging the future of the men who enter the army.

Whether it will be possible, or even advisable, to secure an increase of pay for the private, is a question that I am not now prepared to answer; but I cannot emphasize too strongly the justice and wisdom of dealing more generously with the non-commissioned officer. A step in the right direction was taken when Congress some years ago increased the pay of first sergeants to \$25 a month; and now, more than ever, a broad policy is demanded. Thoroughly efficient non-commissioned officers are invaluable in regimental and company organizations; and to secure these we must offer substantial inducements in order that the men of superior intelligence and qualifications in the ranks shall strive for the higher positions. Everyone familiar with military organization is fully cognizant of the fact that the efficiency of the command is largely dependent upon these non-commissioned officers of the line, from sergeant-major to corporal: for they are in immediate contact with and in control of the men; and successful administration is certain if they possess character, capacity, integrity, energy, and soldierly qualities. If we can build up the army upon the solid foundation of capable non-commissioned officers, we shall have no reason to feel dubious as to the superstructure. A private is always a candidate for promotion to the non-commissioned grades; and his promotion rests entirely with him-

self. If he conducts himself well, and possesses the necessary qualifications, his advancement is sure; while the knowledge that merit, not favor, will secure the coveted stripes upon the arm, will awaken the ambition of the intelligent and capable men in the ranks. Increased pay and honest, impartial promotions will induce desirable men to enter the army as a profession even in times of peace; while, in the event of war, the non-commissioned officers thus selected and trained in the regular army would prove admirable officers for volunteer companies. The importance of this subject, therefore, cannot be overestimated.

The pay of the private soldier begins with \$13 a month. In his third year this is increased \$1 a month; in his fourth, \$2 a month; and in his fifth, \$3 a month. If the soldier reënlists, he gets \$2 a month additional. Non-commissioned officers receive the same increase. This pay is not so small as it seems, inasmuch as the soldier is provided with food, lodging, clothing, and medical attendance in addition. In time of war he has, of course, to suffer many unavoidable hardships. In garrison, however, he is well fed and has comfortable barracks. If he is ill, he receives medical attendance and medicines; and, no matter how long his illness lasts, he continues to draw full pay. A liberal amount of furlough is allowed him; and while on such furlough, he receives not only full pay, but 25 cents a day additional as commutation of rations. His clothing allowance is so liberal that, with care, not only can he be well clothed, but can receive, at his discharge, a sum of money equal to the difference between the money value of clothing allowed and of clothing drawn. This often amounts to more than \$100. A few necessary expenses he must meet himself; but it is clear that much the larger portion of his pay represents what in civil life would be money saved after all necessary expenses had been met. The Government also permits and encourages soldiers to deposit money with paymasters, and allows 4 per cent interest on such deposits. There are many cases of these deposits reaching large sums. If he remain in the army, he can, after thirty years' service, be placed on the retired list, with three-quarters of the pay allowances to which he was entitled at the time of his retirement.

In this country, where events follow each other in rapid succession, the conditions of yesterday are not the conditions of to-day, and these latter are, in turn, superseded by the developments of to-morrow. Consequently, a discussion of the army of the future, which only a short while ago would have been without significance, is at this time fraught

with tremendous interest. It is even probable that by the time this article appears Congress will have begun consideration of a measure looking to the permanent increase of the army. The Bill is already upon the calendar of the House of Representatives, with a favorable report from the Committee on Military Affairs, and is, upon the whole, a most desirable measure. Judging from the past, however, it may be expected that opposition will be manifested to any project looking to the increase of the standing army of the United States; but, laying aside my own point of view as a military officer, and viewing the situation as an American citizen concerned in the greatness and progress and welfare of his country, I cannot sympathize with the sentiment that would keep us on the basis of a quarter of a century ago.

We need a larger army. The term of enlistment of the volunteer forces will soon expire; and it is to be expected that the men who so self-sacrificingly gave up their business to uphold the national honor will desire to resume their civic vocations. At the same time, the conditions in our new territorial acquisitions will require the presence of an armed force; and this force must be the regular army. This proposition is too obvious to need discussion; and its self-evident truth will doubtless be promptly appreciated in Congress. The increase in the line of the army should be by the addition of the necessary number of regiments organized as are those now in the service. The number of officers should be increased by one first lieutenant to each troop, battery, and company. This would enable the War Department to meet the demands for various details required by law, and yet leave the troops with the necessary number of officers for their proper discipline and instruction. In war, also, it would allow the appointment of a sufficient number of generals and general staff officers, without destroying the efficiency of the army, as was threatened by the recent experience of the Department.

The army of the future should not be less than 70,000 enlisted men. This is only one man for every 1,000 of population,—a proportion ridiculously small. A city of 10,000 people, for instance, if it supplied its quota, would be represented by ten persons only,—an almost infinitesimal proportion. There can be no menace to the Republic in a standing army of proportions so meagre, when compared with the total population. It must also be remembered that at all times a very large proportion of the army will be serving out of the United States; so that the average number of soldiers within our own borders will be little, if any, larger than under the old *régime*.

The experience of the war with Spain has also taught us the necessity of a larger standing army, because it is impossible for militiamen to become trained soldiers at a moment's notice. For the prompt response of the volunteers to the President's call for troops; for their patience while in camp and their courage on the field of battle; and for the readiness with which they absorbed the atmosphere of military life, I have nothing but the highest praise. At the same time, the experiences through which the War Department passed during the days when the volunteers were being mustered in have convinced me that in the future the National Guard must be conducted on a different basis, if it is to become adequate as a fighting force.

Nothing could be better in theory than the spontaneous and enthusiastic organization of the young men of the country into regiments, their self-chosen military service affording them pleasant recreation and wholesome discipline. At the breaking out of the war with Spain we fondly looked to the National Guard to meet the crisis; but, as a matter of fact, it was only in one or two States that the Guard was found to be in anything like a condition of readiness. A laxity of administration was only too apparent; equipments were missing; and regiments that ought to have been mustered in at a moment's notice were delayed through inexcusable causes. To avoid these conditions in the future, I would make more thorough the instruction which is afforded by officers of the regular army at the State militia encampments; and especially would I insist that the experiences of these volunteers at the camps approach as nearly as possible to those of the army in actual service in the field. An organization ordered to a State camp for military instruction, relying upon a caterer to furnish food, can never acquire the self-reliance which characterizes the regular soldier on active duty.

Of our officers it can be truthfully said that there are none better in any army in the world.

The experiences of the past year have demonstrated that we must be prepared in the future for unexpected emergencies. Thorough organization, a carefully selected and trained military force, are half the victory before the first shot is fired. The people of the United States can congratulate themselves that their army is now being placed upon a footing which will insure success in any undertaking. We have never yet lowered our flag to an enemy; and with more confidence than ever can we go forward to meet the events of an unknown future.

H. C. CORBIN.

THE FUTURE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE subject of the future relations likely to prevail between the United Kingdom and the United States is, of course, one of the highest importance, not only to those countries, but to the world. At the same time, it is one which lies in the realm of pure hypothesis. For the latter reason, I have explained to the Editor of *THE FORUM* that I cannot write at any length upon it. As I pointed out to him, the great difficulty is that the future policy of the United States is the unknown. For instance, assuming that a Protective system is to be introduced into the West Indian possessions of the United States, is it yet certain that an opposite or open-door policy is to follow in its Pacific colonies? British opinion with regard to the possibility of pursuing a common policy with the United States in behalf of their joint interests in China must be affected by the commercial policy pursued by the United States in the Philippines.

Then, again, supposing that this open-door difficulty is got over by the United States observing in the Philippines that policy of the open door which she desires for her interest to pursue in China, what serious chance is there that it will ever become the policy of the United States to push even her plain interests in China to the extent of joining us in a firm alliance? It is useless or misleading to employ pleasant and easy phrases to wrap up our facts. The fact is this: The open door is menaced in China by the policy of France and Russia. It was menaced by that of Germany; but Germany has drawn back, and appears willing to make common cause with ourselves up to a certain point. Would the United States, under any circumstances, go beyond the point which might involve a conceivable risk of war against France and Russia? These are questions which the Editor cannot answer; and my own inability to answer them must naturally prevent my writing at much length. All that I can do is to give certain aids to a solution of a problem which I cannot solve.

The problem is: Given the fact that the United States is about to become what a German would style a World-Power (a result of the re-

cent war which I have prophesied from the first), what is likely to be her policy—our policy being known? In other words, the doubts, which must at present prevail with regard to the answer to be given to a question which it is easy to ask, depend upon uncertainty concerning the future colonial and foreign policy of the United States, rather than upon any uncertainty with regard to ours. Our policy will continue to be what it has been in the recent past.

Some may reply: "The policy of the United States will be founded upon the necessities of the United States; and you can judge of these." I have, it is true, seen some alarmist and rather foolish suggestions of the absolute need of the United States of an alliance with us for her own preservation, and some doubts expressed whether the United States, with her new colonial possessions, is strong enough, as it is put, to stand alone against all other Powers. I confess I have no patience with such suggestions. There is no Power in the world which is going to make an enemy of the United States, and which will thwart her own views in her own territory, even in the Pacific. What may happen, however, unless she pursues a firm policy, is that her trade interests in other parts of the world may suffer by the closing of the door now open. The United States and Great Britain have a common interest in resisting this closing of the door; and if they were to unite firmly in resisting it no Power would seriously oppose them. But for this good end to be attained, the policy must be clear, the attitude unhesitating. For the moment this would suffice; but in the long run there must be no doubt about the resolve to maintain the policy (to use Sir M. Beach's phrase) "even at the risk of war."

Where will the two empires touch, or, in other words, come into relation with one another,—come into conflict I cannot assume and do not believe. The United States will not, it is probable, interfere in Europe, except for reasons arising outside Europe, nor in Africa at all. The relations of the United States with Australia will be relations of trade. In the continent of the two Americas the *status quo* is likely to be preserved, perhaps with closer trade-relations and greater friendliness between the British-American possessions and the United States than have prevailed of late, at all events as regards Canada. There are some signs of a movement among a portion of the West Indian planters and traders toward annexation to the United States, and there are some signs on the part of some Americans of a desire to favor these advances. The overwhelming majority of the population of the British West Indies are Negroes and other colored men. They do not desire union with the

United States; and it is to my mind certain that the British Government would never contemplate the cession of the islands against the will of the majority of their population. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this agitation will not be pressed; for it would certainly weaken the growing friendship of these countries.

The appearance of the United States as an Atlantic and a Pacific Power, with Cuba in the West Indies, and the Philippines toward China, will for a time rather detach American minds from Central and South America. As long as the Mexicans can preserve government as reasonably good as that which they have practised during the tenure of power by their present ruler, even the vast amount of American capital which is invested in that country will not cause the people of the United States to seek political dominance in Mexico. As regards Central America and some of the weaker states of South America, it is possible that the desire to set up United States leadership, which has been dormant or which has declined of late, may one day revive. There is no sign that the powerful republics, such as Argentina, will welcome United States supremacy; and I am inclined to think that the relations between those republics and the United States are likely for some time to come to be less close than was anticipated ten years ago. The enormous amount of British trade with Argentina and with Central and South America in general would make us nervous as to any possibility of the adoption in those countries of an unfriendly commercial policy directed against our goods. There is, however, little probability of this, given the fact that Argentina sends to our manufacturers and to our working-people an ever-increasing amount of excellent raw material and of still more admirable food, and that the interest of the South American republics lies clearly in fostering the close relations now existing between them and the United Kingdom.

It is in Asia that we are confronted with the problems with which we have here to deal.

We are all saying on both sides of the Atlantic—and, although we are all saying it, it happens to be true—that in China and in large parts of Asia outside China the Americans of the United States are deeply concerned, as we are, and that our interests are the same. It is not to the advantage of either of us that China should break up, but rather that its government should be improved and that we should be able, both of us, to trade freely throughout its vast extent. The United States, in the number of residents and the volume of trade that she possesses in China, stands next to us. She has a similar interest in the open door,

which interest is continuously increasing; and there is no question whether she will support us against the partition of the Empire (unless the door is certainly to be opened in all the spheres into which the Empire is to be divided), while there is a doubt as to the extent to which she will go in giving us her support. Clearly, however, I must repeat—for it is the dominant factor in the situation—the United States will stand better for common action with ourselves on behalf of freedom of trade in China, if she abstains from applying a Protective system to her trade in her own dominions in the Pacific. Whatever commercial system is adopted in the Philippines by the United States, a large British trade will probably be done there. The United States, in spite of her Protective tariff, largely directed as it is against British goods, is still about the best customer of Great Britain. American capital and American invention will probably once more raise the quality and the value of Manila cigars, restore them to their pristine favor, and vastly increase the export. The cigars will have to be paid for in other trade; and, under the rule of the United States, trade in the Philippines must certainly increase.

But the unregenerate Briton will be more inclined to look to common action with the United States in China if he finds himself able to trade in the Philippines on the same terms on which American citizens trade there themselves, than if he is vexed and irritated by having to face a tariff policy carefully devised for the purpose of limiting his trade. British trade with the Philippines is great at present. Its statistics are available to all who have the Government blue books or "The Statesman's Year-Book" at hand; but it is evident that the imposition in the Philippines of a Protective system, although with good government it might not diminish the volume of British trade, would change its character, would pinch some people's fingers, and would cause an outcry against the consistency or sincerity of a Power which, closing the door itself, as we should be told, was going to China with us on behalf of the open door.

Happily, it is still possible to look forward to the adoption toward China, and in China toward France and Russia, of a common policy agreed on between our two countries, with the addition of Germany and Japan. Such common action began to be possible in the summer of this year; it was suggested in the House of Commons; and has since met the approval, at the same moment in November, of Mr. Chamberlain in his speech at Manchester, and of Lord Charles Beresford upon the spot in the Chinese treaty ports. If such a common understanding

of the four Powers and such common action could be brought about,—and there is nothing to prevent it, if the United States is in earnest upon the question,—it is certain that for some years to come Russia would not run her head against the combination, even if there be some doubt whether the American member of the group of four would carry her support of the combined view, if interfered with, to the point of war. France, without Russia, is powerless in China; and French policy in China must follow Russian lead.

It will be seen that throughout this article I have treated it as a settled matter that America will annex, or virtually annex, the Philippines. At the beginning of the war, like most observers, I had foreseen its ultimate result, but had hoped, for the sake of the United States, that a protectorate rather than annexation would be resorted to in the Pacific islands, in order to avoid many difficulties. The Americans of the United States are now discussing the possibility of governing colonies either by autocratic rule or by constitutional amendment and a restricted suffrage. Both plans are at variance with American habits of thought. The French apply manhood suffrage to their colonies, and allow the Negroes of Martinique and Guadeloupe not only to elect their local councils (with large powers and with hardly any official members), but to vote for senators and members of the legislative body at the capital. If it is not thought possible to apply the French system to the Philippines (and we do not apply it to India or the West Indies or generally to our Crown Colonies), then, as between restricted suffrage and what may be termed autocratic rule, I unhesitatingly prefer the latter.

Restricted suffrage means the supremacy of the planter and the trader from across the seas: it means the supremacy of a class interest rather than regard to all the inhabitants of the colony. The rule of a trained Civil Service or of the naval officers of the United States would be better fitted to insure the happiness of the majority. I know it will be difficult under annexation to set up such a government, which was one main reason for advising a protectorate. If you have local elections in the Philippines, you will probably have to rule in accordance with local wishes. If you have local elections upon a limited franchise, those local wishes will be the wishes of a minority. In the long run certainly, if not at once, the local minority would, however, be not unlikely to demand Free Trade; and, as this would increase the tendency to joint action between our countries, there might be an advantage here to be set against the heavy drawbacks which I anticipate from local rule at the bidding of a limited electorate.

In an article in the December "Fortnightly Review," on "American Expansion," Mr. Laird Clowes discusses this question of the future government of the new colonies of the United States. He assumes that it would be deemed unwise "for many years to come, to make full citizens of all the ex-slaves and illiterate half-breeds of Cuba and of all the fanatical aborigines of the Philippines." I might take exception to the term "fanatical," as applied to the aborigines of the Philippines, inasmuch as I understand that they are giving a fair measure of support to the so-called rebel or local Government which is, as we are told, fiercely anti-priestly. But the main argument of Mr. Laird Clowes will no doubt carry weight; and his view probably represents the general feeling in the United States. He goes on to ask that the people of these various islands shall be at least temporarily ruled with strict and unflinching justice and honesty; and he appears to assume that our own experience shows that this can be better attained under an autocratic system of rule from afar than under any form of locally controlled administration. He suggests that the United States should ask us to train some of their civil servants of the future for them. Without offering any objection to this suggestion, which, on the contrary, I should for many reasons be glad to see accepted, I must admit that I see no absolute necessity for such a step, inasmuch as there could be no better temporary rulers found than American naval officers. The naval officers of France have been much employed in the rule of colonies,—on the whole with ill-success. But I believe that the naval officers of the modern type to be found in the fleets of the United Kingdom and the United States would make excellent rulers for the Spanish islands—under the general control, of course, of a prudent and trained statesman. This, however, is a digression, except in so far that the character of the Government to be set up in the Pacific possessions of the United States affects the question of the tariff under which trade is to be done there, and, indirectly, therefore, the policy of the open door.

Is the suggestion that the door to international trade should be open in the Philippines, in effect, a request to the United States to do something contrary to her interest to please us? Apart from any general discussion of the advantages or drawbacks of Free Trade, all who have studied the Colonial question as it has developed in three French colonies know that the Tunis Protectorate and the colony of Cochin China have contributed varying experiences to show that the open door is at least necessary to the start of a new tropical, sub-tropical, or planting colony, which, in American hands, the Philippines will virtually be.

In looking forward, it is necessary that we should take steps to put an end to possible causes of conflict or of difference between our countries. We shall have to make up our minds that we will continue to rule Ireland on the improved methods of the last few years, rather than on those of an earlier period. We must take steps to bring to an end our claim to regulate, in conjunction with the French, the future of the canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty will have to be revised; and we must admit the predominant position of the United States in reference to the Central American canal, with stipulations for freedom of trade and for use in time of war on the principle which has been tacitly applied to the Suez Canal, and as to which there need be no difficulties. It is, of course, possible that negotiations may be on foot with this object; but it is clearly wise, in any case, that they should be undertaken before there arises a time of stress. In 1849 Nicaragua had granted to the United States an exclusive right of way across her territory for the purpose of joining the two oceans by a canal; and the proposed passage was to be covered by forts and military works. Mr. Clayton, on behalf of the United States, opposed as he was to that treaty, declared that the United States had no views of exclusive advantage in the matter; and the treaty, suggested by Mr. Clayton, and accepted by Great Britain in 1850, provided that exclusive control over the future canal should not be exercised by either Power.

Treaties to the same effect, such as the treaty with Honduras in 1856, were afterward concluded with the Central American Powers; and the general principle was laid down that we must insure equal treatment on the public highways, and prevent the imposition of unequal dues. France concluded like treaties with the same Powers. Early in 1880 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate of the United States proposed the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which they called "singular and ill-omened." A good deal of discussion took place between the Governments, but no arrangement was arrived at; and it would seem that the time has come when we might frankly accept the declarations which the United States would be willing to make with regard to the canal. As long ago as 1860, a blue book, laid before Parliament, showed that the British Government was willing to modify the stipulations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In the discussions of 1881 Mr. Blaine disclaimed, on behalf of the United States, exclusive privilege in the passage, and asserted his desire to secure its free and unrestricted benefit, both in peace and in war, to the commerce of the whole world. That being so, there is not, and never has been, any real principle at stake.

The issue which lies behind this interesting, but perplexing, study of the future relations of our countries is no less than the decision whether in the second half of the next century the dominant interest in the world is to be Anglo-American or Russian. When I say Anglo-American, I in no way forget the position in the southern hemisphere of our own great colonies; but I include them under the first half of my compound name. Germans may be inclined to take offence at the above hint of prophecy. It is certain that for a long time to come the Prussian army must be an enormous factor in the Continental politics of the Old World. On the other hand, considered as a World-Power, Germany can hardly rank, even in the time of our remote descendants, on a level with the Russian Empire or with the Anglo-Saxon combination, should the latter come into existence and survive.

The matter which I have discussed in this article is no new one for me. Writing on Europe in 1886-87, I said, referring to what I had written in 1866-67:—

“In ‘Greater Britain’ the doctrine which I attempted to lay down was that . . . the English-speaking . . . lands should attract a larger share of the attention of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom; that in all these, whether subject or not subject to the British rule, the English race was essentially the same in its most marked characteristics; that in the principal English-speaking country not subject to the Queen—the United States—England had imposed her tongue and laws upon the offshoots of Germany, Scandinavia, Spain, and, I might now add, Russia; and that the dominance of our language throughout this powerful and enormous country . . . must produce in the future political phenomena to which our attention ought more persistently to be called.”

The prophecy has come true. It is for the Americans of the United States to decide how far toward firm alliance what I called “the tie of blood and tongue and history and letters” shall be carried.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

COLONEL WARING ON THE SANITATION OF HAVANA.

ON October 8, 1898, Col. Geo. E. Waring, Jr., sailed for Havana, charged by our Government with an investigation of existing sanitary conditions, and the formulation of a project for their betterment. He arrived on the 13th, and immediately began work. He collected the necessary preliminary data, sailed for New York on the 21st, and arrived on the 25th, ill with what appeared to be an attack of malarial fever. On the 27th his malady was pronounced yellow fever; and on the 29th he died. An examination of his papers showed that he had written the portion of his report which described existing conditions, and that he had sketched roughly the most important of his recommendations. His remaining notes consisted of numerous detached memoranda, references, extracts, and calculations. These were edited, and the report was completed and presented to the Secretary of War, by the present writer, Col. Waring's secretary and assistant. That report has never been published; and it is for the purpose of giving its substance—the importance of which cannot be overestimated—general circulation, that this article has been written. My very close association with Col. Waring for many years afforded me an opportunity to become intimately acquainted with his views on the subject herein discussed; so that I feel perfectly safe in saying that, had he lived, he would have permitted this paper to appear over his own signature.

Since the seventeenth century, the unsanitary condition of Cuba has been a menace to every neighboring people. If not the birthplace, this island is at least the nursery of a pestilence more deadly than any other disease of circumscribed geographical range. Unceasingly for two hundred years it has scattered misery and death broadcast. Both the eastern and the western hemispheres have paid tribute—heavy mortal tribute—to its malign influence. Spain was the first of the European nations to suffer. Yellow fever obtained a foothold in that country—in Cadiz—in 1705. For a century it spread, until, in 1804, its total death-roll numbered 124,000 victims. From 1800 to 1852 it appeared in epidemic form in ninety-six Spanish towns and villages, including

Gibraltar, where it caused 5,946 deaths in a single year. Italy has been terribly scourged by the same disease; and all the other nations of Europe have suffered, more or less, through their shipping, though spared from epidemic visitation. On the western continent, South and Central America, Mexico, and the United States have been swept again and again by the fever's fatal breath. Our own country occupies a post of especial danger and responsibility, by reason of its geographical position and of its many ports which have direct and frequent communication with the centre of infection.

Yellow fever first appeared in the United States in 1668; confining its ravages, until 1810, almost exclusively to the principal ports between and including Boston and Charleston. In this period the mortality was about 20,000. New York passed through nineteen epidemics, but Charleston suffered from forty-four. After 1810 the improvement of hygienic conditions drove it gradually from the Northern cities; but, with the increase of commerce, the Southern became infected. There, in ten years (1851-60), nearly 30,000 lives were sacrificed to this preventable disease.¹ Records show that, up to 1877, "yellow fever has visited 228 cities and towns and 28 States of the Union, appearing 741 times and causing 65,311 deaths." Doubtless very many deaths were unrecorded. In 1878-9 the last great epidemic attacked the country, destroying 13,911 lives in the Mississippi Valley alone.

Of these awful visitations it is estimated that fully 90 per cent can be traced, directly or indirectly, to Cuba. A commission of medical experts, appointed by Congress to investigate, among other things, the endemicity of yellow fever, reported that

"yellow fever is not domiciled in the United States; and every epidemic that has occurred has been in chronological sequence to the countries south of us, with which we are in communication."

Gradually the disease has been pushed back, by the cleaning of our ports and by our quarantine system, until its annual levy is comparatively small. It is, however, still a menace. Constant and costly vigilance is yet necessary. For half the year the people of our Southern States live in terror, lest, as happened last year, the fever should elude the quarantine service and once more gain a foothold in the midst of them.

At best, quarantine is a deterrent, not a preventive. After four years' experience as President of the State Board of Health of Louisiana, during which he devised and developed a system of marine detention and

¹ In August, 1853, the deaths in New Orleans averaged 201 per day.

disinfection superior to anything of the kind the world had ever seen, Dr. Joseph Holt wrote:—

“Quarantine as we may! Declare non-intercourse with the world! Build around ourselves a wall without gates, if we will! . . . we live in jeopardy.”

To protect our country, ourselves, and our posterity effectually from the blight of this deadly upas-tree, whose boughs overhang our shores, we must strike at its root. Its root is in Cuban soil.

The controlling factor in the problem of the sanitary regeneration of Cuba is Havana—(1) because that city is the worst seat of infection; (2) because it is a centre of distribution; and (3) by reason of its importance and influence.

Yellow fever is peculiarly a disease of cities, especially of seaports,—very especially of filthy seaports. It is held by Dr. Sternberg, Dr. Pacetti, and other authorities that, as a rule, the inhabitants of tropical countries are exempt from the disease so long as they keep away from the infected cities. If they visit the point of danger, they, like residents of other countries, are liable to attack. The experience of Dr. John Guiteras, the Government yellow fever expert, confirms this. He reports that in the summer of 1897 the interior of Cuba was healthful and practically free from yellow fever; while the coast towns, especially Havana, were hotbeds of this disease.

Of the centres of distribution Havana is the chief. About $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the exports and imports of the Island pass over its wharves. Business houses, representing practically all the commercial nations of the earth, are located here. Three thousand vessels enter the port and clear in a year. More than 80 per cent of the railroads and 62 per cent of the paved highways of the Island focus in this city. It is the principal manufacturing centre, and the capital of the richest agricultural territory. As an influential factor in our future Cuban policy, its position is unquestioned. Although its population is less than 12 per cent of the total population of the Island, Havana educates more than 38 per cent of the children attending school, and turns out more than 60 per cent of the graduates from the local colleges. With Havana cured, the rest of Cuba would soon be well.

The death-rate of the city has always been high. In five years (not consecutive) between 1800 and 1819, with a population less than one-third of the present number of inhabitants, 26,576 people perished from yellow fever alone. In 1832 the cholera killed 10,000. The official reports of the Spanish garrison show that up to January 16, 1896, more

than 82 per cent of the total losses were due to yellow fever. In 1897 the total mortality by disease in the Spanish army in Cuba was 32,534.

At present the death-rate in Havana is enormous. The mortality for the week ending October 6, 1898, was 536—an annual rate of 139.36 per thousand. Since then, owing to the change of season and to the removal of certain contributing causes, it has fallen to 114.4.

The diseases which cause this wholesale devastation, ranked according to the number of their victims, are enteritis and dysentery, malarial fever, yellow fever, and typhoid fever. At first glance, the sequence is surprising; but it may be accounted for very easily. One attack of yellow fever confers immunity. Practically all the native Cubans are immune; having had the disease in infancy, when the attack is lighter, and the vital powers seem better able to withstand it. Acclimation is a potent, but not sure, protection against this disease and malaria; also, to a less degree, against typhoid. Against dysentery, which heads the list of destroyers, there is no protection, save in the observance of hygienic rules. One attack predisposes to another.

If Havana, in its present condition, were suddenly peopled with men from our Northern and Western States, the results would probably be as follows:—The general death-rate would be very much higher than at present; the proportion of deaths from dysentery would decrease somewhat, because of our cleanliness and better dietetic habits; the proportion of deaths from typhoid fever would increase considerably; while malaria and yellow fever would claim scores of victims for every one they gain now.

This is not the fanciful prediction of an alarmist. It is an estimate based upon well-established facts. In the epidemic at Memphis in 1878 unacclimated medical assistants were found almost useless; for they were almost sure to sicken and become additional burdens to their acclimated colleagues. Of fifty-five unacclimated physicians who responded to the call for help, fifty-four were attacked, and thirty-three died. Only two of the resident clergy escaped. Of the six thousand white people who remained in the city, all but two hundred—and these were mostly immunes—were attacked, and 70 per cent died. Indeed, Dr. Guiteras has said that practically all foreigners are seized by the malady sooner or later, usually within the first year of residence. The white-skinned Anglo-Saxon is much more susceptible than the darker Latin; and all colors intermediary between the latter and the Negro are more and more exempt as they approach the African, who has the least to fear.

Yellow fever, cholera, typhoid fever, and dysentery are "filth diseases." The specific seed of each develops only under certain conditions; and one condition essential to all is a pabulum of dead organic matter. Filthy towns are the first attacked; filthy quarters, the most infested; and filthy people, the surest victims. The records of epidemiology prove this clearly; and occasionally their teaching is written in letters so bold as to startle us. One foul spot in York, England, called "The Hagworm's Nest," proved to be the incubator of the black death, the great plague, the sweating sickness, and the cholera; and certain localities in Malta suffered the maximum mortality in epidemics of plague, cholera, smallpox, and anthrax. Filth is an explosive, which needs but the spark of a disease germ to develop its malignance and scatter death and desolation. The safe course to pursue is not to trust to the exclusion of the igniting spark, but to get rid of all high combustibles. In any community where water, soil, and air are unpolluted by decaying wastes, filth diseases cannot survive. Such cleanliness can be attained,—not always easily, but always surely.

The present physical condition of Havana, as revealed by the recent investigation for the Government by the late Col. Waring, affords ample explanation of the high mortality which is more than decimating her population, and grave warning of consequences far more terrible than any yet endured, should an unacclimated industrial or military population precede the sanitarian to her shores. Briefly paraphrased from Col. Waring's report, the worst of the existing conditions are as follows:—

The surroundings and customs of domestic life are disgusting almost beyond belief. Sixteen thousand houses, out of a total of less than twenty thousand, are but one story high, and at least 90 per cent of the population live in these—averaging say eleven to each house. Usually the house covers the entire lot, so that there is no yard; though one or two courts are commonly included in the building. According to the general—almost the universal—plan, the front rooms are used as parlors or reception-rooms. Beyond them is a court, on which open the dining-rooms and sleeping-rooms. Beyond these, on another court, are—I might say *is*—the "kitchen, stable, and privy, practically all in one." In Col. Waring's own words:

"The characteristic feature of the whole establishment—perhaps the only feature which is conspicuous in every house without exception—is the privy-vault, and, sometimes, a second vault for kitchen waste. These occupy a space practically under and almost in the kitchen. It is very rarely, indeed, that a Cuban privy has a ventilating-pipe, so that it belches forth its nauseous odors throughout the house and pervades the streets."

Such houses rent for from \$30 to \$80 per month. Quoting Dr. Chaillé, in his report to the National Board of Health for 1880, Col. Waring continues:—

“ Nothing more stinking, nasty, and unwholesome than the privy system of Havana and of Cuba can be conceived. It would not be possible to make it worse. In juxtaposition with the privy is another excavation, or sink, to receive the filth and refuse water of the kitchen, laundry, and household generally; for police regulations prohibit the discharge of such refuse fluids into the streets, except during rains. They notably aid the contents of the privy in saturating the soil beneath the houses.”

In spite of the police regulations, the household slops—solid as well as liquid—are often, at night, dumped into the driveway at the front of the house, if this happens to be nearer than the *escusado* in the kitchen.

There is no ordinance—at least none in force—requiring a householder to empty his privy-vault. He uses it until it threatens to overflow; then he hires a night scavenger, who comes with a cart, carrying the requisite number of barrels. These are filled through square holes at the top, and discharged through a plugged orifice at the bottom.

“ The workmen use tub-like ladles with long handles, with which they scoop up the filth. These they carry, *dripping as they go*, through kitchen, dining-room, reception-room, and hall, to the street.”

When the barrels are filled, the cart starts, ostensibly, for the prescribed place of disposal; but often, in a dark street, the plugs come out, and, before the wagon has gone very far, the barrels are empty. This is an unfortunate occurrence; but it saves a great deal of time and, incidentally, the fee charged by the owner of the disposal system. The street cleaners overlook the accident; “and, in time, sun and air and buzzards restore the street to its normal state of filth.”

The street cleaning is but half-organized and wholly ineffective. Some sweeping is done, in the dark; and there is a gathering up of garbage, which is universally thrown into the streets. What *is* done is not paid for. The contractor is not required to remove mud or dead animals. The latter lie where they fall, under a fierce sun which fosters rapid putrefaction, until the buzzards eat them. Some of the streets in the closely built portion of the city are paved with stone blocks: but the remainder are unpaved; and the only cleaning they receive is the gathering up of garbage thrown into them. In parts of the city great mud-holes abound, covered with green slime, and choked with filth of all kinds. These the contractor is not required to clean.

“ There is no systematic disposal of garbage and sweepings. Most of it is de-

posited on the surface in and near the town, where the buzzards make away with parts of it."

Havana has no sewerage system. Some few leaky drains, of defective grade, close to the surface, serve to receive the overflow from some privy-vaults. They allow the liquid filth to leak into the soil; but the householder saves what he would otherwise have to pay the night scavengers.

A saturated soil is always a source of possible danger; but when the saturating liquid is a solution of excremental filth, soaking in continually from house and street alike, disastrous injury to public and private health is inevitable. Verily Havana is a city set on a hill—but a dunghill.

The markets are foul and unfit for use as centres of food distribution. One of them should be destroyed and rebuilt. The two others "need only good administration and adequate cleansing to make them satisfactory."

The blood and offal from the slaughter-houses are flushed into a small creek, which carries them as far as the edge of the harbor and there deposits them. Both creek and harbor are "reeking with putrid filth."

"Lest the conditions above set forth should fail to do their appointed work of destruction, stimulus for their effectiveness is furnished by an extraneous source of malaria of the very worst character.

The southerly edge of the harbor is bordered by broad marshes, through which flow a number of watercourses, and to which these bring the offscouring of a very poor quarter of the town, and especially the effluent of the slaughtering-pens and of other foul establishments; while a large portion of the flat is used as a dumping-ground for garbage.

This intimate relation of marsh and filth is greatly aggravated by the admixture of fresh and salt water, by occasional floods and by a daily scorching sun.

The vicinity of such marshes would be deadly (in this climate), even to a veritable 'City of Hygeia.' Their proximity to this foul, fever-cursed town has always been recognized as disastrous, even by intelligent Habaneros themselves."

The water-supply of Havana is very pure and abundant,—more than two hundred gallons per head per day:—

"This and the winds of the Gulf save the city from being absolutely and unqualifiedly bad; but they are powerless to make it tolerable. It is a veritable plague spot.

Its own people, largely immune though they are to yellow fever, which has prevailed here without interruption for one hundred and sixty-eight years, fall constant victims under the pernicious malarial and depressing influences to which they are always subjected; and it needs only the immigration of fresh material, which the enterprise of our population is sure to bring here, to create a sacrifice such as we

have not yet known ; while commerce will carry the terror and the terrible scourge of yellow fever to our shores, until we rise again in a war of humanity, and at all costs wipe out an enemy with which no military valor can cope."

Can Havana be purified? And if so, will such purification result in the eradication of yellow fever and malaria? Both questions can be answered affirmatively and positively. Havana is no dirtier than many another city has been. In England, in the olden time, the earthen floors were strewn with rushes. When these became sodden with filth beyond all endurance, fresh rushes were thrown over the old ones; and these, in turn, were buried, until the foul accumulation was several feet deep. Excrement was allowed to remain in and around the houses indefinitely, or was thrown into the street, regardless of consequences. In London, the frequent cry of "Ware below!" indicated that the household slops were about to be poured from an upper window. These conditions remained until repeated visits of the great sanitary teachers—the plague, the black death, the cholera, and other pestilences, which devastated cities and swept whole villages out of existence—had taught their hard lesson. On the Continent the ignorance and neglect were, if possible, even greater. We have profited by the bitter experience of our ancestors; and no intelligent person questions the merit of sanitary works. But their true value is not yet fully appreciated, even by educated men whose interests are at stake.

Both yellow fever and malaria yield readily to intelligent and vigorous sanitary measures. The former, indeed, possesses certain peculiar characteristics which make it one of the easiest diseases to combat. It is, in a certain sense, non-contagious. This does not mean that one case will not, under favorable conditions, breed others; but that the emanations from the sick, if transferred directly to healthy tissue, will not reproduce the specific morbid conditions characteristic of the disease. The germ does not complete its cycle of reproduction within the human body, though it retains its vitality. Apparently, its virulent properties are developed only after a period of incubation in some external soil, where environment is favorable to its development.

A nurse can sleep with his patient with impunity; but the exposure of a lock of hair from a yellow fever subject, after an interval of several weeks during which it had lain undisturbed in an envelope, killed all who inhaled the air which had been confined with it. Unless mechanically transported by the moving of infected articles, the poison travels slowly and with apparent difficulty. When it appeared in Rector Street, New York, in 1822, it spread at the rate of about forty feet a day, until

checked by frost. A stream of running water will sometimes stop its progress. Walls, and even fences, often afford efficient protection. The inmates of the jail in New Orleans have generally escaped infection. A thin board partition seemed to be an impenetrable barrier during the epidemic on Governor's Island in 1856. At Cadiz, Lisbon, and other places, a well-travelled street has proved its Rubicon; and one instance is recorded where it attacked all the sailors whose berths were on one side of the ship before it crossed to the other. Inexplicable as these vagaries are, they are essentially characteristic of the disease. To prevent its spread, it is only necessary to maintain constant cleanliness, to remove nothing from the vicinity of the patient without adequate sterilization, and to cremate all substances which cannot be sterilized.

The poison of yellow fever is ponderable. It clings to low levels and usually follows the lines of greatest humidity. Like malaria, it is more active—or at least more to be feared—by night than by day. The danger from it in any quarter of an infected locality depends upon the presence primarily of filth, secondarily of dampness; and it increases in direct proportion to the confinement and stagnation of the air. Infected cellars are more dangerous than infected rooms. The holds of ships are notorious hotbeds of the disease.

In Havana the average height of the ground-floor of a house above the soil is but six or seven inches; and this space is unventilated. The earth is not only damp, but is sodden with putrefying organic matter. The houses are closely built, without adequate space for ventilation between them. In the poorer quarters the population is crowded, a whole family often occupying a single room. The emanations from the cess-pool and garbage-vault pervade, as has been stated, the kitchen and the sleeping- and living-rooms, even of houses of the better class. The standard of personal cleanliness is, necessarily, very low. These conditions, for which the citizens are responsible, are sufficient in themselves to transform the most healthful locality into a fever-nest. In the case of Havana, they are accompanied by climatic conditions favorable to, but in no sense accountable for, the propagation of disease.¹ No amount of rainfall, no high average of humidity, and no degree of temperature will cause zymotic pestilence, if cleanliness be secured and maintained, and proper drainage of the soil established. The employment of these

¹ The climate in itself is salubrious. The temperature ranges from 70° to 90° F.; and breezes, usually from the north and northwest, are abundant in the hot months. The rainy season is not by any means a wet season. There are seldom more than twenty rainy days in any one month; and the average is less than half of this. In 1896, 78.08 per cent of the days were clear—not even cloudy.

weapons drove the yellow fever for all time from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston. Dr. Sternberg, Surgeon-General, U. S. A., in his report, to President Cleveland, on his official visit to Brazil, remarked:—

“ It is not too much to say that by well-executed sanitary measures the endemic plague so fatal to strangers could probably be entirely banished from this beautiful city [Rio de Janeiro]. ”

Dr. Hamilton, Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service in 1890, said in his report for that year:—

“ The United States would be the gainer, even in a pecuniary sense, if she were to donate to the Cuban Government sufficient funds to make Havana a healthy seaport. Yellow fever is almost always present in Havana and Rio de Janeiro ; but it is beyond question that those cities could be made clean and healthy if proper measures were taken. ”

So certain is the desired result to follow intelligent and commensurate attempts to produce it, that a contractor, if granted sufficient power of hygienic control, might contract to reduce the death-rate to 25 per thousand, and to augment correspondingly the average duration of life and working period,—and this at a small percentage of the insurance premiums now paid to provide for unnecessary illness and premature death.

It is true that, in the pestilential swamps bordering the southern end of the harbor, one natural condition does exist, which is responsible directly for the death of many from malarial fevers, and, indirectly, for the lowering of vitality which has made many more peculiarly susceptible to the attacks of other diseases. The tropical malarial fever is not the indefinite elusive *malaise* to which we are wont to charge the languors that too often result from our own indiscretions and excesses. It is the malignant malarial fever, which during our civil war prostrated 13,673 men, of whom 3,370 (23.91 per cent) died, and which killed 7,000 Spaniards in Cuba in 1897. It is a disease from which there is no well-defined immunity. The poison is eliminated from the system very slowly ; and attacks are likely to recur after any derangement of the vital functions.

Although the immediate cause of malarial fever has not been clearly recognized, the correction of the remote cause is followed by the sure and speedy disappearance of the disease. This remedy consists in lowering the level of the ground-water, in minimizing its movement under tidal influence, in preventing the alternate flooding and exposure of organic deposits, and in the alternate invasion of the latter by fresh and

salt water. This is a simple piece of engineering work. After a permanent reduction of the ground-water level has been effected, but before the settling of the soil has ceased, the reclaimed area becomes available for agricultural uses. The opening and overturning of the soil assists in the oxidation of its impurities; and the growing vegetation takes up the products of this oxidation with profitable results. The benefit of early cultivation is thus twofold. Incidentally, the drainage of the swamps will decrease bronchitis, rheumatism, phthisis, and kindred diseases.

In the notes of his proposed report to the United States Government, which Colonel Waring brought with him from Cuba, the following improvements are specified as absolutely necessary for the sanitary redemption of Havana:

(1) The immediate organization of a Department of Public Cleaning, "under the full control of a single commissioner experienced in the conduct of such work," who should have authority to act as occasion may require.

The chief function of the Department would be the maintenance of a "constant state of cleanliness" in all streets and places of public business or resort, including the *abattoirs* and markets. "It should also control the disposal of all wastes, except sewage—by cremation and otherwise."

(2) The construction of a system of sewers "to receive the liquid wastes of all houses of the main city." The topography of the city divides it naturally into several districts. Each of these should be served by a distinct sewerage system, which should discharge directly into the harbor or the Gulf, as the case may be. "Before such discharge, the effluent should be effectively clarified by one of the various well-known methods; so that it would carry only its dissolved impurities." The dilution would be immediate and more than sufficient; for the daily movement of sea water into and out of the harbor is about six thousand times as great as would be the day's discharge of clarified sewage from the harbor slope of the city.

(3) The clearing out and filling with clean earth of all the cesspools and garbage-vaults, and the supplying to each house of a suitable water-closet, connected with the public sewer system. The closets furnished should be practically automatic in operation and not liable to damage from ignorance or carelessness. They should be made so that no foreign substance able to cause an obstruction in the house-drain or the sewer could pass out of sight. If more elaborate plumbing be desired, this

may be put in by the householder, under proper supervision, at his own expense. The immediate installation of a water-closet in each house is the only course which will make possible the annihilation of the cess-pool; and Havana will not be a healthy city until this result is accomplished. The benefit that will be gained when it is done is out of all proportion to the insignificant cost of the doing.

The following table shows the death-rates from typhoid fever (a representative zymotic disease) in ten cities, before and after the introduction of sewerage and house drainage:—

City.	Before Sewerage.	After Sewerage.
Munich.....	2.10	.63
Dantzic.....	.99	.24
Breslau.....	.92	.32
Frankfort.....	.74	.15
Berlin.....	.92	.29
Vienna.....	1.20	.21
Brussels.....	1.00	.37
London.....	1.02	.45
Boston.....	1.74	.56
Brooklyn.....	.32	.15
Average.....	1.095	.337
—a reduction of 69.23 per cent.		

Doubtless the introduction of pure water-supplies and other hygienic improvements influenced the above results.

The subjoined table shows the difference in typhoid fever death-rates, not of the same city between one date and another, but of sewered as compared with unsewered cities during the same period (1880–84). Its evidence is conclusive:—

Sewered.	Rate.	Unsewered.	Rate.
Munich.....	.17	Paris.....	.99
Dantzic.....	.15	Marseilles.....	1.28
Frankfort.....	.14	Turin.....	.95
Breslau.....	.33	Naples.....	.71
Hamburg.....	.26	Palermo.....	1.31
Berlin.....	.29	St. Petersburg.....	.99
Brussels.....	.33	Riga.....	1.59
London.....	.23	Budapest.....	.92
New York.....	.30	Baltimore.....	.48
Brooklyn.....	.15	Cincinnati.....	.73
Vicuna.....	.21	Catania.....	1.90
Average.....	.23	Average.....	1.07

(4) The paving, or repaving, of all the streets with the best quality of asphaltum. Some form of artificial paving of the streets of cities is indispensable. Mr. Edwin Chadwick says that between the two divisions of a town population, similarly situated in general condition, one part inhabiting streets which are unpaved, and another inhabiting streets that are paved, a difference of health is observed. He cites instances showing the sanitary benefit resulting from paving.

Laying aside all considerations of comfort and economy, which in themselves are sufficient to warrant its construction, asphaltum is the best paving material from a hygienic standpoint. Being a monolithic sheet it is impervious alike to the rise of exhalations *from* the earth and the soakage of liquids *into* the earth. It is easily cleaned; and, as it can be cleaned without sprinkling, it can be cleaned dry. At intervals it can be thoroughly washed with a hose, and all surplus water removed immediately with a squeegee. The absence of dust and the minimizing of noise are hygienic benefits of secondary degree.

(5) The erection of a new *abattoir*, adequate to all the needs of the population, and furnished with modern appliances for the inoffensive utilization of the entire animal, so that no refuse remains to be got rid of.

(6) The construction of "a suitable and sufficient incinerating furnace, for the complete and inoffensive destruction of garbage and other refuse," including dead animals, street sweepings, mattresses, discarded clothing, rags, excelsior, paper, and similar substances, which might serve as vehicles of contagion. The experiments made by Col. Waring, while Street Cleaning Commissioner of New York, indicated that such a furnace may produce steam in quantities large enough to be valuable.

(7) The reclamation and drainage of all the marshes, or at least of those bordering the harbor on the south and west. "This reclamation to be made after the 'Polder' method of Holland—by diking out the harbor and the water-courses and moving the water by pumping."

(8) The establishment of a "power-plant sufficient for this pumping, for pumping sewage where necessary, and for propelling the machinery of the *abattoir*."

This ends Col. Waring's specific recommendations. They cover the field of needed radical reforms. Other fragmentary memoranda indicated clearly that he intended to write further on the following subjects:—

Supplemental to the Department of Public Cleaning, there should be a Board of Sanitary Control, vested with full authority to formulate san-

itary regulations and to enforce them. Its duties should include the inspection of plumbing and drainage work, the securing of ample ventilation of public and private buildings, the granting or refusing of permits to open trenches, etc., the oversight of the sewage clarification works, the inspection of food-supplies, the recording of diseases and deaths, the isolation of all cases of communicable disease, vaccination, the definition and abatement of nuisances, the enforced evacuation and demolition of buildings unfit for human habitation or dangerous to the public health, the approval of building plans, and the supervision of construction. It should provide for the establishment of public baths and public comfort stations, and supervise their maintenance.¹ It should also control the management of the *abattoir*, not as to the disposal of any wastes,—for this is a function of the Department of Public Cleaning,—but by rigid inspection of the animals before slaughter, and by enforcing such gentleness in their handling and care as will obviate the degeneration in their flesh incident to fear and irritation.

In short, the Board of Sanitary Control should do all that a well-organized and wide-awake Board of Health in our own country is supposed to do—and more too. It *must* be zealous, untiring, and aggressive; for in Havana it must meet and overcome, not a few stragglers from the army of disease, but a powerful foe strongly intrenched on his own ground.

A campaign of popular sanitary education must be inaugurated. The people of Havana have been living over and in the midst of filth for so long, and their unsanitary habits have become so firmly fixed, that no sudden repentance and conversion to a clean heart and a right spirit need be expected. It is more than likely, indeed, that they may be disposed to resent any attempt to regulate, or even to criticise, their domestic customs.

The work of reform will never be firmly established, however, until the citizens can be made to appreciate the wisdom and the advantage of the new *régime*. They should be instructed by free public lectures, which would command attention and excite popular interest by their novelty, if for no other reason. As a race, they are fond of oratory and are easily swayed by a good speaker; but, for political reasons, public gatherings, save at church and the theatre, have been practically un-

¹ Chadwick cites a case of an English institution, where drainage, frequent bathing, and thorough ventilation reduced a death-rate, which seemed already low, by 75 per cent. He says: "If a great epidemic were to occur again, I would proclaim and enforce the active application of soap and water as a preventive. I have had frequent opportunities of observing this plan as a factor of sanitation."

known. This restriction is, of course, removed; and every advantage should be taken of the opportunity for sanitary enlightenment. The people must be made to understand the necessity of the immediate removal of all waste organic matters from the vicinity of habitations, and the importance of personal cleanliness, of abundant ventilation, and of keeping the streets clean.

Practical hygiene should be taught in the schools; and the children should be organized as volunteer aids of the Department of Public Cleaning, as was done so successfully in New York. Cleanliness is contagious. Clean streets mean cleaner houses and cleaner people. Little by little, the influence exerted upon the children will be felt in the homes; and before a generation passes the battle will be won for all time. Children brought up amid noxious physical surroundings are inferior in physique and general health to those reared in wholesome environment. Dr. Lyon Playfair, when making sanitary inspections in an unfamiliar town, used to visit the schools, pick out the sickliest children, and trace them to their homes. They proved sure guides to the filthiest quarters in the community.

But physical deterioration is not the only concomitant of unhealthful surroundings. Moral influences are less effective; and the mental perceptions are incapable of holding, or even of receiving, a keen edge. Sound morality and delicate sensibility are incompatible with filthy habits and abodes.

Of less pressing need, but still an important factor in the improvement of the city's condition, is a revision of the custom—practically universal—of laying the first floors of the houses close to the ground, without adequate means for ventilating the space between. Probably, no immediate radical change is practicable or wise; but gradual improvement in this direction may be made, and similar defects in future construction avoided, by requiring that the floors of all new buildings, and all old floors which need relaying, be raised so far above the ground, and be so provided with means of ventilation, as to insure a free circulation of air under them.

It may seem strange that no reference has been made to the dredging of the harbor—so urgently advocated by some advisers—or to any improvement of it, save such as would be effected by the withholding of solid organic matters from the *abattoir*, sewage, and dumping-grounds, and by the construction of the dikes at its southern end. As has been said, the tidal flow is more than sufficient to effect the purification of the clarified sewage, which Col. Waring proposed to empty into the har-

bor. So long as solid wastes are withheld, its surplus oxidizing power will gradually destroy the accumulation of putrescible material.

To dredge the harbor now would be dangerous work; for it would stir up and expose to the air vast quantities of putrid filth. Later, if Col. Waring's recommendations should be carried out, it would mean only the removal of innocuous mud. Navigation is not yet impeded by the deposits; and the rate at which the harbor is silting up—one-third of 1 per cent per year—makes it evident that a delay of even ten years would not be injurious to commerce. Long before this time has elapsed the harbor should be clean.

Havana can be freed from her curse. The price of her freedom is about \$10,000,000. Can the United States afford to redeem her? For once humanity, patriotism, and self-interest should be unanimous, and their answer should be, Yes!

The enormous possible saving of pain, misery, and wasted life is evident. The war against disease would be indeed a "war of humanity," which would call for no explanations and would need no apologies. It would place, not only Cuba, but all the civilized nations of the earth, in our debt. It would be a link of gold in the chain of universal brotherhood which will one day bind the world together.

The sanitary rehabilitation of his country would raise the Cuban to a higher plane physically, socially, morally, industrially, and financially. Having given him his freedom, this would be the greatest benefit we could possibly bestow upon him; for the natural resources of the Island are so exceptional that to make it healthy is to make it wealthy.

The economy of hygienic measures is not only an economy of pain, misery, and life, and a profitable investment for the future, but is a saving of money *now*. It is estimated that a single epidemic, introduced into the United States from Havana, cost \$100,000,000 cash in loss to industries and commerce alone. But this was not the only monetary loss. The cost of funerals, medical attendance, and nurses, and the loss of earnings must be added, to say nothing of the actual cash value of each life thrown away. In spite of almost universal ignorance and apathy upon the subject, each human life has, incontrovertibly, an actual money equivalent; though opinions differ as to the best method of computing it. Until the age of productive capacity is reached, it is represented by the amount disbursed for its birth, maintenance, and education. During the earning period it is the capitalization of income from labor—net wages—at a rate which would secure the extinction of the capital at the end of the average period of working capacity. Or, viewed from

the standpoint of the Charities Commissioner, it is the amount necessary to purchase an annuity sufficient to support those left dependent by its removal, until the capable reach the producing age and the incapable die. English authorities estimate the average value of human life—man, woman, and child together—under ordinary rates of mortality, at from £129 to £200. American computations vary from \$1,000 to \$2,000, under similar conditions. During epidemics, when the proportion of adult deaths is vastly increased, the average value of a life is greatly in excess of \$2,000. The pension system of the United States makes the value of a soldier's life much higher than any of these sums.

A further monetary saving would be effected in the reduced expense of quarantine service; in the lower cost of police and penal administration, which always fluctuates with the death-rate; in the increased efficiency of the people under better physical conditions; and in the reduction of insurance rates. The organized observance of sanitary regulations in the British army in India has resulted in an average yearly saving of £532,170.

Sanitary improvement means financial improvement. Memphis spent less than \$2,000,000 on her municipal house-cleaning. In the nine years following it her population had doubled (the previous ten years showed a decrease), and her business had increased by over \$65,000,000.

Dr. Erastus Wilson, in a pamphlet entitled "*El problema urgente*," says:—

"Until 1884, Naples was very like Havana in its unsanitary conditions. In that year, the great sanitary inspector—the Asiatic cholera—paid a visit to this metropolis and pointed out, with emphasis, the filthiness in that city. Enlightened by this severe warning, the Council of Naples awakened from its lethargy and voted a hundred million lire (approximately \$23,000,000) to works of sanitation in the city. To this amount, the National Government added one hundred million lire more, making the total \$46,000,000; and, after the expenditure of these funds, Naples is this day one of the healthiest and most beautiful cities in the world. In the meantime, its property has yielded, in increased value, much greater returns than the cost of the works."

In opening Cuba to industrial enterprise, we have led our people into temptation, without taking the necessary steps to deliver them from evil. For every American life wantonly sacrificed by a foreign state we demand satisfaction and reparation; and we enforce our demands, no matter what the cost. Shall we permit a wholesale slaughter of our citizens by the filthy, base-born murderers lurking in the cesspools and swamps of Havana?

Among the last sentences that Col. Waring wrote were the following:—

“ If these improvements are to be made, there must be no delay and no half-way measures. All that is indicated must be done in the best and most complete manner, and it must all be done before June 1, 1899.

If it is not all done, there is every reason to fear that yellow fever will be rife here next season, because of the large number of unprotected persons who would come, trusting to the efficiency of the partial carrying out of the work.

Would it not be wise to accept at once the fact that we are confronted with a danger compared with which war is insignificant, and proceed to meet it and to conquer it while we may? We cannot afford to wait until we have fed it and strengthened it with the lives of our people. The necessary reforms will call for costly work, even now; but every month's delay will make them more costly and more imperative.

We can set about these reforms now calmly and judiciously. Later, under the impulse of panic, we should work at far greater disadvantage. ”

G. EVERETT HILL.

THE RECENT ELECTION AND ITS RESULTS.

A STUDY of the election and its results shows some remarkable and rather peculiar conditions. While the Democrats lose control of the next House by a very narrow margin, a majority of the popular vote cast for Congress in the United States is against the Republican party. Less than one thousand votes, properly distributed, would have given the Democrats a majority. In view of the fact that the McKinley Administration, previous to the election, made a strong appeal to the people for endorsement at the polls of its war policy, it seems to me that this failure to secure a majority of the total vote is the answer, proving that it has not such full and cordial endorsement as some of its ardent friends and party organs would have the people believe.

The triumph of the Democrats in the Congressional elections east and south of the Ohio River has been wonderful; but the losses of the Fusion candidates in the Western districts, that were considered safe, indicate that the latter sections were moved by considerations that did not appeal to the East.

In my judgment, the success of the Republicans in the West can be attributed to several causes. In the first place, the contemplated business advantage of the Philippines appealed to the people of the Pacific Coast more than it did to those of the Atlantic Coast. Again, the high prices obtained for cereals in the early part of the year, owing to the failure of the crops in Europe, made some impression upon the campaign in the West. Further, it is evident that many voters of Republican antecedents, who were friendly to the cause of Free Silver in 1896, voted for Republican candidates for Congress; recognizing that nothing could be accomplished in the way of Silver legislation with an unfriendly Executive in the White House, and being actuated by the desire to show to the world that we, as a nation, presented a united front in our demands on Spain. "Stand by the Administration," was one of the most potent arguments used by the Republican campaigners; and it did much to influence the vote that won the narrow majority which they will have in the Fifty-sixth Congress.

It is, therefore, a doubtful victory for the Republican Administra-

tion, and not an endorsement of Republican legislation. The Democratic party is defeated, but its principles are triumphant; and the conduct of the war will be too remote to affect the elections of 1900. Then will come the battle royal between Democratic and Republican principles; and as the McKinley Administration has performed, or has failed to perform, its duty to the whole people, so it will be judged by the whole people.

The appeal made by the President in his swing around the circle, when he visited thirty-eight Congressional districts, and the persistent request of other Republican leaders on the stump that the Administration be sustained in its war with Spain, were not without their effect. In spite of the fact that the Democrats were really the original War party, many voters believed that a victory in this campaign by the Opposition would be construed as a failure to uphold the hands of the Administration, and would encourage Spain to be more persistent in her demands for concessions in the terms of peace. These things seemed to produce an apathy among the Democratic voters, particularly throughout the Middle and Extreme West, where the methods and partisan measures of the Republican Administration, in its conduct of the war, were not so well understood as they were in the East. In addition to this, the liberal use of money not only gave the Republicans a strong organization, but helped to get their vote to the polls. While the foregoing are not all the causes that could be mentioned, they are sufficient to account for the Republican success.

Free Silver played but a small part in the elections in the East, and even less in the West. It is no longer a bugaboo to the people. Those who believe in the principles of Democracy, and are opposed to the Republican policy of restriction, are not to be deterred hereafter from voting because their party is committed to equal rights for silver and gold: this is one lesson that the election has certainly made clear. On the financial question the Democratic party is committed to Bimetallism, while the Republican party is irrevocably committed to the Single Gold Standard; and no amount of dodging or avoidance on the part of the local leaders of either party can change this.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Gold Democrats, particularly in the East, have come back to the Democratic party; desiring to submit their case and their opinions to the consideration of the next national convention, and then to abide by the will of the majority.

The State of Michigan, which contributed largely to the defeat of the Democratic party in the battle for control of the Lower House, voted for

candidates for Governor both of whom were committed to the cause of Bimetallism, and the friends of Free Silver in that State were confused; while the Republican party, with a liberal use of money, was able to record a remarkable triumph at the polls, which had a very important effect upon the efforts of the Democratic Committee to bring about a majority.

It is argued by the Gold Standard organs throughout the country that, because the West gave Republican majorities, Free Silver is dead. It would be just as consistent to argue that, because of the enormous Democratic gains in the Congressional elections in the East, the Gold Standard has suffered. Neither would be correct. It is not in the power of individuals or parties to create issues or to keep them alive. Events make issues; and the near approach of the campaign of 1900 may discover that "Free Silver at 16 to 1" is not the acute issue it was in 1896, by reason of the fact that, for a time, other issues that must be settled may assert themselves and, along with Bimetallism, claim recognition from the people.

Out of the results of the war may come questions of annexation involving the granting of equal rights to a people of doubtful ability to govern themselves, and bringing to this country a responsibility hardly yet dreamed of, that may increase the burdens of taxation and hamper the liberties of our seventy-odd millions of citizens.

And the evident intention of the leaders of the Republican party to legislate into existence a consolidated bank, a credit and money trust, will create an issue that will stir the hearts of the people in 1900 as never before. In the contemplated creation of this trust of trusts the smaller bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, farmers, wage-earners, and business men will take a lively interest; and it may, to some extent, overshadow the question of Bimetallism. The issuance of money, whether coined or printed, is a function of Government; and it should not be entrusted to private corporations. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that banks should be allowed to issue paper money for the people. To give that privilege and make it exclusive to the banks, is to put it in their power, by combination and unity of interest, to control the money of the country, and thus to make them masters of all industry and commerce.

The Republicans elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress are pledged to the retirement of greenbacks and to give national banks the right to issue paper money in their place. All this is contemplated by the McCleary Bill now before Congress. It will result in one great bank, with ten

thousand branches. Independent local institutions, managed by citizens, could not well be established in the event of this Bill becoming law; and those now in existence would be compelled to join the trust or to retire from business. If this legislation is attempted during the Fifty-sixth Congress, it will create an issue that will be paramount to all others in 1900.

In taking control of both branches of the Legislative, as well as of the Executive, Department of the United States Government, the Republican party accepts the full responsibility before the country for its action; and while it has it in its power to produce new issues, in dealing with the new conditions that have arisen out of the war,—issues that at least for a time may take their place alongside the Silver and the Banking questions,—let us all hope that they will so legislate as to grant the fullest equality to American citizens; giving equal rights to all, and special privileges to none. In that event those who are now cast down by defeat will rejoice that this is a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.” But if, on the other hand, the legislation of the Republican party in the Fifty-sixth Congress shall be inimical to the interests of the people, the loss of the late election will bring to those who engage in the campaign of 1900 the following consolations; viz., there will be no confusion of tongues; the issues will be sharply defined; the responsibility will be fixed; and they will not go into the next canvass under false colors, but in a way that will enable the people to decide between the right and the wrong.

In such a campaign as that the Democratic party is willing to submit its case without fearing the result.

JAMES KERR.

LIQUOR LEGISLATION IN NORWAY.

THE Scandinavian licensing system has for some years attracted attention as a form of liquor legislation which appeared to be accomplishing something without attempting too much. It has been the subject of an admirable report from our National Commission of Labor in 1893¹; of a Bill introduced into the English House of Lords by the Bishop of Chester in 1893²; and of a special inquiry made in 1897 by the devoted and able secretary of the German Temperance Association, Dr. W. Bode.³ In 1894 a modified form of the system was proposed in Massachusetts by a few zealous advocates, and came within a single vote of being legalized for a few cities and towns. Within the last year, however, some new aspects of the scheme have come into prominence, and some new difficulties have appeared, which are especially instructive to Americans; and the present situation seems to justify further study.

It is to be understood that the so-called "Company system" is not a form of prohibitory legislation. It can have no interest for those who hold that, under all circumstances, the sale of liquor should be made illegal. To many thoroughgoing Prohibitionists, indeed, the Norwegian plan is peculiarly obnoxious. If, they argue, a form of license-law is discovered which is obviously a vast improvement on existing legislation, is it not likely to postpone the day of more radical reform? Such persons are not concerned with temporary expedients or practical politics, but are standing for a principle which, however hopeless their cause may seem for the present, must be maintained. The attitude of these reformers to the Norwegian idea is like the attitude of an English revolutionary Socialist to an industrial scheme like the Coöperative system. Coöperation, wherever practicable, certainly seems a better social arrange-

¹ Fifth Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor (1893) — "The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic," by E. R. L. GOULD.

² Authorized Companies (Liquor) Bill, 1893. See also THE BISHOP OF CHESTER in the "North American Review" for May, 1894.

³ "Wirtshaus-Reform in England, Norwegen, und Schweden" (1898). The advance sheets of this report have been generously furnished for the purpose of the present article. See also JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS in THE FORUM for December, 1892, and E. R. L. GOULD in THE FORUM for March and November, 1894.

ment than the Competitive system; and it has certainly done great things for British working-men. Yet, after all, the Socialist may argue, Does not the success of coöperation postpone the day of revolution? Does it not leave the working-man content with things as they are, and take out of him the spirit of revolt, which is the very seed of Socialism? The better, therefore, the temporary makeshift, the less it commends itself to the radical mind. The only people who can care to learn the lessons of the Norwegian plan are those who have made up their minds that in many communities the sale of liquor is going to continue for a long time to come, and who, being forced to recognize this fact, want to make this inevitable sale as free from social peril as possible.

It is to be remembered, further, that the Company system does not apply to the whole of Norway. On the contrary, the country as a whole is under a prohibitory law, procured by local option. Allowance is made in some places for the supposed necessities of foreign tourists; by special royal license certain hotel-keepers on routes of travel may supply *bona fide* guests; but in the country districts generally the native population is, to an almost unparalleled degree, removed from the solicitations of the drink traffic. Illegal selling is practically suppressed by the severity and the certain execution of the law. If a fisherman or a farmer wants brandy, he must send for it to one of the towns where a licensed company sells, and must there buy it at wholesale and at a high price; and the distance, cost, and prohibition of further sale combine to make these purchases rare. As a matter of fact, in the great majority of Norwegian villages it is impossible to get a drink of distilled liquor. It is a country of the Maine Liquor Law, and of that law thoroughly and beneficently enforced.

It has been often remarked, in American discussions of the Norwegian system, that the characteristics and social conditions of the two countries are so different as to make any inferences unprofitable. Yet no one who is familiar with the coastwise villages of the State of Maine, especially those whose traits are as yet unspoiled by the invasion of the summer boarder, can fail to notice something of the same type of both character and environment among the country folk of Norway. There is the same reticent, sturdy, unambitious, and well-informed race of men who have for generations done "business in great waters." There are the same plodding industry wringing its subsistence from a few rods of rocky soil, the same universal honesty which makes all the precautions of travellers needless, and the same quiet tolerance of the tourist which the Down-Easter manifests. The lonely haymaker on a Nor-

wegian alp, miles distant from any dwelling, shows not a sign of curiosity as the traveller drives by, just as a Maine fisherman will let a steam-yacht pass so near as to rock his dory and yet not lift his eyes.

Norway is in a formal sense only a monarchy: the spirit of its people is as democratic and self-respecting as that of the Yankee. As in the villages along the coast of Maine, most of the men have followed the sea, and many have travelled far; but they like to end their days in their native hamlets. Everywhere there is a condition of life little above poverty; but nowhere are there beggars or loafers or extortionate landlords. It is a laborious and isolated life, in which the summer's toil does little more than tide over the winter's darkness. But this hard struggle for existence has bred a self-contained, self-respecting stock; and the same conditions which have made Prohibition effective in many a Maine village make it effective in the interior of Norway.

When we turn, on the other hand, to the problem of the city, we find Norwegian legislation discriminating. It is not pretended that regulations which are best for small and scattered communities are also best for the dense and varied populations of large seaport towns. Local option has, indeed, permitted experiments in Prohibition in several such towns, with the same shifting of vote from license to no license and back again which one sees in many American cities. In general, however, the law looks not to the suppression of the drink traffic in large centres of population, but to its strict regulation and limitation. The liquor traffic, it is held, is in so many and such grave ways a source of social and political peril that it is not to be trusted to private dealers, with their natural desire to develop a demand. It is, on the contrary, a good point at which to apply the doctrine of socialistic legislation,—the taking over by the community of that in which the whole community has an interest and a risk.

Here enters the Company system. The town, having voted that licenses shall be granted for the next five years, makes over the monopoly of such sales to a stock company, organized by public-spirited citizens for the purpose not of increasing, but of restricting, the business. The interest on capital invested in such a company is limited to 5 per cent; and all accounts are subject to the supervision of the municipal authorities. All further profits are devoted to objects of public usefulness,—not, however, to charities or institutions which would be otherwise maintained by the town, but to voluntary methods of relief and social advantages, especially such as seem to counteract the drink-habit. "Does this mean," it was asked in astonishment during Amer-

ican discussions of the subject, "that people who detest the liquor trade are expected to invest their money in it?" "Are you proposing that your deacons shall run a saloon?" inquired a sarcastic opponent of the Massachusetts Bill of a devoted clergyman who was defending it. The Norwegian plan frankly answers, Yes: if the only practicable way to lessen drunkenness in a community is for Christians to take the traffic into their own hands, that is just what Christians ought to do. It is, as Mrs. Livermore remarked, like the state of things when Northern Abolitionists bought slaves in order to free them. It is perfectly reasonable for a citizen to be personally pledged to abstinence and a warm advocate of no-license legislation wherever practicable, and at the same time, in the case of a town where there is no reasonable chance of success for the no-license vote, to advocate the Company system as the best second choice.

Precisely how one of these companies operates may be indicated by a single illustration. Bergen is a city of 54,000 inhabitants, with a great fishing business and a considerable foreign trade. If to the commerce of Portland, Maine, we should add the fisheries of Gloucester, Massachusetts, the social conditions along the docks of Bergen would be about represented. In an American town of this character we should have either licensed saloons up to the legal limit of number, with every possible solicitation to drink and every kind of disorder, or else we should have an attempt at Prohibition, with the brazen defiance of law and the fiery adulterations of liquor which are to be found along the wharves of Portland. In Bergen there are nine saloons and four wholesale depots. The Company has a capital of \$20,000, in four hundred shares, held by two hundred and thirty-seven stockholders. Among these are many of the leading citizens, bankers, consuls, teachers, a Member of Parliament, and ten women. It is not only a part of public spirit to take stock in the Company, but the shareholder has also some part in determining to what form of charity the profits shall go.

The Bergen Company happens to be among the most limited in its scope of operations. It deals with the distilled-liquor business only; and it makes no attempt to provide in its saloons any element of sociability or agreeableness. When one enters a Company retail shop in Bergen he finds it a place of the most cheerless and repellent character. There are no tables or chairs or encouragements for idlers, but simply counters provided with the small glasses of the Company, measured, like an apothecary's, for the exact dose. A customer enters, drinks his thimbleful, as if of medicine, and at once withdraws. Instead of

solicitation there is the barest permission. The business is conducted, as it were, under protest; and nothing but the most resolute determination to drink—a determination which no prohibitory law would be able to frustrate—seems likely to draw one into these inhospitable dispensaries. On the walls are various deterrent notices like the following: “No credit”; “No loafing”; “No disorderly conduct”; “No sale to an intoxicated person.” The regulations set forth that it is the duty of the superintendent not to encourage, but to check, excessive drinking. No liquor can be sold to minors. The saloons are open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 1:30 to 7 in the afternoon. On Sundays and holidays they close at 1 P.M. That is to say, the sale stops just when an American bar begins its best business; and the prohibition which could not be obtained outright is obtained for every evening and every non-working-day. Except at these stores, it is practically impossible to buy a drink of spirits in Bergen. A traveller staying at the leading hotel, and wishing to fill his flask for the exigencies of a long journey, must go a half-mile to the Company’s wholesale dépôt, and must then buy not less than a half-bottle of brandy.

In spite, however, of all these deterrent features, the liquor business in Norway is enormously lucrative. The net profit of the Bergen Company in 1897 was about \$50,000; and of this sum about \$30,000 was distributed by vote of the stockholders among seventy-seven organizations and institutions of the town. Since the establishment of the Company in 1877 there has been thus distributed a total sum of about \$600,000. A few of the enterprises thus assisted are the following:—

Distributed to	In 1897.	Since 1877.
City Orphan Asylum	\$250	\$50,000
Tree-planting and Road-making	750	40,000
Bergen Museum and Library	2,000	40,000
Public Library	1,500	54,000
Sloyd Schools	3,000	36,000
Playgrounds	500	7,000
Exposition Building	2,500	35,000
Care of Neglected Children	800	10,000
Theatre	3,500	26,000
Sailors’ Mission	125	725
Pension Fund for Employees of Company	1,000	13,000

In other towns of Norway the Company system differs in many details from the method adopted in Bergen. In Christiania, for instance, we come nearer to what would commend itself, on the whole, to American traditions. Here the Company undertakes the sale of wine and

beer as well as that of distilled liquor; and here, also, the saloons are designed to be agreeable and inviting, instead of barren and repellent. In Christiania, however, there are special difficulties to be met, and the monopoly of sale is by no means complete. A considerable number of life-licenses for the sale of spirits hold over from a time before the organization of the Company; and for the sale of wine and beer without spirits there were held in 1896 two hundred and forty licenses besides those of the Company. The chief operations, therefore, of the Company in Christiania, as elsewhere, are in the sale of distilled liquors; and, in general, Norwegians, like most Europeans, are not in the habit of thinking of wine and beer as intoxicants.

None the less the system does important service in Christiania. In that city of 160,000 people there are fourteen Company saloons, besides concessions granted by the Company for sale in thirteen hotels and restaurants. The saloons, unlike those in Bergen, are, as I have said, quite attractive in appearance, and offer inducements for the customer to remain. They are provided with tables and chairs, are scrupulously neat, absolutely orderly, and are served for the most part by neat and respectable women. To their licensed business is added the sale of food and of non-alcoholic drinks. The superintendent gets no personal profit from the sale of liquor, but may sell on his own account food, as well as coffee, tea, milk, and chocolate.

Thus, this other type of the Norwegian system, while it permits the purchase of alcoholic drink, offers every inducement for the sale of non-intoxicating refreshments. The inclusion of wine and beer in the restrictions applying to spirits, and the provision of resources for sociability seem to make this type more consistent both with human nature and with good sense. The reluctance to classify wines with spirits has, in fact, led to a serious evil. A cheap and inflaming drink has been devised, known as "laddevin," built up with alcohol to the limit of low taxation, —22 per cent;—and it provides a dangerous substitute for the pure liquor of the Companies. It is an evasion of the law, which, as Dr. Bode in his very intelligent report remarks, indicates that effective regulation should consider not the description of a drink, as wine or brandy, —or we might add as tonic or medicine,—but simply the percentage of alcohol in it. The same percentage under any name should be subject to the same law.

With all allowance, however, for the special difficulties affecting the system, the contrast is striking enough when one compares the situation with anything existing in an American city under a license law.

Instead of three hundred and twenty saloons, licensed to sell spirits, as under the Massachusetts law would be permitted in Christiania, there are but fourteen, in addition to the hotels and restaurants; and these fourteen are closed at 7 P.M., are provided with non-alcoholic beverages, are prohibited from entertaining minors or persons showing any sign of intoxication, and apply their profits to the public good. In 1895 the Christiania Company distributed about \$70,000 among eighty-six institutions; and in the same year, the seven principal companies of the Kingdom distributed a total of about \$397,000.

What one would expect from such a system, in its effect on the amount of drink consumed, seems borne out by the national statistics. When the companies were originally organized the drink-habit in Norway threatened the very fibre of the people. Distilling was at that time permitted to every peasant; brandy of an inferior quality was the common drink; and the consumption of distilled spirits was about 8 quarts *per capita*. From 1876 there has been a striking decrease in brandy-drinking to 3.3 quarts in 1890; and Norway is now, in this particular, the most temperate of European countries. The Norwegian and German figures for 1895 are thus compared by Dr. Bode:

Country.	Litres per Capita.		
	Distilled.	Wine.	Beer.
Norway	3.5	2.4	21.7
Germany	13.2	6.4	115.7

There are, however,—as has been said,—some new and peculiar difficulties in which the system is just now involved, and which are suggestive of what would probably happen if the plan were tried in America. Curiously enough, these new difficulties proceed not from inveterate enemies of the system, but from the people who have been to a large degree responsible for it. On the one hand, is the new action of the Government, through whose legislation the system was created. Both the National Parliament and the town councils have begun to realize what a prodigious income they have been permitting other people to give away. At first they were satisfied with asking the companies to subsidize some public causes along with the private ones. Dr. Gould, writing in 1892, remarked that the city council of Bergen asked for such help from the Bergen Company for a city theatre, but did not get it. In 1896, however, such a subsidy was received; and now a legal demand is made for direct participation, both of state and town, in the profits of the companies. By a law, whose enforcement began in 1897, a proportion of

the net income, which will in six years amount to 65 per cent, is to go to the National Government; and, further, 15 per cent is taken over by the municipality. Thus, when the law is in full force, only 20 per cent of profits will be left for the stockholders to appropriate; and the system will retain but little of one of its most characteristic features—the complete separation of its income from political interests. The modification proposed is practically a return to the Gothenburg plan, on which it was supposed that Norway had greatly improved. One step more of state control would bring us to the South Carolina Dispensary system, where the Government itself becomes the monopolist in charge.

On the other hand, there is to be noticed, as operating against the Company system, the new activity of the Prohibitionists. Some of these reformers were probably never content with licensed sale on any terms; but many of them have taken part in the establishment of the licensed companies as the best practicable scheme. Now, however, they have come to believe that a further step can be taken. In the Act of 1894 a section was procured, providing that in all towns where a company existed a popular vote should determine whether the system should continue or should be supplanted by Prohibition. All citizens who had reached the age of twenty-five years—women as well as men—were to vote on this question. The towns were not to act simultaneously; but a certain number were to vote each year, and the result of the vote was to hold for five years. The Prohibitionists have used every effort, under this extended suffrage, to overthrow the Company system, and have been greatly strengthened by the vote of the women. The polling was at first much in their favor. In 1894 fifty-one towns had Company shops; and up to 1896, of twenty-two towns voting, sixteen, including Stavanger, the fourth town of the kingdom in population, prohibited all sale. Later polling however showed a reaction. In 1897 fifteen votes were taken; and Prohibition succeeded in but five. Early in 1898 eleven towns voted; and seven sustained the companies.

These varying results may be interpreted in different ways; just as similar contests under Local Option in America are variously regarded. To the Prohibitionist the reaction indicates the hold which the chance of income from the liquor trade still has on the minds of voters. To the supporters of the Company system the same reaction in their favor appears to come in part from the increase of unlicensed selling under Prohibition, and in part from the sober second thought of the community concerning the advantages of regulation. In whatever way the situation may be regarded, the system is just now threatened by this

twofold attack,—on the one hand, of the politicians wanting the license-fees, and, on the other, of the Prohibitionists wanting to abolish the trade; and it is quite certain that any attempt to apply the system in America must count on the same combined opposition.

The most important lesson, however, to be learned from the present situation is this,—that it is the Company system which has educated the public sentiment of Norway to the point where Prohibition stands some chance of success. It is extremely improbable that the party of Abolition could have become so powerful if the experiment in regulation had not been thoroughly tried. Many earnest advocates of no license are even now stockholders in a company. They still believe in it as a substitute for licensed saloons; but they believe also that the time has come when the town can go a step further. As a citizen of Bergen said this summer: "It must be either the present system or Prohibition: it must be in no degree a relaxing of regulation."

This educational effect of a system of regulation certainly deserves consideration where Prohibition is beyond hope. To many citizens of the United States no final treatment of the subject will be reached until liquor is neither made nor sold nor drunk in the whole country. But, in the face of the facts that more than a million people are directly engaged in making and selling, that more than a thousand million dollars are annually spent on alcoholic drinks, and that hundreds of thousands of citizens of foreign birth are by instinct and habit totally opposed to their abolition, the consummation of the Prohibition ideal certainly seems for the present somewhat remote. Meantime there are things which can be done, and which here and there can be done at once. The saloon-power of a town may be taken out of politics; the interest of the private trader in increasing sales may be abolished; and early closing, strict regulation, and the provision of better forms of refreshment may be obtained without delay. It is not absolutely necessary to wait for legislation to authorize such experiments.

The Bishop of Chester and his friends, having failed for the present in securing the legislation they desired, formed in 1897 a voluntary corporation, known as the "People's Refreshment House Association"; and they already conduct four saloons under the general principles of the Norwegian system. That is to say, they recognize that there are many things to be considered in the Saloon Question besides the fact that drink is sold. There are accessories which gather about the saloon trade which, if not so bad as the drink-habit, are at least worth consideration. Gambling, betting, idling, wasting a week's wages in a night,—all these

are a normal part of the saloon-habit; and, in some American cities, the demands of competition have even caused feminine frailty to be used as an attraction of trade. There is also at least one legitimate satisfaction which the saloon provides for the poor man and which it is cruel to take away altogether. The saloon is the poor man's club. It is his only centre of sociability, and gives him his one way of relief from the monotony and meagreness of his daily life. To remove the accessory perils of the saloon, and to leave its accessory pleasures, may not wholly satisfy one's social ideal; but it is at least better than leaving the pleasure and the peril to be found together. To enter a saloon and not be tempted to excess or misdemeanor, to make one's purchase and depart, or to remain in orderly sociability, is certainly not so well as if one should not enter the saloon at all; but it is certainly a way of patronizing the saloon which would work a practical revolution in many American towns.

One of the most striking facts about the Massachusetts campaign of 1894 was the unprecedented alarm which the Norwegian plan created among the liquor trade. It was a wholly reasonable alarm; for the proposition meant nothing less than the total loss of livelihood to private traders in the towns involved. The traffic was fighting for its life. To those who advocated the Bill, this undisguised concern of the liquor interest indicated that at last an effective weapon against the traffic had been found. What the sellers of liquor least wanted seemed likely to be the best form of attack that could be made on the sale. The liquor-dealers had borne with equanimity the oratorical attacks of the sentimentalists, and had even endured without complaint much restrictive legislation, because they knew how enormous was the commercial and political power still left in their hands. Here, however, was a measure which threatened their existence as much as a prohibitory law would threaten it, but which seemed likely to command more votes than Prohibition would ever receive. In such a situation it certainly seemed a pity that the limited and permissive measure proposed in Massachusetts should have found so little favor among the Temperance organizations of the State, and should have been at last defeated by a bare majority in which votes representing Prohibition and votes representing the liquor traffic were united in opposition to moderate reform. The Devil, it is said, laughs at a divided church; and certainly the forces that work for evil must take courage when they observe that, while there is a weak point on their flank, the only place where the good people are willing to attack is obviously impregnable.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

THE UPPER REGIONS OF THE AIR.

ABOVE us there extends a vast unexplored space far more interesting from a scientific point of view than the icy regions around the North Pole. No one can reach the limit of the upper regions of the air and live, unless he carries with him air to breathe and fuel to warm him; for at the paltry distance of ten miles above the earth the air is too thin to support respiration, and the thermometer would register far below zero. It would be a region of perpetual snow on a peak of the earth if it should rise to such a height. A person in a balloon could not hear a friend in a neighboring balloon, even if they were near enough to shake hands. There would be no medium for the propagation of sound-waves. There would, however, still be a medium for the conduction of electricity—a medium in fact of great conductivity—almost as good as a metal; and it is this medium at even a less height which Tesla proposes to use in his methods of transmitting power hundreds of miles through the air without wires.

The upper regions of the air have this hypothetical possibility. It will be interesting later to discuss the feasibility of such transmission of power. Meanwhile, let us consider this upper region in some of its physical aspects.

We live under a blanket of air which protects us from the extreme cold of outer space. This low temperature becomes evident fourteen or fifteen thousand feet above the surface of the earth, and would, as I have said, reach a point far below zero at a height of ten miles. At this height we should no longer observe the twinkling of the stars; for this scintillation is due to the movements of our atmosphere, which at the height I have mentioned would be extremely rarefied. If one could photograph the sun's spectrum at this altitude we could greatly extend our knowledge of the shortest wave-lengths of light; for the atmosphere completely absorbs such wave-lengths as are concerned in the X-ray phenomena. That this absorption really takes place, can be proved in a laboratory.

The heat and light which we receive from the sun are thus greatly modified by this blanketing layer of air. The long waves of the energy

from the sun are called heat-waves. The intermediate waves are termed light-waves; and we receive these in full measure. The very short waves, however, are stopped by our atmosphere, and are transformed into—what? This is a question I shall endeavor to answer. Before doing this let us consider what other forms of energy we perceive in the upper regions of the air and on the surface of the earth.

The most striking example of another form of energy in the sky is an electrical storm. When it occurs at a great altitude in rarefied air we have the spectacle of the Northern Lights; and when it spreads over lower altitudes we have the thunder-storm. Both of these manifestations can produce electrical currents on the surface of the earth as well as magnetic disturbances.

These electrical currents and magnetic disturbances are as short-lived as the electrical storms. The heat from the sun and the light return with the utmost regularity every day; but the electrical manifestations are extremely irregular and sporadic. There is one magnetic phenomenon, however, which is as regular in its action as the return of the light after the night: this is the mysterious magnetism of the earth, which directs the compasses of our ships. I have called it mysterious; for there is no good theory to account for it, unless we are ready to accept the one I am about to propose. Can the disappearance of the short waves of light have anything to do with the production of electrical storms and the appearance of this weird new form of energy? Can this disappearance be connected in any way with the production of the magnetism of the earth?

We receive all our energy from the sun; and it is perhaps logical to conclude that the electrical storms and the magnetism of the earth result from the action of this heavenly body. I do not, however, refer to the direct influence of the sun as an electrified body or as a great magnet, inducing electrical and magnetic effects across ninety millions of miles of space. There are decided objections to this theory of direct action of the sun, the more important of which are the necessity of supposing the electrical charge on the sun to be very great—greater than is reasonable—and the necessity of supposing that the sun is more highly magnetized than the hardest steel. When we observe the gaseous envelope of the sun, and when we are conscious of the intense state of heat which must exist on the sun, we find it hard to believe in its supposable high state of magnetism. One thing seems to be evident; viz., that the disturbances of magnetism which are noticed on the earth, and which are called magnetic storms,—storms which disturb telegraph wires and which are

connected with auroral displays,—are not caused by fluctuations in the state of magnetism of the sun. Lord Kelvin has calculated that fluctuations sufficient to produce the observed magnetic storm of June 25, 1885, would require an expenditure of electrical energy which would be equivalent to the whole light and heat radiated from the sun during a period of four months. This calculation is conclusive against the supposition that the magnetic storms are due to magnetic disturbances on the sun.

Yet the sun must be concerned in the phenomenon of the electrical storms in the atmosphere and in the phenomenon of the earth's magnetism. At least this hypothesis is consistent with the great modern doctrine, that all the energy we receive from the sun is electro-magnetic. What we term heat and light are in reality transformations of electrical energy. The sun, therefore, although it probably does not electrify our atmosphere as one charged pith-ball electrifies another, or produce the magnetism of the earth as one magnet induces magnetism in a piece of iron or steel, is undoubtedly concerned in both the phenomenon of the electrical state of our atmosphere and the phenomenon of the magnetism of the earth. Is it not possible that the short waves of energy may in some way produce electrical and magnetic effects in the upper regions of the air, and thus, being transformed, fail to manifest themselves as light at lower altitudes?

If we should contend for a transformation of what we call light-waves into electrical and magnetic waves, we should be in line with the present tendency of scientific thought, which more than suspects that light and heat and electro-magnetic waves do not differ in any respect except in regard to length.

It is believed that we have a method of producing extremely short waves by means of electrical discharges in highly rarefied spaces. Such discharges produce the effects of ultra-violet light to an unusual degree. Almost all substances, when submitted to their action, glow in the dark with a phosphorescent light. This is especially true of the diamond. Even ordinary paper becomes luminous. These luminous phosphorescent effects are said to be due to the X-rays; and the best authorities consider that the electrical discharges in a highly rarefied medium generate extremely short wave-lengths of light. They have never been detected at low altitudes. An observer on Pike's Peak, 14,000 feet above the sea, failed to discover them. Nevertheless, they may exist in the upper regions of the air. My chief contention in this article is that they do exist there, and that they are instrumental in producing the electricity of the atmosphere and the magnetism of the earth.

Perhaps one of the chief reasons why we cannot detect the X-rays in our atmosphere, even at an altitude of 14,000 feet above the sea, is that they are absorbed by our atmosphere. Both these rays and ordinary ultra-violet rays are, in fact, thus absorbed to an extraordinary extent. The question arises, What is the equivalent of this absorption? Can it not be electrical and magnetic energy? There is one phenomenon of the X-rays, lately discovered, which is very significant in this connection. It has been discovered independently by two observers—M. Perrin, a Frenchman, and H. Winkelman, a German—that the X-rays have the property of communicating an electric charge to conductors. If, therefore, X-rays reach the earth from the sun, they are competent to give an electrical charge to our atmosphere. The side, therefore, of the earth turned toward the sun would receive a charge, in the upper good-conducting regions of the air. This charge would tend to dissipation; and there would be a flow of electricity toward the side of the earth not turned to the sun. The rotation of the earth on its axis from west to east would bring forward at each revolution fresh regions of the upper air to receive the electrical charging from the sun. There would be an accumulation of electricity on one side of the earth, and a diminution of electricity on the other. The conditions of the equalization of the electrical charge, or the flow of electricity, might be determined by the direction of rotation of the earth. If this flow took place from east to west, just opposite to the direction of rotation of the earth, and were sufficiently powerful, it would produce the magnetic north and south poles. It has been found that air submitted to the action of the X-rays continues for some time to manifest their influence. We should, therefore, expect a fall of electric pressure between the regions just entering into daylight and those in the full glare of the sun. This condition would direct the resulting electric current from east to west, or in the direction opposite to that of the earth's rotation.

By means of this theory we have substituted for a tremendous action at a distance, namely an electrified pith-ball effect, or an action of a great magnet, an action from point to point, by means of waves from the sun. The electrical storms in the lower regions of the atmosphere might then result from the disturbance of the extent of the charge in the upper regions by means of great commotions in the air, which constitutes a vast atmospheric sea. This great region has its storms as well as the oceans of water. The Northern Lights may be due to a dissipation of a portion of the electrical charge, through layers of rarefied and good-conducting air; and thunder-storms can be looked upon as local descent of high

electrical conditions prevailing in the upper regions of the air. It may be remarked here that the theory, that atmospheric electricity is due to evaporation, is untenable; for the most delicate experiments fail to detect any electricity arising from the evaporation of water.

What chiefly interests me, however, in this theory is its bearing on the question of the earth's magnetism. The north pole of the earth is just within the Arctic Circle; while the south pole is certainly south of Tierra del Fuego, though its exact location is unknown. What is especially noteworthy in regard to these poles is the great distance they are apart. If the earth were composed of steel, and were magnetized permanently in the beginning, it would be impossible that two poles should occur eight thousand miles apart. There would be other poles, or what are called consequent poles, between the north pole of the earth and its south pole. The two poles of the earth must be due to what is termed a solenoidal action, that is, an action similar to that which a current of electricity exerts in circulating through a coil of wire. A north pole can be removed from a south pole by this arrangement as far as desired; while the longest permanent magnet that can be made is barely three feet in length. The distance, therefore, between the magnetic poles of the earth is a strong argument in favor of the theory that they are produced by electrical currents circulating about the earth.

Such currents, competent to produce the poles of the earth, have not been discovered in or on the earth. If they exist, they may circulate in the upper regions of the air. The theory promulgated above supposes that they result from the conversion of the shortest waves of light into electricity, and that the flow of electrical currents is brought about by the rotation of the earth. This theory demands a high state of electrification of the upper regions of the air, and great electrical conductibility in these regions. The phenomenon of thunder-storms is an evidence of the former; and the increased conductibility of rarefied air, up to a certain limit, can be abundantly shown. One of the most striking methods I have employed to show this consists in connecting a battery of ten thousand storage cells to two terminals which are separated by a space of six inches of air. When the air is exhausted from the space between these terminals to the degree of rarefaction which exists about six miles above the surface of the earth, the current from the battery leaps across the space with the greatest ease. Indeed, it is conducted by the rarefied medium almost as well as if this medium were a metal like copper.

I have already referred to the plans of Mr. Tesla to utilize the good

conductibility of the upper regions of the atmosphere for the transmission of power over great distances. My recent experiences with very high electro-motive forces lead me to believe that great difficulty would be met in preventing flow from the generating apparatus to the earth; for, under an electrical pressure of two or three million volts, atmospheric air, even at the surface of the earth, is a fair conductor. Before one reached the height of ten miles—where there is greatly increased conductivity—the electricity would have deserted the terminal raised to that height and would have flowed to the ground, instead of taking the path through the air to the distant station. My apparatus should produce a spark of at least ten feet in length in ordinary air: I actually produce one six feet in length. In the dark one can see the reason for the diminished length; for luminous discharges are seen between the apparatus and the floor of the room. The inductive effect is so great that sparks can be drawn from the brick walls and the neighboring gas-pipes.

The fact remains that the upper regions of the air, at least at the height of ten miles, conduct electrical discharges with the greatest ease. If, however, these regions are practically employed for the transmission of power, the astronomical observers will be compelled to change the sites of their observatories to deserted mountain regions far from the neighborhood of cities; for there would be a fine display of celestial fireworks in the shape of luminous electrical discharges. Practical electricity now claims the earth as its own: it is no longer possible to make magnetic observations in our physical laboratories, on account of the trolley-roads. Is it possible that the upper regions of the air will be preëmpted, leaving the astro-physicists no alternative but refuge in some desolate and far-distant region?

The time when the upper regions of the air will be thus used commercially seems to me far distant. There are certainly great practical difficulties to be overcome. The sun, however, according to our theory, already excites electrical currents in these upper regions, which may produce the observed magnetism of the earth.

The theory, then, which I have broached in this article accounts for the phenomenon of the Northern Lights, thunder-storms, and the magnetism of the earth. Its comprehensiveness is peculiarly fascinating to me; for in these later days all the observed phenomena of electricity point to the truth of the theory that light, heat, and electricity differ only in wave-length.

JOHN TROWBRIDGE.

SAN FRANCISCO'S STRUGGLE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

MUCH advance is being made in better forms of municipal government in the various cities of the United States; but there are still grievous problems to be solved. It is not merely a question of municipal corruption, although this obtains in many places: it is a question of better charters, better laws, and better opportunities for good government. The friends of good government—and these include nearly all business men engaged in legitimate pursuits—need to maintain a constant agitation, a persistent determination, to institute good laws and to insist upon their execution.

San Francisco has for many years been struggling for good government, owing to an obsolete and inefficient charter in the form of a "Consolidation Act of the City and County of San Francisco" (approved April 19, 1856), with several amendments. For forty-two years the various changes in this Act introduced by successive legislatures made it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to decide the meaning of the laws governing the city. Four times a board of freeholders has been elected by the people of San Francisco, to form a new charter; and each of the charters thus framed has been rejected by the people. The first, in 1880, cost the city, in expenses of freeholders and election, over \$25,000; the vote being: For the charter, 4,144; against, 19,143. In 1883 the second charter was rejected by a vote of 9,368 to 9,336, at an expense of over \$21,000. In 1887 the vote on the third charter stood: 10,869 for, and 14,905 against, the expense to the city being more than \$17,000. The charter proposed by the freeholders in 1896 was rejected by a vote of 17,697 to 15,891, with the attendant expenses.

During all these years constant agitation for better government was carried on by the various reform clubs, by private citizens and by newspapers. There are at least twenty-five improvement associations in active operation, the most important of which is the Merchants' Association, composed of the leading business men of the city. The formation of the Merchants' Association was an epoch in the progress of good government. It began its career in 1894 with a membership of 47. Since that time it has increased in membership and power. In September,

1898, it numbered 1,003 members. Its constitution contains, among other excellent provisions, the following:

"The object shall be the consideration of all subjects tending to promote the welfare of the community;

To devise, consider, and recommend such legislative, municipal, and other measures as may seem wise and beneficial;

To aid and assist the proper authorities in carrying out all ordinances and laws for the comfort, safety, health, and prosperity of the community;

To plan and recommend the adoption of such measures as will tend to beautify this city and add to its attractiveness."

The Association committed itself to the following programme of progress, which it has vigorously carried out; viz., clean and wholesome streets; the encouragement of legitimate enterprises; the attraction of visitors and home-seekers; greater care in handling garbage; systematic sprinkling of the streets; removal of the cobble-stones wherever possible; securing the best pavements possible; adoption of the new charter; inauguration of Civil Service; to bond the city for improvements; and to hasten an improved sewer system.

On the failure of the people to adopt the charter in 1896, the Association suggested a plan of forming a charter association for the preliminary discussion of a new charter. This association elected a convention of one hundred citizens, who were to work for the preparation of a charter acceptable to the people; thus aiding the freeholders in their work, which had to be done in a brief space of time. Of the one hundred members of this committee fifty-one were Republicans, thirty-four Democrats, six Socialists, and seven Populists. A non-partisan service was thus secured.

Subsequently, in accordance with Section 8, Article XI of the Constitution of California, a board of sixteen freeholders was elected December 7, 1897, for the preparation of a new charter for the city and county of San Francisco, they being under the same government. This charter was completed and signed by the freeholders, March 25, 1898; and at a special election, called May 26, 1898, it received a majority of all the votes cast in the city. If approved by a majority of the members of each house of the legislature in January, 1899, it will become law on the Monday next succeeding January 1, 1900. It is hoped by all advocates of good government that this charter will form the foundation of a better administration, and will afford the opportunity of remedying many existing defects. If the charter fulfils only one-half of what it promises, the expense of more than \$100,000 in the fifteen years' struggle for its establishment will not be regretted.

The grievances of the people of San Francisco in the past may be summed up as follows: An excessive number of appointive officers, unduly augmenting the expenses of the government for salaries; weak and defective laws governing all forms of municipal services, inviting jobbery; charters and franchises granted to corporations in their own interests rather than in the interests of the people at large, resulting in excessive expenditures in the construction of public buildings and public works, caused by inefficiency and corruption; inefficient police service; inefficient and corrupt justices and police judges, and inefficient and corrupt municipal departments;—all of which have resulted in poor sanitation, inferior and defective streets, bad sewer systems, inadequate water-supply at abnormally high rates, excessive criminality, and the domination of the city by political bosses backed by two or three powerful corporations. These are the chief evils which the citizens of San Francisco hope to remedy by the new charter.

The general defects of the laws of San Francisco originated in the attempts to adapt to a metropolitan city of 350,000 a charter which was made for a town of 40,000 people, and in the fact that amendments extending over forty years had so confused matters that it was difficult to facilitate government. One of the difficulties arose from the circumstance that many of the offices were filled by the Governor of the State; thus confusing State and city politics, and subjecting the affairs of the city to the bad influences of the State machine. The only restriction placed on the Committee of One Hundred was that they should stand for three cardinal principles; viz., Home Rule, Civil Service, and economical government.

The sufferings of San Francisco during the past forty years, on account of imperfect municipal government, have been great. The Spring Valley Water Works Company has been notorious for its exactions and for its failures to serve the people. It has obtained rights controlling all the available water-supply throughout that part of the country, and has had a perfect monopoly of the water-supply of the city. Indeed, so arbitrary has been the procedure of the Company, that it has been seriously proposed to carry the water from Lake Tahoe, a distance of more than two hundred miles, in order to furnish an abundant and pure supply. The Company bought at a large expense what is known as the Calaveras tract. This has remained idle; and the people of San Francisco have been paying interest on the investment. It was purchased by the Spring Valley Water Company in order to cut off competition. The Company has gone on from year to year increasing its stock, and charging high

rates for incompetent service. At last it is within the power of the Board of Supervisors to fix the rates. The operating expenses of the Company have been abnormally high; and yet it is estimated that 5 per cent would be a fair return. The Board was pledged to make it 5: but by some process it was made 6; and this 6 per cent is based upon a large amount of unproductive property held by the Company.

The Report of 1897 showed the following items: Maintenance, \$388,364.27; interest, \$33,905.42; coupons, \$498,500; dividends, \$778,000; taxes, \$102,932.50. For 1898: Maintenance, \$460,000; interest, \$43,000; coupons, \$498,500; dividends, \$836,500; taxes, \$105,000; making a total in 1897 of \$1,801,704.19, as against \$1,943,000 for 1898. It is estimated that stock to the value of \$2,900,000 was sold in the two years; and the stock of 1897 amounted to \$12,800,000, owned by about 1,200 stockholders, 900 of whom owned less than \$100 worth.

In 1885 Boston had a population of 362,039; Chicago, 503,304; St. Louis, 333,577; Cincinnati, 255,707; Baltimore, 332,190; and San Francisco, 250,000. The operating expenses of the respective water-works of these cities were: Boston, \$333,548; Chicago, \$255,000; St. Louis, \$253,629; Cincinnati, \$207,000; and San Francisco, \$379,000; showing the operating expenses of San Francisco to be larger than that of any other city. The collections were: Boston, \$1,426,237; Chicago, \$1,142,866; St. Louis, \$660,280; Cincinnati, \$553,500; Baltimore, \$606,879; and San Francisco, \$1,281,500.

But it is idle to follow out the history and statistics of this great company. They may be summed up as follows: Extravagant mismanagement, corporate greed, an inefficient and inadequate water-supply, and heavy public and individual expenses. The remedy now proposed, in order to make up the deficiency in the water-supply, is to use sea water for sprinkling the streets and flushing the sewers. The Olympia and Lurline baths of San Francisco pump their water from the ocean, which fact suggests that a large water-supply might be secured on the higher portions of the city, and held in reservoirs, for the flushing of sewers and the sprinkling of streets, as well as for all other purposes, except drinking, where a large amount of water is needed. This would remedy one of the greatest evils of San Francisco—imperfect sanitation.

The sewer system of San Francisco is a great subterranean patch-work, poorly laid, poorly constructed, and poorly planned. Patched up by jobbery, there are in it elevations and depressions which furnish opportunities for the collection of filth and gases. These could scarcely

be removed even with proper flushing; but a large quantity of salt water poured through the sewers would, to a large extent, remedy the evil. Also, in conducting the sewage to the Bay the engineers seemed to have had a poor understanding of the action of tides and to have deposited the sewage in places where the currents of the Bay would scarcely carry it away. On the reversal of the tides, the sewer gas is forced up to every house and every sewer-opening in the heights of the city. Passing near a man-hole in the street after night, one is in danger of suffocation from the intolerable stench and the foul gases. In the long run it would be economy to tear up the whole system and reconstruct it. However, a careful survey throughout the entire route, the renovation and connection of certain parts, the deposit in the Bay at the right place, and copious flushing with sea water would give San Francisco a fairly good sewer system.

The improved pavements on some of the streets of recent date contrast markedly with the old cobble-stone and block system. When new streets are opened or improved the property-owners must pay for all improvements. The city being unable to vote bonds, city improvements have fallen heavily upon the taxpayers. While large sums of money have been spent yearly—\$200,000 in 1895—on streets already accepted, comparatively little is shown for the enormous expenditure. Antiquated pavements and poor sidewalks are found on many of the business and residence streets, to the detriment of travel and the disgrace of the city. However, under the impulse of the Reform movement, Market Street is to be paved with asphaltum, and other decided improvements are to be made. With a sand foundation, good drainage, and no frost or snow, there is no reason why San Francisco should not have excellent streets at small cost. It seems quite incredible that, during the last forty years, more than \$34,000,000 should have been spent on the streets and sewers of San Francisco with so few permanent improvements to show for the expenditure.

The lighting service is another grievance. Until recently the city was poorly lighted with inferior gas and at a high price; and these conditions have been removed only by the substitution of electric lights in a few of the main streets, as a result of the efforts of the Merchants' Association. By this means 228 electric lights were furnished at a cost of \$15,000, but free of charge to the city, as an object-lesson to the people. The Association later presented a plan to the Supervisors for lighting the city at the public expense; and this was included in the city contract, August 1, 1898.

The city has been maintaining 5,377 street lamps at a cost of \$38.52 per lamp per year. For an inferior quality of gas private consumers have paid \$1.75 per 1,000 feet. Buffalo pays \$14.67 for street lamps, while private consumers pay \$1 per 1,000 feet. There is a difference in the price of coal in the two cities; but the corporation statistics show that San Francisco has paid excessively high for the service. The gas-plant is not worth more than \$5,000,000; but the company pays a dividend of 6 per cent on \$10,000,000.

The citizens have complained of a poor police system. Recently, however, there has been considerable improvement; and to-day it is probably more efficient than any other department of the city service. There are still numerous complaints of the corruption of police judges and justices. The system appears to need overhauling; and, through Civil Service, or better attention on the part of the people to this important part of the city government, there should be placed in office conscientious men who will make their rulings on law and justice rather than according to the personal influence of strong friends or political bosses.

San Francisco makes a poor showing of public buildings. The City Hall, which has been under construction for nearly thirty years, is a monument of extravagance and mismanagement. It is wasteful in design and of poor construction. The original Act of 1870 called for a building to cost \$1,500,000. To this sum has been added other appropriations, until the entire cost has exceeded \$5,000,000. Undoubtedly, with good management, a better building could have been constructed at half this cost. The Hall of Justice is in progress of construction. It is badly needed, and should have been built long ago, but has been delayed because, it is said, the contractors have a "pull" with the Board of Supervisors. The citizens have cried out against the enormous taxation of the city and against the fact that the revenue does not secure permanent improvements. With practically no bonded indebtedness, the people may well inquire what becomes of a revenue of about \$6,000,000 per annum. A city of 350,000 people ought to be well governed at a cost of two-thirds that amount.

A mere glance into the inside of city politics, as they have been run for years, will show that shocking things have been done, and that much of the extravagance and waste in the city expenditures is due to the "domination of corporations" and the rule of the "bosses,"—terms which have been household words among the honest, thinking population of San Francisco for many years.

These are some of the evils which the people hope to avoid through

the new charter. As the charter itself is suggestive of an aroused political conscience, so the continuation of the demand of the people for a better government will avail much. While without a better means of government but little can be done, with an improved charter nothing good will be done without the eternal vigilance of the citizens. The cost of good government includes, among other things, the sacrifice of time and energy on the part of good citizens. Many of the evils that they seek to overcome are so deeply rooted in San Francisco that years must elapse, even under good government, before they can be finally eradicated.

Under the new charter the following officers are to be elected by the people: Mayor, auditor, treasurer, assessor, tax-collector, recorder, city attorney, district attorney, public administrator, county clerk, sheriff, four police judges, five justices of the peace, a superintendent of schools, and eighteen supervisors. Each of these is to be elected for two years, except the police judges and superintendent of schools, who are to be elected for four.

The Mayor is given considerable power in the appointment of boards and commissions. There are to be the following commissioners; viz., three of public works, four of police, four of the poor, five of health, five of parks, five of elections, and three of Civil Service, as well as four school directors. The term of each commissioner will be for three years, except in the case of the commissioners of public works and Civil Service, whose terms will be for four years.

Under the present constitution the appointive power has been largely in the hands of the Governor of the State, all vacancies in the police, health, park, and fire commissions being filled by him. The registrar of voters is also appointed by the Governor. It is an important fact in city government that, wherever local commissioners have been appointed by the Governor of the State, corruption has ensued. This is true of the police commissioners of Missouri, Kansas, and other States wherever the system has been tried. It brings a city into the line of State politics, although it has more municipal politics than it can manage.

The fee system is abolished, and officers are paid salaries fixed by the charter. Also the number of clerks and other appointees is limited in every respect, which has a tendency to reduce by many thousands of dollars the amount paid in salaries. Indeed, by the new charter, the salary-roll of the sheriff's office will be reduced \$19,511, and that of the justices', \$2,200; the annual salary-roll of the tax collector's office will be \$22,456 less than at present, and that of the assessor's office, \$18,327

less. This will be a great saving to the city. It will also have a tendency toward more exactness in the city's expenditures. The tax burdens of the citizens of San Francisco have been very great. The city itself, as I have said, could not incur any bonded indebtedness; and the burdens of public improvements and of expensive government have been visited upon the present generation. It is fixed in the charter that the annual tax-levy shall not exceed \$1 on \$100 of taxable property, exclusive of the State tax, the tax for the maintenance of the sinking-funds, and the tax for the improvement of the public parks.

It is also provided that not more than one-twelfth of the appropriations for any single department shall be expended in any one month, and that each item of expenditure shall be for the purpose only for which the appropriation is designated. These rules, if carried out, will save the misappropriation of funds, and will remove a tendency to deficiency. It is expressly stated that no liability shall be incurred in one month exceeding one-twelfth of the amount paid into the specific fund for the fiscal year against which that debt is incurred, and that no liability during any year shall exceed the revenue of that year. It is also provided that bonds of the city and county for necessary and permanent public improvements may, by a vote of the people, be issued in accordance with the constitution of the State.

A municipal indebtedness Act of 1889, amended 1891 and 1893, was passed in pursuance of Article XI, Section 18 of the Constitution of California, which allowed the cities to incur indebtedness with the consent of two-thirds of the qualified electors. This makes it possible at the present time for the city of San Francisco legally to issue municipal bonds for permanent public improvements. For this purpose a vote of two-thirds of the Board of Supervisors and the consent of the Mayor are necessary to call an election; and the support of two-thirds of the voters of the city is requisite for the issue of bonds.

One of the important provisions in the new constitution concerns the question of franchises and privileges. It first states that all franchises and privileges which are not in actual use within six months after the charter takes effect will be forfeited, and that no exclusive franchises will be given for laying pipes, wires, or conduits. All franchises for street-railways and for light and power may be granted by the Supervisors for a term not to exceed twenty-five years. After publication for at least ten days, these franchises are to be sold to the highest bidder; and, as a safeguard, it is specifically stated in the charter that the holder must pay to the city 3 per cent of the gross proceeds during the first

five years of the franchise, 4 per cent during the next ten years, and 5 per cent during the last ten years of the franchise. As a further safeguard, it requires three-fourths of the Board of Supervisors to grant all franchises. In case of the veto of the Mayor, it takes five-sixths of the members of the Board, or fifteen of the eighteen Supervisors, to pass upon it. It is further provided that franchises must be continuously operated for the full term, and that in the case of street-railways, at the close of the franchise, the road, track, and bed become the property of the city; or, if the city so desire, it may at its option lease the road.

Article XII of the charter is very important in regard to public ownership. It provides that in one year after the charter goes into effect, and every two years thereafter, the Supervisors must obtain, through the City Engineer, estimates of the actual value of all public utilities—such as water, gas and electric lights, steam, water, and electric power-works, street-railways, and telephone lines—for submission to the people at the next election, to decide as to the municipal ownership of the same. Nor is it necessary to await action by the Supervisors in this respect; for, upon petition of 15 per cent of the electors, the Board of Supervisors must submit to the people at a special election a proposal for the acquisition of any public utility desired. The Mayor may at the same time submit a similar proposition. The Supervisors may enter into negotiations for the acquisition—either by purchase, or construction and condemnation by the city and county—of any of the public utilities mentioned above, and may submit the negotiations to the vote of the people. When public utilities are owned by the people they are under the control of the Board of Public Works.

One of the important attempts at better city government in the new charter is recorded in Article XIII, on Civil Service. A Civil Service commission, composed of three persons holding office for three years, is appointed by the Governor. Not more than one member may be chosen from the same political party. The annual salary of each commissioner is \$1,200. They appoint a chief examiner of the board, who draws a salary of \$2,400. Examinations are to be practical tests of physical and intellectual ability for positions requiring skill and power, with the exception of day-laborers, who are registered and employed according to the order of their registration. All examinations are free and open to all citizens of the United States, with no questions relative to politics or religion. The rules of the Civil Service are very specific. Promotions will be made according to merit and term of service. No employee of the city shall be discharged, except for dishonesty, inefficiency, insub-

ordination, or habitual discourtesy. Salaries of public offices must be fixed at rates no higher than those paid for similar services in similar employments. Sex will be no bar to a suitable office. No person can be appointed to, or dismissed from, an office for political reasons; nor can he or she be removed without a fair public trial. Particular care is to be taken to have the examinations conducted fairly, and without favoritism.

No doubt, when this law goes into effect, a great improvement in city government will be made possible. It will tend to secure persons especially adapted to the various places requiring skill in service. Whatever methods are devised for the improvement of municipal affairs, Civil Service has become one of the essentials of our modern system of government. To insure its success it must be carried out justly and thoroughly. This may take quite a long time; but it will win in the long run. The growth and efficiency of the Civil Service in the Federal Government, and its introduction into some of our large cities, indicate its efficiency in providing means for a just and economical government of the people. Its long and successful use in some of the prominent cities of the Old World is a guarantee of its efficiency in perfecting systems of city administration. Let us hope that it will rapidly advance in favor until every department of Federal, State, and municipal government in the United States shall be conducted on business principles by persons selected for merit and for an especial fitness for the places that they are to fill.

The article in the charter providing for the public ownership of utilities is greatly favored by having the strong support of an excellent Civil Service law and by generous provisions for a Board of Public Works. Article VI is composed of four chapters devoted to the constitution, powers, and duties of the Board. All duties and powers of the Board are here described in the minutest detail; and there seems to be nothing wanting to the success of this department except a carefully chosen board of experts to carry out the law. While the Board are subjected to the ordinances of the Supervisors, they have large powers in carrying out the details of government. They have charge of the streets, sewers, wires, conduits, and public buildings. The cleaning and sprinkling of the streets, the lighting of the same and of the parks, boulevards, and public squares also fall to their lot, as well as the cleaning, repair, and construction of buildings. They have charge

"of any and all public utilities owned, controlled, and operated by the City and County, or which may be hereafter so owned, controlled, or operated."

Special attention is given to the opening and widening of streets and the construction of sewers. In fact, all of the details for the care of all public enterprises are presented so accurately as to afford opportunity for unity of plan and thoroughness of execution.

There are many other excellent provisions of the charter in every one of its many sections. Notable among them are those relating to the departments of public health, public schools and libraries, taxation and finance, and the park commission,—all prepared with great care in respect to every interest of the city.

Such are a few of the provisions of the new charter by means of which the people of San Francisco hope to remove the defects of municipal government. As one reads this complete document, from which nothing of value seems to have been omitted, he cannot fail to be impressed with the thought that the citizens have made for themselves an excellent opportunity for good government. With the continued education of the people in regard to the precepts of good government, the advantages of the same, and the evil conditions arising from bad government, and with the vigilance of all good citizens, this instrument will be a monument to its founders and a reward to the earnest workers from whose efforts it has resulted. For it certainly will bring an era of prosperity to San Francisco.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

THE RACE WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA.

FROM the cold and judicial standpoint of the North, where local environments offer no parallel, the recent tragic revolution in North Carolina was wanton, murderous, and cruel; while, from the Southern point of view, it was not only justifiable, but praiseworthy. Somewhere between these extremes there must be a neutral plane from which the bloody episode can be impartially and dispassionately discussed, with mingled justification and criticism: there must be some unprejudiced, yet observant, chronicler, whose word will be accepted—not as the final one, perhaps, but still as a more or less accurate and important contribution to the working out of a serious problem. In such spirit, at least, I offer this article. Born in the North, of Northern parents, yet residing long enough on the edge of the South to appreciate Southern conditions and not to judge too hastily the Southern people; trained by long years of journalistic experience to observe and to write with careful judgment; and enjoying in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the national capital a fortunate freedom from the native, unmitigated prejudices of all sections, it is possible that I may be able justly to depict a situation which has attracted the attention of the entire country and which demands the most thoughtful consideration.

When I first entered North Carolina, having been directed to institute an impartial investigation, I had a most imperfect and general understanding of the existing conditions. To be entirely frank, my first glance at the fiery and excited writings of the newspaper editors, together with the passionate exclamations in a series of resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of white men in Goldsboro, held within a short time after my arrival, led me to regard the movement for white supremacy as hysterical. I interviewed Gov. Russell, the first Republican governor elected in North Carolina during a quarter of a century; and he assured me that the reign of terror which existed had its origin in political malice. Consequently, if my mind had any bent, when I finally reached Wilmington in the latter part of October, it was one of opposition to the methods which seemed to have been adopted to sup-

press the Negro vote; and I was disposed to deprecate the inflammatory state of public feeling.

In Wilmington I found a very remarkable condition of affairs. The city might have been preparing for a siege instead of an election. A new rapid-fire gun had been placed in the local armory; nearly two thousand Winchester rifles had been purchased by private citizens; and scarcely a man in the entire city retired at night without a weapon of some kind—rifle, shot-gun, or revolver—by his bedside. The city was officered as if threatened by a foe. Each ward had been divided into blocks; the former in command of a captain, the latter under lieutenants, with a general over all. The lieutenants met their captains almost nightly; and at one of these meetings I had an opportunity to observe that they were earnest, dignified, sober men, heads of families, and owners of property, engaged in the best mercantile and professional pursuits. All shades of political belief were represented. Some of the citizens had voted for Mr. McKinley, and others for Mr. Bryan; some were Gold and some were Silver Democrats; some favored Protection, and others advocated Free Trade: but in the presence of what they believed to be an overwhelming crisis, they brushed aside the great principles that divide parties and individuals, and stood together as one man. Their language indicated the intensity of the situation, as they viewed it.

Each lieutenant, when called upon for a report, announced the number of able-bodied men in his block willing to bear arms; while the aggregate number of rifles, shot-guns, and revolvers was also made known. The numbers of women, children, and sick men requiring protection were also given; and the data thus presented were carefully noted down. When I emphasize the fact, that every block in every ward was thus organized, and that the precautionary meetings were attended by ministers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, railroad officials, cotton exporters, and, indeed, by the reputable, taxpaying, substantial men of the city, the extent and significance of this armed movement can, perhaps, be realized. It was not the wild and freakish organization of irresponsible men, but the deliberate action of determined citizens.

This condition of affairs naturally excited curiosity, and demanded careful inquiry as to its cause. One could not help wondering why armed men should thus meet nightly in their pleasant and peaceful homes in an American city. Military preparations, so extensive as to suggest assault from some foreign foe, must have had unusual inspiration and definite purpose. Seeking information, I consulted with a number of citizens whose names had been furnished by the Governor

himself, and whose position in the community, as I soon learned, entitled their assertions to the highest consideration. They included bank presidents, cotton exporters, prominent railroad officials, and others of equally substantial position. When I asked an explanation of the situation, the answer was given in four words, "The whites must rule."

The fiat had gone forth; and it was expected that the Negroes, when they learned that the right of suffrage was to be denied them, would resist. From their churches and from their lodges had come reports of incendiary speeches, of impassioned appeals to the blacks to use the bullet that had no respect for color, and the kerosene and torch that would play havoc with the white man's cotton in bale and warehouse. It was this fear of the Negro uprising in defence of his electorate—of a forcible and revengeful retaliation—that offered an ostensible ground for the general display of arms; but if the truth be told, the reason thus offered was little more than a fortunate excuse. The whites had determined to regain their supremacy; and the wholesale armament was intended to convey to the blacks an earnest of this decision. There would have been rapid-fire guns and Winchester rifles if every church had held a silent pulpit, and every lodge-room where the Negroes met had been empty.

White supremacy, therefore, was the magnet that attracted, the tie that bound, the one overwhelming force that dominated everything. To fully appreciate this issue a backward glance is necessary. Wilmington is one of the oldest towns in the United States. Located in the heart of a fertile region, it has prospered. The Cape Fear River affords an easy outlet to the sea. From its wharves cotton is loaded into steamers, each carrying ten to fifteen thousand bales; while the proximity of pine-forests has long made it a famous port for shipping turpentine and rosin. Its broad streets are lined with excellent business structures; and it has all the conveniences and improvements of a modern city. Its social life is proverbially excellent.

With all these material advantages, it has the misfortune—and it is a misfortune—to possess a population of which a large majority are Negroes. Of the 25,000 people in the city three-fifths are blacks. While thus numerically strong, the Negro is not a factor in the development of the city or section. With thirty years of freedom behind him and with an absolute equality of educational advantages with the whites, there is not to-day in Wilmington a single Negro savings bank or any other distinctively Negro educational or charitable institution; while the race has not produced a physician or lawyer of note. In other

words, the Negro in Wilmington has progressed in very slight degree from the time when he was a slave. His condition can be summed up in a line. Of the taxes in the city of Wilmington and the county of New Hanover the whites pay $96\frac{2}{3}$ per cent; while the Negroes pay the remainder— $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. The Negro in North Carolina, as these figures show, is thriftless, improvident, does not accumulate money, and is not accounted a desirable citizen.

Notwithstanding this, at the ballot-box all men are supposed to be equal; and so the Negroes, if they voted, would rule by mere power of numbers. Until a few years ago their preponderance in local government was neutralized by gerrymandering the bulk of the Negro population into two wards; while to a Democratic legislature was entrusted the task of selecting local magistrates. By these methods a white Board of Aldermen was always secured; and the magistrates were reputable and competent men. Four years ago, however, the white men of the State divided. The Populists, who had many grievances, combined with the Republicans and the 110,000 Negro voters to overthrow the Democratic administration and thus to secure desired reforms. Their efforts were successful, placing the Democrats in a minority. Two years ago the combination won by a majority of 40,000, and, feeling secure against overthrow, began to enact the laws which are primarily responsible for the race war in North Carolina. One of these statutes practically deprived the white citizens of Wilmington of their suffrage by authorizing the Republican governor to appoint five of the ten members composing the Board of Aldermen; the other five to be elected by the five wards, in two of which there were overwhelming Negro majorities. In addition to this, the appointment of magistrates was taken from the legislature, and they were elected by popular vote.

The result of all this can be easily imagined. There were soon thirty-six Negro magistrates, each with power to fine and imprison for all misdemeanors not requiring the cognizance of a jury; there were forty Negro policemen, appointed by the mayor and chief of police chosen by the Negro aldermen; a Negro register of deeds, Negro deputy sheriffs and other Negro subordinate officials in large numbers. My informants asserted that, as a general rule, these Negro officers were ignorant, incapable, and a travesty upon good administration. One of the magistrates, for instance, was a stevedore, elected by the votes of his fellows, and who, when the British vice-consul at Wilmington defended some British sailors before him, announced contemptuously that "De King of England ain't got nothin' to do wid dis co't."

The illiterate deputy sheriffs, unable to write or even read the names upon the warrants given them for execution, were hoodwinked on every corner by persons subject to arrest. The Chief of Police, with his Negro staff, allowed the residents to be assaulted and robbed. Burglaries were of nightly occurrence during the summer months, while the wealthier citizens were at the seashore; and when the householders occasionally caught the midnight thieves, the latter were acquitted by the sympathetic Negro magistrates. In the meantime, the Negroes, who had proved docile and peaceable when under control, appreciated their newly acquired power, and grew insolent and bold. Women were assaulted on the streets; and a Negro editor published an editorial, defaming the virtue of the poor white women of the South. This fanned the flame of Anglo-Saxon resentment to white heat. The evils of maladministration were bad enough: property was not safe; and foreign capitalists, who came to invest, left with their money in their pockets. But this material side of the situation, while it disturbed and paralyzed business interests, did not sting the white blood so savagely as the outspoken contempt of the Negro editor for the white woman's purity.

Ordinarily, social revolutions in the United States are accomplished through the medium of a change in political parties. In Wilmington politics played a most subordinate part. The first definite movement toward the overthrow of Negro rule was taken by the Chamber of Commerce, a non-partisan organization, which adopted resolutions declaring that the situation was a menace to peace and order, and calling upon "every good citizen to exert his utmost influence and personal effort to effect results which will restore order, protect property, and give security to our lives and homes." The president of the Chamber of Commerce—a New Englander and a Republican—promptly signed this declaration; and every firm connected with the organization attached its signature with equal alacrity. With this substantial inauguration the movement for white supremacy progressed rapidly. Party divisions disappeared; and the color-line was the plain, recognized, and openly acknowledged issue. Even the Republican postmaster of Wilmington, a Northern man who had never voted the Democratic ticket in his life, recognized this fact. "I had thought at first," he wrote to United States Senator Pritchard, "that it was the usual political cry and a fight for office; but I am now convinced that the feeling is much deeper than this, as it pervades the whole community, and there seems to be a settled determination on the part of the property owners, business men, and taxpayers to administer the city and county government."

To illustrate how far removed politics was from the situation, let me say that when it became necessary, in the hope of securing a peaceful settlement, for the regular Democratic candidates for the legislature to withdraw and be succeeded by two gentlemen named by the business men, they acquiesced without delay or protest. It was through this compromise, suggested by the Governor, that the white Republicans and the Negroes failed to nominate a local ticket. When this had been arranged and all incentive for the Negro to vote had been removed, it was hoped and believed that the revolution would be achieved without bloodshed. There was still, however, no disguising of the white men's intentions. They believed that if they paid, as they did, 97 per cent of the taxes, and if they alone had demonstrated their capacity for developing and governing the city, they alone should rule; and this point they were prepared to establish at any cost.

The truce thus declared lasted throughout Election Day. The polls opened and closed without disturbance. By nightfall it was known that the white men had swept the State; electing a legislature certain, in due time, to repeal objectionable laws and to provide for a constitutional amendment which would prevent the recurrence of Negro rule. The white citizens of Wilmington, who for nearly two years had endured an intolerable condition of affairs with admirable patience, declined to await the slow progress of reform. Flushed with victory, they hastened to emphasize their return to power. While this undue celerity is open to question, one cannot but admire the candor of their action. They resorted to no secrecy or mask. What they did was done in broad daylight; and the entire proceeding suggested the stateliness of a Greek tragedy.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon nearly one thousand citizens of Wilmington assembled in mass meeting. Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, merchants, clerks, mechanics, and laboring-men were present. Col. Alfred Moore Waddell—one of whose ancestors defied the British stamp collector in 1766, and participated in the conference which led to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence—was selected as chairman. A series of resolutions was adopted, declaring that the Negro domination had forever passed and that, in the future, the white man, and the white man alone, should rule. The citizens went further. They decreed, but still without excitement or revengeful speech, that the Negro editor who had published the defamatory article against white women should immediately depart, that his paper should cease publication, and that his plant should be shipped away. A committee of twenty-five

was appointed, with Col. Waddell at its head, to enforce the resolutions; and thirty-two of the more prominent Negroes of the city were summoned to meet the committee. Nearly all came in response to the summons. The scene was dramatic. Seated at one end of the room were the twenty-five white men: at the other end sat the thirty-two Negroes. The whites were anxious, but determined; the Negroes, cowed and terror-stricken. The resolutions were read and, in answer to a query from one of the blacks as to the meaning of a phrase, reread. There was no discussion, no argument. The whites delivered their ultimatum, gave the Negroes until the following morning to make answer, and declared the meeting adjourned. The whites and blacks then passed silently out into the night.

On that night, as on the night before, the streets were guarded by white citizens; but there was no outbreak. In momentary fear of the fire alarm, men slept in their clothes and with their weapons beside them. On the following morning the streets presented the strange spectacle of men ordinarily engaged in the quiet walks of life, proceeding to their places of business with rifles on their shoulders. At eight o'clock they assembled in the public hall, to await the answer of the Negroes. None came. By a strange error, the messenger to whom it had been entrusted placed it in a letter-box—where it remained until the next day—instead of carrying it direct to Col. Waddell's house, as he had been instructed by his Negro brethren. There being no answer, therefore, seventy-five men were called for and five hundred swung into line. The morning papers had prominently published in capital letters the names of the citizens, numbering 457, signing the resolutions of the previous day, so that there was no concealment, no lack of identification. The procession moved out of the hall in column of fours. An eye-witness writes:

"Under thorough discipline and under command of officers, capitalists and laborers marched together: the lawyer and his client were side by side. Men of large business interests kept step with clerks. It was not a mob. It was a gathering of white men who were determined to teach a lesson—a lesson which should be practical, and contain no element of doubt. The work, when the fated building which held the printing-press was reached, was quickly done. Nothing that looked like any part of a printer's establishment was permitted to escape demolition. When this work had been accomplished, the building was found to be on fire. One of the men who was there to destroy the printing-press turned in an alarm. The engines came thundering to the scene, the firemen laid their hose, and commenced the work of salvation. No attempt was made to hinder their work; but no help was rendered. Men looked on with grim faces; possibly exulting, but not boisterous. It was no holiday, no light comedy performance to be carried on amid merriment and laughter; but every man seemed impressed with the responsibility

of his self-imposed duty. Other buildings caught fire ; but men with guns in their hands climbed upon the roofs and extinguished the igniting shingles. There was no desire to injure property not concerned in the deed for which the punishment was inflicted. The children of a neighboring school became almost hysterical through fear ; and their principal was told that they were free to go home or stay, that no harm could or should come to them. An old Negro woman, excited by the scene, stood upon the sidewalk and with all the religious fervor of her race, invoked the wrath of Heaven. She was watched with silent amusement ; and as the flames succumbed to the floods of water, the order to return was given and each man went to his home."

This was the first chapter of the tragedy. The second was enacted an hour or so later, when some Negroes fired upon a small group of white men at a point fully a mile distant from the printing-office. The fire was returned ; three negroes being killed, and three wounded. As one of the uninjured Negroes moved away, he levelled a Winchester, according to the statement of eye-witnesses, at a white man standing upon the threshold of a house, fired, and dangerously wounded him. The Negro ran into a house, but was pursued, dragged out, and riddled with bullets. Desultory firing, with more or less fatal results, followed in various parts of the city ; and in the afternoon the local military took possession of the disturbed district. Additional forces of militia were summoned from surrounding towns. At night the Mayor was forced to resign, and the Chief of Police, who had remained in the city hall during the trouble, was also displaced ; white men, selected by the citizens in mass meeting, taking their places. Thousands of Negroes, terror-stricken, fled to the woods and swamps ; and white men who had become objectionable, because of their affiliations with the Negroes, were escorted out of the city by armed processions.

Events moved rapidly. The new Mayor, Col. Waddell, and the new Board of Aldermen—the former members having resigned—issued a proclamation, commanded order to be restored, interfered to prevent threatened lynching, sent squads of men to protect trembling laborers to their homes, and organized committees to go out into the woods and assure the fleeing Negroes that they could return without harm. New police officers were sworn in. The old administration could secure only fifteen men to serve on Election Day with pay ; the new administration swore in three hundred citizens without delay and with services free. On the next day the request that all citizens leave their arms at home and resume their former avocations was complied with. The bloody drama was over.

It is easy to understand that, while the events which led up to this tragic *dénoûment* were in progress in Wilmington, the situation through-

out North Carolina was almost equally intense. The conditions which prevailed in Wilmington existed throughout the entire eastern section of the State, and were especially unbearable in the six or seven counties which comprised the "black belt." In one of these counties, Craven, in which the shipping port of Newbern, with 12,000 inhabitants, is situated, the Negroes filled sixty-six of the local offices; the State senator was a Negro who had thrice been convicted of forgery; and the candidate for county treasurer, the Negro keeper of a bar-room. In all of the counties where the Negroes were in a majority, Negroes had secured positions on the school committees, although, as I was informed, notoriously unfitted for such offices. Young white girls, many of whom taught school as the only means of raising enough money to insure them a college education, were compelled to apply to these Negro committeemen for appointment; and their dependent position was emphasized by the necessity of visiting the Negroes monthly in order to have their warrants properly certified.

The character of the men selected thus to supervise the educational system can best be illustrated by the statement that, under the law of North Carolina, committeemen, when unable to write their own names, are authorized to affix their marks to warrants and other documents. The repugnance which these white girls experience in thus being compelled to seek favors at the hands of Negro committeemen may not be appreciated by the whites in the North and may seem to be without adequate foundation; but apart from this purely racial sentiment, there is no doubt that in many cases the antipathy was increased by the utter contempt which education feels for ignorance, the inspections and examinations conducted by the Negro committeemen being farcical in the extreme. In addition to this, the irritations of Negro control were illustrated in other directions. From a statement recently made by Senator McLaurin, of South Carolina, some interesting figures are taken. In discussing the character of the Negro municipal office-holders, he says:

"Take the city of Greenville, North Carolina, for example, where the taxable property aggregates three-quarters of a million dollars in value. The Board of Aldermen levies the taxes and orders the expenditures. One of the Negro aldermen pays 84 cents in taxes; another, 63 cents; the other two pay nothing. The total taxes paid by the Negro aldermen is \$1.47. The mayor, a white man elected by Negro votes, pays 43 cents in taxes; the policeman none, the night watchmen none, the chief of police 25 cents. The revenues of this town amount to \$5,500 per annum, of which \$2,830 goes to pay the salaries of the non-taxpaying Negro office-holders."

Whether or not this condition justified the white men in refusing to

submit to a continuance of Negro rule is a question which will, without doubt, be variously answered in different sections of the United States; but the fact remains that in North Carolina it was decided in the negative. This decision could not be enforced, however, except by disfranchising the Negro, to secure which result two methods only seemed to present themselves; viz., (1) the Negro must either be frightened away from the polls, or else (2) he must be forcibly resisted when he undertook to deposit his ballot. The first method offered the least objection and promised the minimum amount of open disturbance; and in many of the counties in the "black belt," therefore, the picturesque "Red Shirt" brigades were organized for the acknowledged purpose of terrorizing the Negroes. At one of the Red Shirt rallies, which I attended, at Laurinburg, near the South Carolina line, there were a thousand men on horseback, all wearing the lurid and significant garment. For ten miles through pine-forest and cotton plantation these men rode, singling out the Negro hamlets as the especial object of their visitation; while in the afternoon they listened to an impassioned address in which they were advised to win the election—peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. The orator described the methods which prevailed in his own county of Halifax for neutralizing the Negro rule. "When a Negro constable comes with a warrant for a white man in his hands," said the speaker, "he leaves with a bullet in his brains." This declaration was loudly applauded. The Red Shirts, as they were called, were the picturesque adjuncts of the remarkable campaign; but they were not border ruffians, as someone characterized them. They were farmers, bankers, school-teachers, merchants,—in fact, the element in a community which stands highest in the social and commercial scale.

While in Wilmington the white supremacy movement had its inspiration and encouragement almost entirely in the desire of the business and taxpaying interests to be rid of the evils of bad government, there is no question that the issue in the central and western portions of the State, where the Negroes did not predominate, was purely political. It must be remembered, of course, that unless the Fusion legislature was voted out of power, the repeal of obnoxious laws was impossible; and to secure the overthrow of such a legislature the coöperation of all the whites in the State was absolutely necessary. Even with this fact, however, the politicians who had no personal concern in the solution of the problem were keen enough to see that white supremacy meant Democratic supremacy; and they labored for both *con amore*.

The result was that in all sections of North Carolina, from the mountainous border of the west to the sand-dunes on the Atlantic shore, the doctrine of antagonism to the Negro was preached from every stump, and reiterated in the columns of every newspaper. The most rabid and inflammatory editorials appeared; the local poets trimmed their wings to flights of exalted rhetoric, and declared in burning rhyme that "The whites must rule the land or die"; the ordinary news of the day was crowded out to afford room for daily repetitions of the Negro editor's defamatory article and such extracts from Republican speeches as might tend to heat still further the Southern blood. The Negro himself was pilloried as the quintessence of all that was brutal and dangerous. Especial prominence was given to items, the purport of which is evidenced in the following headlines, all of which are taken from a single issue of a Raleigh daily :

"Estimable Lady Grossly Assaulted by a Black Negro!"

"An Impertinent Negro Puts in His Lip and Narrowly Escapes Being Roughly Handled!"

"Black Scoundrel Assaults a White Man!"

"Negro Youths Assault and Rob a Venerable and Highly Esteemed Citizen on a Principal Street!"

"Insolent Negroes Parade, Arm Themselves, and March through the Streets of Wilmington!"

In addition to this, the most violent communications found ready *entrée* into the columns of the daily press throughout the State; and whether it was the bloodthirsty correspondent who appealed for an immediate lynching, or "a farmer's wife" who urged the white voter to save her sex from outrage, the effect was the same. From the pulpits the doctrine of white supremacy was preached in the same breath with the story of Christ's love. The oratory from the stump was lava-like. Men accounted in their communities as conservative boldly advocated violent measures. One candidate for State Senator advised a mass meeting of white citizens to "win the election, peaceably if possible, but win it in any way you can." Another orator—a former judge—described with evident gusto how five hundred of his fellow-citizens in a county had waited upon a Republican orator and driven him off because of his "slandrous expressions" in advising Negroes to put their arms around white girls; a third declared that the Negro editor in

Wilmington ought to be food for catfish in Cape Fear River; and still another countenanced the assassination of the Governor who had brought Negro rule upon the State. Stimulated by such angry flood, the passions of the people grew more intense; and at the end of the campaign nothing except the most fiery utterances satisfied the excited crowds. In Wilmington, on the night before election, the greatest applause at a public meeting was bestowed upon a citizen who coolly laid his six-barrelled revolver upon the chairman's table and boldly announced his intention of using it in the furtherance of the "white man's cause."

What were the Negroes doing all this time? Some of them were undoubtedly sullen and resentful; but the great mass of them were in a state of terror amounting almost to distress. At the first sign of actual hostility their white leaders deserted them; and in the face of murderous antagonism they would willingly have bartered their right of suffrage for a glimpse of the white flag of peace. An affidavit of a railroad employee attests the fact that the actual outbreak in Wilmington was precipitated by a Negro; but all testimony agrees that there was nothing like a general uprising. On the contrary, as soon as the first shot was fired the Negroes fled by thousands to the woods, where their pitiable condition excited the sympathy of the whites. I quote from a local newspaper:—

"The most distressful circumstance in connection with the riot, so far as the Negroes are concerned, resulted from the panic among these people. Women and children and men fled to the woods by thousands on Thursday and Friday. The roads were lined with them, some carrying their bedding on their heads and whatever effects could be carried. It was pitiable to see the children hurrying in fright after their parents. People who come into the city from the country report that these terror-stricken Negroes slept in the woods Thursday and Friday nights. They huddled around without any protection overhead and many had nothing but the ground to sleep upon. Many fled without taking a quilt or blanket, so that most of them had no covering. Although the weather is yet mild, it is sufficiently cool, however, to cause suffering, and this, added to the fact that they had little or nothing to eat, made their condition pitiable. In their hunger and distress, the people in the country assisted them as much as they could. They tried to induce the refugees to come back to the city, but they would not hear of it. The most alarming reports went out to them about the slaughter of Negroes in the city, and in fact, the telegraph carried out the most wildly exaggerated messages. Some of the Negroes are coming back to the city, and report their experience as awful."

Having thus sketched, in broad lines, the inception of the race war in North Carolina, as well as the conflict in which it culminated, it would be interesting, as well as profitable, to consider the verdict which ought to be rendered upon the facts. This, however, is not the purpose of the present article. The academic discussion of the Negro problem

opens too wide a field to be entered upon here. Nevertheless, I desire to call attention to the fact, which does not seem to have been anywhere noted, that the political effect of the campaign, from a national point of view, might have been extremely curious. Under the pressure exerted by the white leaders, the Republican and Populist forces were disintegrated in every section of the State, while in the "black belt" the Negroes did not dare to vote; so that an almost solid Democratic delegation was elected from the State to Congress. In the Wilmington district a Republican majority of 5,000 in 1896 gave place to a Democratic majority of 6,000,—a gain for the Democrats of 11,000 votes. No one for a moment supposes that this was the result of a free and untrammelled ballot; and a Democratic victory here, as in other parts of the State, was largely the result of the suppression of the Negro vote. Notwithstanding this, there were several days after the recent election, while the control of the National House of Representatives hung in the balance, when it seemed as if that control might depend upon the seven Democratic Congressmen elected in North Carolina. Had this proved to be the case, the situation would have been most anomalous. We would have seen the House organized by a Democratic majority,—for members are seated on *prima facie* returns,—when its moral right, if not legal authority, was open to serious question. Happily this spectacle has been avoided; but it is a warning to thoughtful people of the serious problems which the future may offer. The situation demands the wisest statesmanship, with certain factors already laid down.

No one who has witnessed the condition of affairs in the South can believe that the Negro is, at the present time, capable of governing. All his efforts in this direction have been lamentable, direful failures. On the other hand, no one acquainted with the spirit and temper of the Southern people believes that the Negro, whatever his future capacity may be, will be allowed to govern the white race. These two assertions—that the Negro cannot govern, and that the white man will not let him govern—are axioms. While the Negro continues shiftless, ignorant, superstitious, and incompetent, there is a justification for the refusal to give him absolute control over invested capital, commercial interests, and municipal matters. At the same time, the casting and the counting of his ballot are his constitutional rights; and so long as these are denied him, there is a confession that our vaunted scheme of universal suffrage is a failure and a farce. They will be denied him, however, even at the muzzle of the rifle; and as long as he threatens to exercise his rights, just so long will the South remain solid.

At this point the question broadens from local interest into national significance; because when the possibility of Negro domination has been removed from the South, that section will express its free thought on national questions. There will then be disintegration in what is now a compact and defensive mass. The South is Democratic because it would escape Negro rule in local offices, and Negroes in collectorships, postmasterships, and other Federal positions; and thus the South votes for the free coinage of silver as it would vote for unlimited greenbacks, Government ownership of railroads, or anything else that the Democratic party might countenance in its platform. Eliminate the all-powerful reason for solidity, and Gold and Silver, Protection and Free Trade, Anti-Expansion and Colonial Acquisition will be the penetrating wedges. How is this much-desired consummation to be attained? Shall the suffrage of the Negro be restricted by educational or property tests, and the South be granted representation in Congress and the Electoral College on the basis of the vote actually cast? Or shall we look to the Negro to work out his own salvation? In the latter event, he has a long and thorny road to tread, in comparison with which the way that Bunyan's pilgrim travelled was a path of roses.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

ARE THE GERMANS STILL A NATION OF THINKERS?

IT is a well-known fact that Bulwer, in an extremely amiable manner, dedicated his novel "Ernest Maltravers" to "the great German people, a nation of thinkers and of critics." Here, probably, we have the principal source of a designation which has now become general. The idea, however, goes back much further. Probably nothing has done more to spread among the Western nations the conception of the Germans as a people of pronounced literary and philosophical tendencies than Madame de Staël's book "De l'Allemagne."

In the early years of this century Madame de Staël travelled through Germany. She associated with prominent persons, and remained for some time in Weimar and Berlin. Her impressions of Germany, *i.e.*, Germany as it existed before the Battle of Jena (1806), were recorded in the aforesaid work, which, owing partly to the keenness of insight and the wealth of ideas which characterized it, and partly to the bitter hatred and relentless persecution of Napoleon I, soon excited widespread attention. In this book Germany and the Northern lands bordering upon it are called the "country of thought." The Germans are described as a people distinguished by reflection and meditation, and anxious to comprehend all things. They are great in abstract studies, and may be not inaptly termed the metaphysical nation *par excellence*. They regard literature as of paramount importance, and literary production as the highest form of activity. They are admirable in the strength of their inner convictions and in the patience and power of endurance displayed in carrying those convictions into effect. They take deeper interest in ideas than in events. Their universality of thought enables them to feel at home among all peoples of all periods. At the same time, their literature and philosophy reveal a wealth of individuality unequalled by any other people of modern times. With such achievements, they stand at the head of the intellectual life of Europe.

But these advantages, according to Madame de Staël, are accompanied by serious defects. The Germans lack the energy requisite for action: in the domain of practical life they are utterly without that universality which characterizes their literary productions. Here they

appear unskilful, small, slow, and inert; everywhere they encounter difficulties; and nowhere else do we so frequently hear the expression "It is impossible." Owing to their faculty of assimilating what is foreign, and to their unremitting association with abstract ideas, they are in danger of remaining strangers to the spirit of the century and of losing sight of the present and the actual,—a domain of which the French have, in consequence, possessed themselves. They lack that practical training in life by which the character becomes steeled and fortified for a vigorous resistance against attacks from without. Thus, Jean Paul Richter, one of their greatest writers, justly says that "the empire of the sea belongs to the English, that of the land to the French, and that of the air to the Germans."

Despite the recognition of such defects, however, Madame de Staël is firm in her appreciation of the German people. To her they are admirable by reason of their indefatigable activity in behalf of the intellectual development of humanity, and because of their valuable contributions to the enrichment and deepening of life.

Such is the picture of the Germans as revealed at the beginning of this century. How great the change effected since then! For now, at the close of the nineteenth century, the Germans appear particularly great, by reason of their military organization, the energy and skill displayed in their work, and their restless advance upon the technical, industrial, and mercantile domains. The Germans to-day appear to be entirely absorbed in the actual life of the present; the cultivation of belles-lettres now plays a very modest *rôle*; and the majority of persons among the educated classes are quite unwilling to indulge in philosophical speculations. How can so complete a revolution be satisfactorily explained? Have the Germans entirely divested themselves of their former inclinations? Have they ceased in every sense to be a "nation of thinkers"? Or may this change be attributed to their versatility? Is it possible that they have been equipped by nature with various tendencies, each of which in the course of history occasionally obtains a preponderant influence? At all events, a fascinating problem is here presented, a solution of which is not only indispensable to a proper appreciation of German nature and life, but may possibly prove conducive to a more correct understanding of the political and intellectual situation of the present day.

The condition of Germany described by Madame de Staël was the result of a peculiar historical process. Among the Germans the modern

spirit arose at a somewhat later period than among the other cultured nations of Europe. In the sixteenth century, religious problems absorbed all interest; while the first half of the seventeenth century brought that disastrous Thirty Years' War, which robbed Germany of the greater part of her population, barbarized her manners, and destroyed her prosperity. It is a strong proof of their elasticity of nature that in the first half of the eighteenth century the German people had already begun to manifest an earnest desire for intellectual emancipation and for an active participation in modern culture.

But this new vital impulse found in the political and social conditions of the time no suitable object. Germany was split up into hundreds of ridiculously diminutive states that regarded each other with jealousy and disfavor. The development of industry and commerce was retarded by a multitude of difficulties; and all commercial enterprises suffered from the meagreness of the financial resources. In all these external affairs the conditions at that time prevailing were petty and circumscribed. Nowhere was there room for the development of a political and national life on a large scale. In consequence of this, the impulse of life, repelled by the outer world, devoted itself exclusively to the speculative philosophy concerning the universe, and to the development of the internal culture of man.

In this way, the formation of a community of intellect was rendered possible. The Germans created for themselves in literature a special empire of their own,—a republic of scholars and the cultured generally,—which enabled them to rise far above the practical and political life, and which emancipated them from the trammels of the material world. Here infinitude lay before them: it was their especial domain. Thus they could without regret dispense with the possession of the material world. So exclusively had the literary and speculative activity at that time entered into the life of Germany, that Madame de Staël could truthfully say, "In Germany a man who is not occupied with the comprehension of the whole universe, has really nothing to do." Amid the contemplation of the universe, and the artistic creations it inspired, the Germans felt happy and secure until the thunders of the Battle of Jena and the demolition of the entire national order terrorized them out of their sense of security and contentment.

This peculiar situation was vividly described by the gifted authoress; and the picture presented by her must be acknowledged as truthful. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect: it depicts merely a temporary situation, and claims to represent as a permanent and distinguishing

characteristic of the German people what in reality was a particular and evanescent condition only. That such is the true aspect of the case may be demonstrated by a brief survey of the earlier history of the German people.

Not until the Reformation did Germany acquire a leading position in the intellectual life of Europe. During the Middle Ages she was indeed somewhat behind other nations in scientific and literary matters. At that time Paris was the undisputed centre of culture. This truth was then well expressed in the saying that God had given the priesthood to the Italians, worldly dominion to the Germans, but that he had entrusted the cultivation of the sciences to the French. In those days there were far more German students at foreign universities than foreign students at German universities. Indeed, up to the close of the seventeenth century, we may hear among foreign nations voices which deny the title of the Germans to intellectuality and originality in literary matters, and which recognize only their pertinacious diligence and broad scholarship.

On the other hand, it was impossible at that time to dispute the consummate ability of the Germans in all matters pertaining to the practical affairs of life. The military prowess displayed by the Germans, when they overthrew the Roman Empire and established the Imperialism of their own nation, survived despite all national division: the profession of arms still exerted a powerful fascination over the people. The burghers of Germany, by dint of their persistent diligence, erected the flourishing cities of the Middle Ages. In these industry and commerce experienced an extraordinary development. That there was also no lack of technical skill is proved by the fact that most of the technical inventions of the latter period of the Middle Ages originated in German cities. In this connection it is only necessary to refer to the art of printing.

The Germans of older date also possessed no mean power of organization. This is evident from the achievements of the Hanseatic Union, which controlled lands and seas, and imposed its will upon powerful monarchs. It is shown also in the achievements of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, which established in the northeastern part of Germany an independent realm distinguished by a remarkable system of internal administration. During the Middle Ages the Germans also manifested an extraordinary colonizing activity upon their eastern boundaries; and a large part of our present territory was at that time acquired peacefully, and not by force of arms.

At the beginning of the modern era, Germany was probably the wealthiest country of Europe; and English ambassadors render glowing

reports of the magnificence of the social conditions prevailing in the cities of the Empire during the sixteenth century. The German people were therefore not originally purely spiritual and unpractical. They are not the "Hindus of Europe," as they were formerly termed in respect of their classical poets and thinkers. On the contrary, they have, from an early period, manifested great ability and activity both in peace and in war; and they have become what they are, not by the favor of nature, but by reason of their own exertions. Energetic labor and pleasure in it are inseparable adjuncts of their being. It is, therefore, no sudden phenomenon, but a reawakening of their ancient deeply rooted nature, if we now see them once more vigorously advancing upon the technical, industrial, and commercial domains; demonstrating a mighty power of expansion, and evincing a desire to participate in the material world,—a privilege with which they gladly dispensed during the era of classicism.

Thus it becomes clear that the picture presented by Madame de Staël does not portray the permanent nature of the German people,—a nature prominently distinguished by energy and thoroughness, and one whose true impulses could be smothered only for a time.

But we should not correctly understand the Germans and their history, were we to regard them *solely* as a nation devoted to labor. They are distinguished by another feature, which is apparently entirely at variance with the foregoing. From the earliest times the Germans have been characterized by an ardent desire to cultivate the deeper life of the soul, to develop a life entirely apart from the world without, to carefully foster what the German language designates as "*Gemüt*,"—an expression untranslatable into any other tongue. The development of this inner life is possible only where individual freedom exists. Consequently it is in accordance with the German spirit to demand free scope for the development of the individual: a subordination to a universal system is regarded as irksome, aye, as intolerable. This is especially noticeable in regard to the great problems of life, which the German desires to solve for himself without a slavish reliance upon mere authority and tradition.

This feature of the German nature already reveals itself in the Middle Ages. It appears in the domain of religion in the form of a profound mysticism; it manifests itself in the fervor of the lyrical poetry of the period; and it may be recognized in many peculiarities of law, custom, and language. But it is only in modern times that its unmistakable presence and full power have been thoroughly realized. The psychical depth and freedom of German life gave rise to the Reformation; and the Reformation, again, acted as a powerful agency in the de-

velopment of the inner life itself, greatly extending the influence of this upon every domain.

Through the Reformation, Germany has become the classical land of pedagogy. According to the new religious faith, it was regarded as all-essential to win over the soul of every individual to the recognition of the Sacred Word through full conviction of its truth. Consequently it became a sacred duty to afford all classes of the population some education,—at least in the elementary branches. How seriously this mission was taken in Germany is apparent from the fact that various states—notably Württemberg and Saxony—inaugurated, as early as the sixteenth century, a carefully graded school organization; that the first measures toward compulsory school education date back to the gloomy period of the Thirty Years' War; and that normal schools were introduced into Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Probably nothing has contributed more largely to the intellectual supremacy of our country than this early movement in favor of pedagogical training. At a later day pedagogy became emancipated from theology. Yet the great mission of the science has ever been the development of the inner powers, the cultivation of the soul-life; never a mere outward training for external purposes. And in the solution of this mission lies the greatness of her leaders, Pestalozzi and Herbart.

This tendency of the German people toward the development of the inner life manifests itself also in their love and aptitude for music. It was not a mere chance that the greatest hero of the Reformation, the man who, according to Madame de Staël, was distinguished above all his great contemporaries by the most thoroughly German character ("le caractère le plus allemand") should have stood in such close relation to music. It is owing to its close connection with the inner life of the German people that music is, and will remain, with them the most popular of the arts. Consonantly with this, we find that the *forte* of the German people lies in their lyrics; and their greatest poet, Goethe, is truly classical in this field only. German philosophy also, wherever it has been distinguished by great and characteristic productions, has ever made the inner life a central point from which the observation and comprehension of the actual were to proceed. Such was the philosophical attitude of Leibnitz, Kant, and Hegel; and all deviations from this course in Germany have ever resulted in second-rate productions. It was this aim for the development of the inner nature—an aim the benefits of which had become so obvious—that finally enabled the German, toward the close of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nine-

teenth, the period of classicism, to construct for himself an inner world from which he might contemplate man in his entirety. This era is comprehensible only as the climax of a long-continued series of efforts.

But in this century also, with its ever-increasing interest in the material world and in practical labor, the influence of that spiritual power of which I have spoken, although concealed and misunderstood, is by no means inactive. The possession of a rich inner life was the basis and the indispensable means of the political and practical revival of Germany. Never would our people have succeeded in attaining such excellent and rapid results in a field neglected by them for centuries, had they not possessed an accumulated fund of spiritual energy and a rich store of intellectual capital. Never would the life of the people have moved forward with such *élan* or manifested such vigorous activity and power of expansion as at present, had not a multitude of small individual centres of culture served to disseminate knowledge among the entire people. The first Napoleon ascribed his downfall primarily to the influence of the German idealists: he well knew what a tremendous influence can be exerted by self-concentrated individuals. Thus we see that the Germany of to-day would have been inconceivable without that of the classical era.

But a close observer cannot fail to perceive that, even in the midst of the present realism, the ancient principle still exerts its influence upon the nation. It is true that the philosophical views and theories have been pushed farther into the background; but the Germans, unlike other nations, are still incapable of accepting the world without demanding an interpretation of its phenomena as they present themselves. Not philosophy, however, but history, is now the medium of interpretation. Prominent Americans have frequently told me that they regard, as the most striking characteristic of contemporaneous German science, the tendency to treat all subjects historically and genetically,—to state carefully the origin of every problem, and trace it through every phase of its development to the present day. Even experiments in physics, they say, are not performed without a historical introduction. Is not this method of treatment also a species of philosophy?

But the direct interest in philosophical and speculative subjects is by no means extinct. Whenever the German is fully possessed of an idea or a mission, he is now, as ever, strongly disposed to construct it into a universal system, a general view of life, aye, into a sort of religion for which he zealously seeks to make converts. Two great examples of this tendency are to-day strikingly manifest. Darwin regarded "Darwinism" primarily as a theory of the physical sciences: the universal

problems involved were to him of secondary importance. In Germany, however, the theory was at once converted into the system of "Monism," into a new philosophy, a new universal order.

The Social Movement emanated from England and France. Not until it came to Germany, however, was it taken up by the Social Democracy, and, by a combination of Hegel's doctrines with those of a materialistic nature, formulated into a philosophical system,—a system which aims to bring every department of life into accord with its views, and similarly seeks to determine the great problems of the day. Thus, for example, the meetings of the factory-workers in Germany are devoted to a discussion of that portion of the philosophy of history which may be identified with the Social Movement. It is customary for other nations in dealing with economic questions to leave the philosophy of history out of the matter.

The examples themselves show that the speculative tendency peculiar to the Germans is also fraught with serious dangers. It is apt to lead to rapid generalizations, the result of a one-sided view obtained through familiarity with some particular domain only. It shows an inclination to confine the sum total of actual experience within a narrow system; and it may easily lead to a fanaticism which understands and acknowledges that only which is arrayed beneath its flag. But a desire to further the full development of man is here also unmistakable.

In fact, the German of to-day reveals, in his entire mode of living and in all his aspirations, the same tendency toward contemplation and systematic reasoning which Madame de Staël once designated as characteristic of our people. Where shall we find to-day so strong a desire to generalize, such strife over principles, so much theorizing in politics, and so powerful an inclination to speculate upon the present as in Germany? It is harder for the Germans than for other nations to arrive at conclusions concerning the practical questions of life. Each individual obstinately maintains his own opinion and goes forward in his own way. The individualism manifested by the masses prevents voluntary personal subordination as well as a spontaneous combination on their part. It prevents the formation of great parties, and hinders a joyful recognition of great achievements and personalities; for each individual, according to his personal conviction, expects to find deeds and persons somewhat different from what they actually are.

All this is in accordance with the older German principle which we still find active. But it no longer exercises its former sway. It has

undoubtedly been pushed into the background by the realistic tendency; and it is this tendency which dominates the German life of the present.

We are now in a position to reply to the question, Are the Germans still a nation of thinkers? This is by no means an easy task, however; for an affirmative answer is equally admissible with a negative one. The Germans are no longer the nation of thinkers that they were in the days of Schiller and Goethe; speculation and contemplation may not now be said to be their predominant characteristics; and they are no longer content with the purely ideal world. But, in a general sense, they are still a nation of thinkers, inasmuch as nothing is accepted by them which they cannot satisfactorily explain and appropriate as a true inward possession. They wish to be systematic in all their undertakings and to devote to these great mental energy. In the midst of all their practical work, they cannot dispense with their individualism and with the desire for a philosophical view of life.

In the course of our inquiry, however, we have noticed that the nature of the German people is by no means simple, but that it constitutes within itself a powerful contrast and a permanent problem. The Germans have a twofold nature. They are a people of diligent workers, yet characterized by depth of soul. It is necessary for them to establish a certain harmony within themselves, to seek a dominant centre of activity; and, in the course of their history, they are impelled now in one direction and now in another. Thus we see that there is a powerful tension in German life which is difficult to satisfy, and which lacks the completeness possessed by other nations. On the other hand, it contains more inward activity, possesses great resources, and is capable of ever assuming new forms.

During the nineteenth century the centre of gravity has been rapidly shifted from one side to the other. At the beginning of the century the spiritual tendency greatly preponderated; while the realistic feature was as if crippled.

This was the era when the educated German was completely absorbed in the world of poetry and thought; and this condition of affairs was exceedingly comfortable and agreeable to other nations. Germany, by reason of her philosophy and artistic creations, contributed greatly to the general enrichment of life; while, at the same time, she was not a troublesome competitor in the sphere of reality. The favor with which other nations regarded her, however, rapidly declined so soon as they perceived her ability to achieve distinction in the actual world and to solicit

recognition. The nations had become so accustomed to see Germany dispense with these things, that they often actually regarded in her as a serious offence what in others had ever been considered as a self-evident privilege. Surely no fair-minded person would expect to see a great people permanently forego a participation in active life, and willingly become a mere spectator of the drama of history.

Our investigation has shown that if the Germans now manifest greater activity and energy in the practical affairs of life, they owe this to an indestructible impulse of their nature,—an impulse which animated them throughout many centuries, and which has now been revived. It is but natural, therefore, that the people who once possessed themselves of the imperial crown of the Roman Empire, and who during the Middle Ages were recognized as the most powerful nation of Europe, should not permanently remain satisfied with the empire of the air.

It is natural that the one-sided spiritual tendency should have been followed by a powerful reaction, and that for the present realism should maintain its supremacy among the German people.

But if it is true that our people have never been wholly spiritual, it is equally certain that they will never become purely realistic. They will never be able to give up entirely their search for an ideal inward possession, nor will they become oblivious of their cultural mission. We have seen that, in the very midst of realism, numerous influences of a different nature have been preserved. Still further evidences of this may be adduced. Notwithstanding the rapid growth of material prosperity, the splendid progress in the mechanical and industrial departments, and the great success attending all our national enterprises, the German of to-day feels no inward satisfaction. On the contrary, he is always conscious that something is lacking. Strong pessimistic currents are discernible not only in our literature, but in our national life as well. Is not this a convincing proof that the German of to-day requires something more for his happiness than success and expansion in the outer world? A reaction against pure realism is already in the ascendant. We may confidently expect that our people will soon again devote more attention to the development of the other side of their nature, that they will once more cultivate art, philosophy, and religion on a broad scale, and in this way contribute new treasures to the common fund of humanity. The Germans have not yet exhausted their mental resources. They have not yet finished their part in the drama. Indeed, they have not yet attained the highest destiny to which their peculiar nature entitles them. That destiny consists in overcoming the contrast between

soul and labor, and in developing an independent inner life in the midst of a vigorous and fruitful external activity. This task is a burning question and an urgent problem for all civilized nations. The human race is to-day confronted by a serious danger; for labor, constantly increasing in volume, threatens to absorb completely the individual, to crush out all spiritual life, and to make us the mere instruments of a mechanical process of culture, which, at the same time, tends to weaken and to cripple the moral faculties. It devolves upon us all unitedly to guard against so serious a danger, in order that we may maintain our happiness and integrity.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that in this conflict a prominent part should be played by the nation which inaugurated the Reformation which, as regards literary production and pedagogical training, has ever aimed primarily at the internal improvement of man, and which has given birth to those great classicists whose works may be likened to an inexhaustible fountain, or to a veritable spiritual world of infinite depth? The German people cannot discontinue their efforts in behalf of a deeper inward culture without denying their historical traditions and sacrificing one of the principal elements of their character. So long as they remain true to themselves, they will hold fast to their ideal and, at the same time,—although in a wider sense,—maintain their right to be entitled a “nation of thinkers.”

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN THE KLONDYKE.

LIFE among the thirty thousand pilgrims who are spending the winter in Dawson, under conditions such as never existed before in any community of equal size, is only a less interesting study than the Utopian character of the original settlements in the Yukon Valley. Forty Mile and Circle City were founded and inhabited by the robust pioneers who blazed the way to the wealth of the interior of Alaska and the adjoining regions of the British Northwest Territory. Nine-tenths of the population of Dawson to-day were members of last summer's great pilgrimage; which was composed of all classes of adventurous spirits, including the idle and the irresponsible from the ends of the earth. The *personnel* of the new camps differs so widely from that of the old that there is a complete variation in the life of the two communities, excepting, of course, such influence, derived from the manners and customs of the old camps, as has not yet been destroyed by incoming worldliness.

Many of the hardships which the early prospectors endured are already a memory. In their combat with Nature they were not cheered by such tales as lured on the host of '97-'98. The majority of them came from the frontiers of the United States; a smaller part, generally of French descent, from the frontiers of Canada. All were peculiarly the product of the natural bent of Anglo-Saxon civilization for overcoming obstacles. Not uncommon were fugitives from justice, who, in undergoing great physical trials, learned a lesson in manhood and often became heroic pioneers. Then, again, there were many of those recluses who are ever seeking lonely refuges out of touch with organized society.

There was no attraction—especially when no “big strikes” had been reported—for the idle and the dissolute, who infest similar settlements in more hospitable countries. Relieved of the parasitic class, and for eight months in the year being interdependent in isolation from the outside world under the most rigorous conditions, their inhabitants, despite the “pasts” of some of them, made Circle City and Forty Mile the most peaceable of mining-camps. Capt. Constantine, of the British Northwest Mounted Police, with a few men, had plenary powers at Forty Mile;

soul are Circle City was nominally governed by a United States commissioner and a United States marshal.

The white women in both communities could be counted on the fingers of two hands. The wives of a few missionaries and of other leading men had come in on the steamers in summer to join their husbands. Besides these there were half a dozen half-breed women, with more or less of the blood of Russian fur traders in their veins, and a few full-blooded squaws who performed the household duties in some cabins for their respective civilized lords and masters.

The miners did their own washing and mending. Their amusements were cards and checkers. The climate seemed to exercise a softening effect upon bellicose natures; and even intoxication seldom carried quarrels beyond a verbal dispute. Whoever struck the first blow had the consensus of opinion of the camp against him. To the newcomer it was hinted that a six-shooter, which fiction makes the inseparable companion of all men in a new placer-mining-camp, was a superfluity that would keep him out of trouble only so long as he might keep it hanging on a peg in his cabin. Its weight alone was equal to two days' rations in a country where the prospector had to dispense with his helpmeet, the mule or the burro, and to take his supplies for a tour upon his back. Arms, therefore, were never carried unless there was a chance of meeting with game. "We've got enough to do fighting Alaska, without fighting one another," was a saying which sententiously expressed the general feeling.

The essence of the "free miners' law" was being on the "squer'," which, after all, is a rough equivalent of the brotherhood of man. In a dispute as to the ownership of a claim the "miners' meeting" decided which claimant was in the right. All offenders were brought before the bar of their fellows. After an examination of witnesses, a man accused of theft was acquitted or convicted by the holding up of hands. If guilty, either he was warned to leave the country at once—no slight penalty in midwinter, with only the hospitality of Indians to depend upon—or expulsion was postponed pending good behavior.

Under the force of self-interest a universal good-will prevailed. Whatever dust a miner had—perhaps a summer's earnings, which were to pay for another year's supplies—he kept with impunity in tomato cans on the table of his cabin. When he went away from home, on a journey to some other creek, he left his latchstring out. On the very evening of his absence, while his own cabin was occupied by another, he was, perhaps, sleeping without an invitation in the cabin of someone else.

By the unwritten law of the land he enjoyed whatever luxuries of food and rest it afforded; but, likewise by the unwritten law of the land, he washed any dishes that he had used and put them and all other things that he had disturbed where they belonged, folded the blankets on the bunk which he had occupied, cut firewood in place of that which he had burned, and laid kindlings by the stove ready to make warmth and cheer for the owner on his return.

Cheechawkos,—a name for newcomers, which the miners borrowed from the Indians,—who came down the river in their rough boats in the spring, at first were often transgressors through ignorance. But so few arrived at a time that the majority were soon able to convince them of the folly of courting trouble. Anyone with a bad record could not obtain loans or other favors when he needed them. After he had consumed the supplies which he had brought into the country, he had to rely upon the transportation companies—established to meet the demand of the new settlements—whose river steamers connected with ocean-going vessels at the island of St. Michael, in Norton Sound. When a man had been unfortunate in his summer's work, a reputation for probity would secure from the companies a year's outfit on a simple promise to pay. In treating generously the real prospector who sought new fields, they only had an eye to their own interests in the development of the country. Every canned or preserved delicacy was included in a year's supplies, which cost from \$500 to \$600. Canned plum pudding was a treat for the holidays; and more than one miner ate *pâté de foie gras* for the first time in Circle City or Forty Mile. These luxuries, however, were no substitutes for fresh fruits and fresh vegetables.

The flat-bottomed river steamers continued on their course until the ice in the river led them to seek a slough or side-channel for safety, all hands preparing to spend the winter housed up on board. Then no more Cheechawkos' boats could arrive, and the camps were separated from the outside world as completely as a whaler caught in the ice of Bering Sea. To all men, including the recluses, a "pardner" was essential. Recluses were recluses from civilization, and not from fellow-men of their own tastes; and no one, except a few of the most perverse, undertook single-handed to put up a cabin or to live in it alone.

The "town" was on the river bank at the most accessible point to the creeks whose wealth was responsible for its existence. Its cabins clustered around the commercial companies' stores and the saloons. On one side was a camp of Indians, with the mission station which ministered to their spiritual wants and, following the paths of diplomacy, to

the spiritual wants of the miners,—upon request. Fuel was brought from the hill-sides, and food was taken to the cabins on the creeks, by teams of husky dogs.

When, in December, winter settled down in serene triumph, there was not even the falling of snow to disturb the calm atmosphere. The fine, white particles under foot, which seemed sharp as powdered glass to the touch, were precipitated invisibly, like frost. They glistened on the rocky mountain-side, without a breath of air to stir them. In the few hours of gray light out of the twenty-four, men welcomed the sound of their own voices, or even the howl of their dogs, to break the silence which was the fit companion of the dry, biting cold. At night they forgave the still and merciless panorama of the day, as they watched out of their cabin windows the majestic play of the Northern Lights.

With the coming of spring, when the sun mounted rapidly in the heavens, every man had his opinion, and his reasons for it, as to the precise date when the ice should go out of the Yukon. After this event—the greatest of the year—had taken place, all eyes kept a lookout up-stream for the first pine-colored boat that should dart around the bend with the rapidity of the current. The Cheechawko was surrounded by a little crowd who asked him about the result of the previous November's elections, or whether France and Germany had gone to war as indicated by an August paper which the community had been reading for eight months. Yet, despite the diet, the isolation, and the inhospitable nature of the country, many of the old-timers, upon realizing the material ambition which had brought them to Alaska, departed with a feeling of regret that amounted to more than the momentary pang of seeing the last of old associations. From two to ten years had passed since many of them had seen the light of a street-lamp glistening upon a pavement, or even a building not constructed of logs. Their natures, full of the conceits of frontier life, were ill at ease at the prospect of the social restraints of civilization. But civilization offers many advantages over Forty Mile for spending a fortune. Those who become poor again will return to the pick and the pan, as a wanderer returns home.

For the first winter Dawson, being populated entirely by men from the old camps, was, of course, largely a counterpart of Forty Mile and Circle City, except that the excitement and the feverish optimism, which increased as the new discoveries continued to surpass expectations, had been thitherto unknown in the Valley. The contamination of the old customs began with the arrival of the fifteen hundred madly hastening

pilgrims, who succeeded in reaching Dawson before navigation was closed in the autumn following the receipt by the outside world of the news of the "strikes" on Bonanza and Eldorado creeks. It was hastened by the change of principle of some of the more fortunate old-timers, who developed those human weaknesses which are brought out in sharp relief by the sometimes doubtful blessing of sudden, great, and unexpected success. Practical communism was easier for a man when he and his comrade were equally poor than after chance had made him the owner of a plot of creek-bed worth from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, while his comrade, who had been too late in the stampede to stake a claim on Eldorado, was among his employees.

There sprang up an aristocratic social circle called the Eldorado Kings, suffering, in a measure, from the affliction of the *nouveaux riches* of old communities who live miserably under the suspicion that whoever approaches them has an axe to grind. Considering how untutored many of them were and how delightful and worthy they had been in the old associations, they seemed pitiful in their expectation of great pleasure in the new circle which their wealth would open to them in the outside world. A few, who had been thitherto easy-going, caught the fever of money-making, and found in the purchase and development of properties, or in speculation, a supreme joy of existence to take the place of that of a long plug of tobacco and a game of checkers or cards. There were the exceptions whose natures were in nowise changed. One of these, a Swedish workman, the owner of a claim which is probably the richest on Eldorado, gave to each of his favorite comrades a portion of it to work "on shares," which was equivalent to the gift of a small fortune. But even he was a contributor to the desuetude of the old-time simplicity. So were other men who, at the gaming-table, or over the bars of the saloons, spent their money with a freedom and recklessness worthy of the childish extravagance and the changing fortunes of the camps in the early days of California.

With the arrival of the pilgrimage of last summer, sweeping down upon Dawson like an army corps upon a small village, the contamination of the old customs seemed all but complete. The wealth of Eldorado was a sufficient attraction to lead the parasitic class to face minimized hardships. Five hundred women of the *demi-monde*, professional prize-fighters and gamblers, small speculators with a maximum of clownish adaptability and a minimum of dignity and honesty, representatives of capitalistic enterprises, men who had turned their backs on bankruptcy courts at home and their faces toward a new field of endeavor, ne'er-do-

well sons, old miners from South Africa and Australia as well as America, and all manner of men from all parts of the world, having the spirit of adventure and a faith in their luck or in their brawn, thronged the main street of this unique settlement. The time had passed when every man nodded to whomsoever he met, in the manner of the members of an old and exclusive club. Dawson had become a settlement not of neighbors, but, like Mecca, of strangers living in tents.

Heretofore, all the communities in the British Northwest Territory had been under the jurisdiction of the Territorial Government. Its arm of administration is the Northwest Mounted Police, formed by the late Sir John Macdonald for patrolling the sparsely settled regions, whose development was one of the leading features of his policy. Most of the privates are of the class of hardy-going Englishmen who fill the ranks of the British army and who are fond of "roughing it." The officers have not received a military education, but are inured to frontier life.

In its policy, the Dominion Government, which took matters out of the hands of the Territorial Government, has apparently been largely influenced by the predominance of aliens in the Klondyke. At least three-fourths of the present claim-owners, of the two thousand men in and around Dawson in the winter of '96-'97, of the three thousand five hundred in the winter of '97-'98, and of the thirty thousand pilgrims of the spring of '98 were citizens of the United States. Naturally, the members of the Canadian Parliament regarded with dismay the prospect of the new-found wealth of a portion of their domain, hitherto considered valueless, going to American mints. Above all, they did not propose that their constituents should pay the cost of administration, which, on account of the isolation of the region to be governed, must be comparatively expensive. Rather were they inclined to follow in the footsteps of the legislators of the Transvaal Republic, whose taxation of the mining industry has called forth such bitter protests from English investors.

Accordingly the placer regions of the Valley in British territory were created a special province called the Yukon District, under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament. A Commissioner, with the powers of a dictator, was appointed for the District; the Judge only being responsible to Ottawa and not subject to the Commissioner's orders. The other civil officials were a Gold Commissioner, who had charge of the recording of claims, a Crown Attorney, and two Mining Inspectors for collecting the royalties. The opportunities of the Commissioner for pecuniary aggrandizement were made exceptional by the system of taxa-

tion devised. On the output of all claims a royalty of 10 per cent was collected. Every pilgrim had to take out a mining license at a cost of \$10. For having a claim recorded a fee of \$15 was charged. Every alternate claim on all new discoveries was reserved to the Crown, thus depriving the community of half the reward of enterprise. Early in the winter the Commissioner made a rule restraining anyone from entering Canadian territory by the Passes without a year's supply of food, which he estimated at the rate of three pounds a day, making in all 1,095 pounds. This was a praiseworthy precaution against the possibility of famine, and yielded a large sum in duties, the average amount being \$40 on every outfit bought in the United States. Never before had the individual prospector setting out for a new country been obliged to face so many obstacles.

Major Walsh, who was chosen Commissioner, though an affable politician, did not possess the qualities of either a popular or an efficient administrator. He did not go to Dawson in the autumn of 1897: the corps of civil officials preceded him. He remained behind in camp on the Lewes Lakes, with a considerable force of Police, in order to escort to Dawson the United States Relief Expedition, which went no farther than Dyea. Among the officers and men of the Police, who had taken up their position on the summit of Chilkoot Pass without having first obtained the consent of the United States, there was a general impression that this expedition,—conceived in philanthropy, and in charge of less than a full company of United States regulars without any rapid-fire guns or other artillery,—was only a cover for a kind of Jameson Raid which was to raise the American flag in the Klondyke. Whether or not the Government at Ottawa was responsible, by its instructions, for this suspicion, I cannot say; though this does not seem unlikely, considering the parallel of the Transvaal Republic, if the Government at Ottawa was at all self-conscious. Major Walsh sent an order to Major Rucker, who was in charge of the Expedition, that the United States officers must not be in uniform or bear their side-arms, and that the privates must not carry any arms or ammunition. At the same time the Mounted Police had an office in Skaguay, and conducted a great deal of business there in uniform. Not many years before, Canadian troops, fully equipped for war, on their way to put down the Riel rebellion, passed, by consent, through United States territory.

The corruptibility of the civil officials at Dawson was accepted on all sides as a matter of fact. Perhaps the gravest charge was in connection with the water-front, the data of which were given to me by

several leading men. The Canadian law wisely provides that the main street of a new town shall be at all points a certain distance from the bank of the river. In order not to have a crooked main street, the men who staked the town-site of Dawson agreed to follow this measurement, from the greatest indentation of the bank, in a straight line. Those who bought lots on the main street supposed that they were securing river frontage, which is invaluable. Last spring, however, saw a long row of buildings whose back-doors were toward the river and which faced the original row. Without authority the officials had let the water-front to an individual for a nominal sum in the name of the Government. The sub-lessees said, with a shrug of their shoulders, that they did not care to say to whom they paid their heavy rents, and that they were satisfied as long as they were left undisturbed. The transportation companies, which are American corporations, had been guaranteed a landing-place and runways for bringing their goods up to their warehouses; and, in face of the prospective infringement of their rights, their attitude was such that the clique desisted from letting this portion of the water-front, although it was included in the nominal lease granted to the individual by the Government.

Capt. Constantine, who had been transferred from the charge of the police at Forty Mile to the same position at Dawson, would not be a party to any wrong-doing. His departure last summer was agreeable to him as well as to the other officials, because he was alone among uncongenial company. No voice was raised against the testimonial of respect presented to him by the leading citizens and the old-timers, regardless of nationality, who had known him for years. He understood the miners; and they knew that, though gruff, he was honest and incorruptible. Even the lawless ones admitted this much; for in no community is simple integrity enforced by a strong will better appreciated than in a mining-camp. Had he been retained as administrator of the whole district, with the power to choose his own assistants, Dawson would have been a phenomenally well-governed settlement, and the development of the great wealth of the region would have been less retarded. Instead of men who had spent their lives among pioneers, the Dominion Government sent, as the reward for party service, men whose experience was limited to local politics at home. With hundreds of experts to choose from in British Columbia, an ex-captain of a whaler and an ex-livery-stable-keeper were made inspectors to collect the royalty of 10 per cent on an output of eight millions of gold. The inference as to how they might add to their ridiculously low salaries is obvious.

Considering the expense of recording a claim, the owners of claims and the prospectors had at least the right to expect from the Gold Commissioner's Office reasonable attention to duty. To have posted in a public place a detailed map of the district, with all claims and the names of their owners recorded, would have required little labor and no expense; but it would have ruined the business of the clerks in furnishing information. Considering the number of policemen with idle hands, mail received in the summer might have been sorted with despatch and distributed at different windows under different heads. But a delay of two or three days, and the prospect of waiting in line for several hours before one could even ask if there was a letter for him, were strong incentives, to miners who wished to hurry back to their claims, to put a few dollars into an itching palm and, in return, to receive immediate attention at the side-door of the Post-Office.

Unfortunately the arrival of Major Walsh in Dawson in the spring, accompanied by a greater retinue of servants than all our Peace Commissioners took with them to Paris, was not productive of the reforms which an oppressed population had hoped for. The acts of the officials, except that of a representative of the Northwest Territory in placing a tax of \$2,000 each on saloons and gambling-halls, seemed to meet with the favor of the Commissioner. He maintained that the Territorial Government was infringing on the special powers granted to him by the Dominion Government; and he issued an order that anyone who chose might sell liquor without any form of license. Vice learned how to make its peace.

The buildings on the water-front stood in the way of even a primitive system of sewerage. Simple sanitary rules were not promulgated, much less enforced. Absolutely no precautions were taken against the epidemic of fever, which was responsible for so many deaths last summer. Private beneficence, mostly American, built the two hospitals; and it now maintains them and carries on all charitable undertakings. Whatever has been done in the way of improvements has been paid for by public subscriptions. The full measure of the Government's public spirit was the construction of the barracks and stockade for the Police on the Government Reserve, which are ridiculously large, considering the size of the flat which constitutes the town-site. When the pilgrims asked for the privilege of camping on the Reserve, they were told that there was room on the hill-sides above the town. Had some of the money collected from the claim-owners and the prospectors been expended on constructing trails and on a system of sanitation, there would have been less

ground for complaint. Doing nothing itself, the Government often took the position of the dog in the manger. The exorbitant price demanded for a charter forced capitalists to give up the plan of building a railroad from Dawson to the mines, which would have been invaluable in cheapening the cost of mining. After paying for timber privileges in their licenses, the pilgrims have found, to their dismay, that the Government, or the officials, have given enormous timber grants in the neighborhood of Dawson to individuals, thus putting an artificial value on logs for firewood and building purposes.

Possibly, however, the folly of the officials reached its height in the case of the Dominion bench-claims. The Gold Commissioner's Office advertised that the benches on Dominion Creek, which had been closed for specious reasons, would be opened on July 11. On the morning of that day the thousands who had accepted the Government's word in good faith arrived on the scene, only to find that the choicest locations had been taken by members of the Mounted Police and friends of the Administration, whose rights to the claims that they had staked were later confirmed by the Gold Commissioner's Office. If the United States regulars had taken up the best quarter-sections in Oklahoma before any of the "boomers" were allowed across the line, the outrage would have been scarcely equal to that perpetrated upon men who had endured so many hardships and, perhaps, staked all their worldly possessions against the price of an outfit and a journey to the land of their dreams, where a year's labor might pay off the mortgage on a homestead, purchase an education, build a home, or win back a lost reputation.

For they who were thus cheated were not parasites, but of the same class that has built towns and granaries in wildernesses. Without this injustice, arousing them to the uncertainty of holding a claim once they had legitimately earned it, the awakening to the real difficulties of prospecting in Alaska and the taxation (in contrast to the liberality of American and British Columbian mining laws) were sufficiently discouraging. Even as Dyea and Skaguay represented the American system of dealing with frontier settlements at its worst, so Dawson represented the British system at its worst. In one there was no government: in the other a superactive officialdom stifled all enterprise.

The incident of the amusing little ultimatum to our Relief Expedition, and, particularly, the circumstances surrounding it, I have mentioned principally because they are illustrative of the general attitude of the officials toward Americans. There was, indeed, much in the government of this settlement of white men which might have been taken

for a burlesque on the rule in a British protectorate of a barbarian people. The loudest complaints arose from Englishmen and Australians, who were quick to resent the apparent reasoning of the officials, that to be quite un-American was to be British. Americans, on account of their position as aliens, took little part in the agitation for better laws and better rulers. As American claim-owners held their claims only by leases which could be cancelled at the Government's pleasure, it was not surprising that they did not want to jeopardize their titles by being "indiscreet."

When I say—speaking as one who has no interest in the Klondyke except that of an observer—that the conduct of the officials last winter and summer was a disgrace to the flag with which we have come to associate fair play the world over, I think that most Englishmen in the Klondyke will agree with me. If the new laws were directed against Americans, they have injured Canadians and other British subjects equally as much, if not more. From the first, London regarded the Klondyke as a great field for exploitation. Most of the capital represented there last spring was British. The royalty of 10 per cent and the failure to use the money so collected in constructing trails are of greater moment to capitalistic (largely British) than to individual (largely American) enterprise. A poor man who takes from \$5,000 to \$50,000 out of a bench-claim with his own hands will not be deterred from his labors by the royalty. Ten per cent on the gross output makes a majority of company propositions impracticable. Often it will wipe out a goodly profit, and put a balance on the wrong side of the ledger. As soon as it was known that the Dominion Government would not heed the appeals for the abolition of the royalty, the reaction from the "boom" of a year ago was complete. The appointment of Mr. Ogilvie, the new Commissioner, who has a reputation for probity, was as welcome to the aliens as to the other residents; although he, also, has the reputation of disliking Americans. It is devoutly to be hoped that, once the application of the fable of the goose and the golden eggs is brought home to the Canadian Parliament, British influence will succeed in having the royalty repealed.

Much has been said, and with good reason, in praise of the order which the adequate—perhaps more than adequate—force of Mounted Police maintains. Malefactors are punished with the commendable promptitude of British justice; and no murderer in Dawson can snap his fingers in the face of the law, as one did a year ago at Skaguay in our own territory. Crimes have increased since the lawless element

arrived last summer, but are still surprisingly rare. The isolation in winter, the ease of capturing a culprit, and the terrible punishment of a term in the prison at Forty Mile, have all been allies of the Police in their work. Unquestionably there are fewer "shooting scrapes" and other like phenomena of frontier communities than if Dawson were in American territory and had a complement of United States marshals. A company of our regulars, however, would have the same orderly influence as the Mounted Police.

Though the Americans are getting so much of the gold of the Klondyke, it should not be forgotten that a great host of Canadians, many of them naturalized, are enjoying the prosperity of the United States. Moreover, we hold the "front door" to the Klondyke, which we may use, in case of necessity, as a *quid pro quo* for privileges in the Yukon District. The ambition of the Canadians to secure control of the South-eastern coast is laudable enough; but under no circumstances should we gratify it.

An all-Canadian route to the Klondyke was proved to be quite impracticable by the bitter experience of a few prospectors last spring; and the Canadian Government itself uses the American route. The only practicable routes are by Bering Sea and the mouth of the river, and over the Passes from the American coast in Southeastern Alaska to the headwaters of the Yukon. It seems now to have been demonstrated that the route over the Passes is the superior one. If ever the mining interests of Alaska and the British Northwest can support a railroad from the coast to Dawson, one of the termini must be in American territory. Abounding mineral wealth awaits us in Alaska; and in time other metals than gold may be brought to our doors as cheaply as they can be mined at home.

FREDERICK PALMER.

SOCIAL ETHICS IN THE SCHOOLS.

PERHAPS there is nothing that causes more anxious thought to a novice in teaching than the question of discipline. No subject is in general more illogically and inconsistently treated; and none deserves better the rational mode of approach that has long been denied to it.

In the face of uncertainties in moral training many teachers have denied responsibility for more than mental training; weak parents have said to teachers who have undertaken the responsibility, "You can do more than I with my child"; and friends have said of many a wild youth, "Oh, he must sow his wild oats." Why should this uncertainty exist? Are we doing all we can, when we leave so important a subject to chance treatment? Even where the aim of education has been given an ethical significance, and the building of character has been considered the most important office of the teacher, we have failed both in theory and in practice.

Herbart makes the early period of the child's life one of restraint under government, that the child may not be troublesome. Accompanying this government is a solicitude for the right development of a reasonable being. The child's will must be cultured; but it must be bent until culture take the place of bending. In other words, discipline follows government. The measures of the one are merged into the other. Government takes into account only the results of actions: discipline looks to intentions. This discipline does not consist in that swaying of the emotions which is sometimes mistaken for moral training, nor in a strictness which exerts only temporary influence, and often blunts the finer feelings. Discipline is a forming principle, a continuous treatment which does not depend on chance.

The great mistake which Herbart makes is in the time for the introduction of discipline. This begins, as Pestalozzi taught, when intellectual training begins. Pestalozzi says:

"I tried to investigate, back to its very beginning, the early history of the child to be taught, and was soon convinced that the first hour of its instruction is the hour of its birth. From the moment in which its mind can receive impressions from nature, nature teaches it. The new life itself is nothing but the just awakened readiness to receive these impressions. It is only the awakening of the perfect

physical buds that now aspire, with all their power and all their impulses, toward the development of their individuality. It is only the awakening of the now perfect animal, that will and must become man." ("Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder Lehrt." —Erster Brief, § 33.)

At the same period, and in the same way in which mental training begins, *i.e.*, through the sense-sources, the moral training also begins.

It is no mere sickly sentimentality that would banish corporal punishment from the class-room. Under more humane management the standards of the school have risen and the humanizing influences have become greater. We do not need to turn to the historic past to know that harshness begets harshness, hardness, and cruelty. The world reflects the spirit in which we meet it; and this is nowhere more evident than in the class-room. A harsh word, a sneering remark, the cynicism of the teacher, are reflected by sensitive children; while undue severity and corporal punishment make impossible a spirit of harmony and interest, and the feeling of mutual coöperation, which should be called forth in the ideal relations of pupil and teacher. On the contrary, a firm, consistent, generous treatment of a young child, as of an older person, has an appealing and controlling force. This is preëminently true of the normal child, of a child in which the sense-impressions have been on the whole favorable to happy social relations; where the "sense-means of cultivating virtue" have been present in early childhood in the home; where the child has gained, from the action of those by whom he is surrounded and in the satisfaction of his physical needs, an impulse which awakened love and gratitude to those who satisfied these needs, and trust in those who protected him in danger; where those who have directed him have been as inflexible as nature toward his irregular desires; where he has become accustomed to yield his wishes to circumstances, to a consideration of others, or to the direction of parents.

With such environment patience, obedience, gratitude, trust, and love have begun to unfold before the child enters the school. He has already recognized that all that exists in the world is not for his own sake only; and he has begun to respond in self-development and self-control. In the companionship of those who love him, of those who in the daily relations of home show him that justice, mercy, purity, love, generosity, firmness, courage, are controlling elements in social life, he has already obtained a preparatory discipline which makes him amenable to the discipline of the school. The daily unspoken, but powerful, influence of the character of those by whom he is surrounded has introduced him rapidly into the favorable conditions of moral growth; and

in normal relations there should be no break between such home life and the school. The Kindergarten has its greatest power in doing just this work of preparation for the elementary school.

But suppose that this early period has been neglected; that the carelessness or thoughtlessness or unwise over-indulgence or over-severity of parents has already dwarfed or stunted social and ethical development; and that the "sense-means for the cultivation of virtue" have been totally wanting. In such case, if not stimulated by favorable means, the child responds to unfavorable agencies. If the ground is not sown with wheat, it is ready to bring forth weeds. Suppose, as in many cases, that the "sense-means" have contributed to the development of opposite character. Many children in the classes of our public schools come to the teacher from homes where unregulated and passionate lives, irregular and uncontrolled impulses, harsh words and discourtesy have given the prevailing tone, and when these influences have already begun to bear fruit in word and action, and have already entered into the standards which form the basis of character.

What means can be employed to meet these abnormal cases? No spirit would be more foreign to that involved in the function of a teacher than the use of the rod; for, though there may be a temporary check, yet there is no corrective to the tone already formed. In a vast majority of cases, the apperceptive material already present would respond by deceit, by concealment, or by open defiance, in order to avoid punishment. Besides the direct influence of the teacher, there has been built up through his agency the silent, but potent, influence of the general tone of the school. Social influence is one of the most powerful school factors. The class spirit is in favor of obedience, courtesy, and kindness, if the children have been so trained; and its reflection from the class is felt as a guiding and restraining influence upon such unregulated lives. With no evident direct means many children become subservient to the purposes of social order which have been already recognized and established. A great deal of so-called disorder is nothing but the expression of activity which needs only to be properly provided for by the home and the teacher, and to be directed into suitable and regulated channels. By this means the children will soon "acquire the intelligence and the disposition appropriate to profitable social coöperation."

But a small number may not be reached by this means. They constitute the remnants which cause anxious thought to teachers, and always will, so long as early training is so one-sided that children do not receive the rational treatment which they deserve. In some classes the

tone of public opinion is so weak that the example of offenders is likely to turn the scale in favor of disorder; and here may be tried a practical device which has the value of having met the test of experience and of being applicable to small and large city systems alike. If teachers will watch the causes of disorder, and note the cases which occur, they will find that there is much specific evil and anti-socialism that can be anticipated and prevented by instruction. If it be said that the child must be taught to respect and obey law, the answer must be that such a child does not know what law is. Ignorance on the part of a pupil of a better way is often mistaken by the teacher for wilfulness; and wilfulness and evil tendencies are increased by harsh treatment.

The irregularities of the first years of school life, especially in the public schools, can be pretty safely predicted and averted by those who have observed and made careful notes of the tendencies of childhood. The daily acts of the school-room can be regulated and utilized for arousing the hitherto unawakened germs of social and ethical development. A careful study of children in classes will show that there is a regular graded system of tendencies common to child nature at certain ages; and the expression of these tendencies can be controlled by a regular system of graded ethical instruction and social practice which shall give direction to other impulses, develop other standards, and result eventually in another expression. This plan will thus give rise to a local curriculum expanded in the direction of social ethics. To observers it is a well-known biological and sociological fact that a child is either healthily or unhealthily stimulated by the presence of his mates, and that children in groups are excitable and often abnormal as the result of such association. Teachers should be close students of the social whole, as well as of individuals; and in all elementary schools class instruction, not intellectual alone, but motor as well, to meet the special needs of carefully observed and noted tendencies, should be given. For the schools the study of the social child and of the social whole is as important as the study of the individual child, and should supplement all individual child-study.

There are, however, individuals who can be influenced by none of these means; and these are the ones who have been classed as "boys rehearsing for the penitentiary on the streets." The long vacations, in which children are left to unregulated street life, are a fruitful source of criminality. No city can do better than to provide for such waifs the light occupation, the wholesome regulation, and wisely stimulating influence of vacation schools. Before deciding to expel these individuals

from school they should receive special individual treatment, instruction, and training in general fundamental notions of morality and conduct, and we should try to secure a closer coöperation between home and school. With proper appeal, the poorest home will respond for the child; and where such a home is called to its proper responsibility the community is elevated. Many children can be best reached by the training of the motor powers; and the significance of this fact is not understood by teachers. Even a low grade of mentality, or abnormal immoral tendencies, can be reached through this sifting process; and only when cases cannot be met by this means, should the children be removed. The philanthropy of the age has provided asylums for idiots, and special reforming agencies for those who have not been endowed by nature with the germs of self-control. No harshness, no corporal punishment could train the latter class to social duties or to good citizenship. The influence of the social whole can be so great, however, that even these can sometimes be led into comparatively regulated channels of activity. But that any child must eventually be sent to such an institution, is often due only to lack of knowledge, patience, or skill, on the part of teacher or parent, to call forth responsiveness from the child in the very beginning of his training in infancy or in early school life.

If children are thus carefully trained in elementary classes, social and ethical order is established for the higher classes; if neglected, the rod or expulsion must be resorted to. In both cases incipient criminals ripen rapidly. My own experience tends to confirm the fact that teachers who cannot teach, nor secure a high social and moral standing without corporal punishment, cannot do so with the use of it. The moral force and justice behind the punishment must be appreciated by the child, in order to insure the attainment of its purpose; and over-severity of punishment, such as is meted out in general with corporal punishment, fails to secure the desired result. It is doubtful whether as many criminals are not made by corporal punishment as through its non-use. In general, the slighter the mark of disapproval of conduct, if heeded by the child, the more secure the end attained; and even the rod loses its power where unjustly and frequently used. For our schools, therefore, corporal punishment ought not to be a necessity.

The significance of the first sense-impressions for the child's future cannot be overestimated. The same laws that develop the sense-foundations of knowledge, apply, according to Pestalozzi, to the "sense-means for cultivating virtue." The sense-means do not consist alone in moral precepts, in doctrine, in repetition of a catechism, in words for which

the child has gained no content, but in the complete sense-impressions gained from the actions of those by whom he is surrounded.

Thus, while a thousand objects, of which the child is at first only dimly conscious in a confused way, come into mental clearness and definiteness, and form the basis of the intellectual work of the future, the child's introduction into the favorable conditions of moral growth is made even more rapidly through the daily unspoken, but effective, influence of the character of those by whom he is surrounded.

We have too long separated in thought the mental and moral training. We have too often left the moral to chance. The great opportunities of this early period have been neglected or overlooked until the child, coming to the opportunities or temptations of a later period with these "gaps in the early sense-cultivation of virtue," has found a temptation which has roused the dormant impulse and which has mastered the entire being. Pestalozzi said :

"The sense-means of facilitating the virtuous and wise disposition of mind [should be brought] into the blood and veins before the desires for sensual pleasures have so infected blood and veins as to make virtue and wisdom impossible." ("Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder Lehrt."—Zwölfter Brief, § 12.)

This is the earliest task and the highest in training the child so that what is demanded of him in his future life by necessity and duty may be made easy. The child should be so fortified by this early direction that he may come with inherent strength of character into regulated intercourse with the broader range of life.

All generally recognized principles of education apply as well to ethical training as to mental, and should be recognized in any system of instruction. The intellectual and the ethical are not parallel lines in education, but are phases of one and the same process of development.

JULIA E. BULKLEY.

A STUDY IN NATIVITIES.

THE nativities which form the subject of this article are those of the inmates of the public charitable and penal institutions of New York city for a period of ten years. The study of these was undertaken by the writer for the sole purpose of ascertaining facts; and this paper is a statement of some of the facts found, with but little attempt at explanation or theorizing.

By public institutions I mean such as are supported by public taxes, and are entirely controlled by the municipal government. The period of time covered is from January 1, 1885, to January 1, 1895. The Eleventh Census, taken in 1890, is my source of information concerning the nativities of the inhabitants of the city. The fact, that the Census was taken in the middle of the period under consideration, renders comparison between the nativities of the city's inhabitants and those of the institutions more valuable than it would be if the Census figures were given for a year at the beginning or at the end of the period.

In 1895, according to the Police Census, the city of New York had 1,851,060 inhabitants. The public charitable institutions of this great municipality herein considered are the Almshouse, the six hospitals for adults, and the asylums for the insane. The penal institutions are the Penitentiary and the Workhouse. The number of admissions to the charitable institutions from 1885 to 1895 was 328,000; the number admitted to the penal institutions for the same period was 242,000; representing a total of 570,000. This is the number of admissions, not the number of different persons admitted. It is impossible to determine this latter number with accuracy. If we allow 70,000 for duplications, we still have a half-million. The only question now under consideration concerning these half-million souls is, Where were they born? It is a question of nativity, not of nationality.

Besides the United States, eleven other countries are considered in this paper. If these eleven countries should be arranged according to the percentages of the total number of inmates they supply to all the institutions under consideration,—the highest percentage being placed first, and the lowest last,—Ireland would stand first, and Switzerland last; and

the order would be Ireland, Germany, England, Italy, Scotland, Canada, Russia, France, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland.

In stating the nativities of the inmates of the separate institutions, or groups of institutions, for the sake of avoiding detail, I shall give only those countries that furnish at least 1 per cent. The tabulated summary accompanying this article embraces much detail not given elsewhere. I shall begin with the hospitals, excluding the Children's Hospital.

The admissions to the hospitals during the ten years were 282,928. Of these 36.3 per cent were native-born, and 63.7 foreign-born. The foreign-born were distributed as follows: 35.5 per cent were born in Ireland; 11.4 in Germany; 4.2 in England; 2.8 in Italy; 1.2 in Scotland; and 8.6 per cent in other countries. Those born in Ireland lack less than 1 per cent of being as many as the native-born. They are more than three times as numerous as those of any other foreign country, and are about 4 per cent more than all other foreign-born. During these ten years the percentages for England and Ireland decreased; while those for Russia and Austria-Hungary increased.

At the transfer of the New York city insane asylums to State control on January 28, 1896, the number of inmates was a little less than 7,000. The total admissions from 1885 to 1895 had been 17,491. Of these only 25.7 per cent were born in the United States. The 74.3 per cent born out of the United States were distributed as follows: 35.5 per cent were born in Ireland, 20 per cent in Germany, 3.4 in England, 2 in Italy, 2 in Russia, 1.3 in France, 1 in Sweden, 1.9 in Austria-Hungary, and 7.2 in other countries. Only 1 in 4 of the insane was native-born. One in 3 was born in Ireland. Ireland's percentage in the insane asylums is the same as in the hospitals. One in 5 was born in Germany. The German- and Irish-born supply considerably more than one-half of the total number; while their proportion of the inhabitants of the city is about one-fourth. The nativities of the insane that have noticeably increased are those of Italy, Sweden, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. The last three have doubled. Whether there have been corresponding changes in the inhabitants of New York city it is impossible to say with any certainty, owing to lack of data.

The Almshouse is the distinctively pauper institution. It might with much propriety be named Pauper-town. Its average population is about 2,500. In considering the statistics of this institution it is well to remember that the average moral condition is exceedingly low. The worthy and unfortunate are there; but those who have spent their

substance and their physical and mental energies in unworthy living are present in greater numbers. The total admissions from 1885 to 1895 were 27,743. Of these only 14.6 per cent were born in the United States. The 85.4 per cent born somewhere out of the United States were distributed as follows: 60.4 per cent were born in Ireland; 14 in Germany; 4.4 in England; 2.2 in Scotland; and 4.4 per cent in other countries. The most striking fact that appears here is that 6 out of every 10 of New York city's paupers were born in Ireland,—more than four times as many as those born in the United States, and nearly two and one-half times as many as were born in all other foreign countries. Germany's percentage in the Almshouse is exactly the same as in the city, namely, 14; England's is twice as large as in the city; while Scotland's is three times as large.

The Penitentiary is the home of the criminals of the city of New York who for different reasons are not sent to the State prisons. Here the native-born predominate. I found 62 per cent native-born. It is only due to the native-born to say that in this 62 per cent are included very many young criminals who were born of foreign-born parents. Some of them may have been born within a week after their parents landed on American soil. If the rule formulated in the last Census for the entire country respecting the parentage of young criminals should be applied to the Penitentiary, and those born in the United States, but of foreign parents, should be deducted from the native-born and added to the foreign-born, the native-born would be found to be about 40 per cent, and the foreign-born about 60. A rule formulated for New York city alone would reduce the native-born still more. These figures are corroborated by much evidence with which the wardens and keepers are perfectly familiar. This evidence is in the form of features, facial expression, complexion, color and character of the hair, language accent, religious tendency, name, physical measurements, etc. The total number of criminals imprisoned here annually is about 3,000. The 38 per cent foreign-born were distributed as follows: 15.4 per cent were born in Ireland; 9 per cent in Germany; 3.3 in England; 2.5 in Italy; 1.1 in Russia; 1.1 in Austria-Hungary; and 5.6 in other countries.

The other penal institution is the Workhouse. For the sake of calling attention to the character of its inmates, let me say that it is the resort for male and female vagabonds,—the dregs of society drawn off through the police courts. The admissions are more than 20,000 every year. For the ten years in question 42 per cent were native-born. Of the 58 per cent foreign-born, 36.7 were born in Ireland; 6.8 in Germany;

4.4 in England; 1.4 in Italy; 1.4 in Scotland; 1.1 in Russia; and 6.2 per cent in other countries.

It will now be profitable to make some comparisons between the nativities of the inmates of the institutions and the nativities of the inhabitants of New York city, with the view of ascertaining the percentage of the natives of each country in the population of the city and the percentage from the same country in the several institutions. If the percentages of the natives of any one country should be found to be the same among the inhabitants of the city and in the institutions, this would indicate that the natives of that country were inclined to poverty and crime equally with the rest of the city's inhabitants. If the percentages of the natives of each of the several countries should be found to be the same in the city and in the institutions, the natural inference would be that all were equally inclined to poverty and crime. If the natives of any country form a small percentage of the city's inhabitants and a large percentage of the inmates of the Almshouse, the inference would be that the natives of that country living in New York were more prone to pauperism than were the natives of some other country. If, again, the percentage of natives of any country were found to be large in the city, but small in the Penitentiary, the inference would be that the natives of that country living in New York were less prone to crime than were those of some other country. Of course, these cannot be scientifically exact conclusions, because there are so many private institutions in the city that are not taken into our account, and for other reasons. These private institutions, however, are charitable, so that their existence does not vitiate inferences drawn concerning the penal institutions. Let it also be borne in mind that our inferences are concerned with the inhabitants of New York city only, and not with the rest of the inhabitants of the countries in which they were born. We are dealing not with Europe, but with about 800,000 men and women who were born in Europe.

According to the Census of 1890, 57.76 per cent of the inhabitants of New York city were born in the United States, 41.26 per cent were born in Europe, and .98 of 1 per cent in other parts of the world. For convenience, we will say that 58 per cent were native-born, and 42 per cent foreign-born. The foreign-born were distributed as follows: 12.6 per cent were born in Ireland; 14 per cent in Germany; 2.4 in England; 2.6 in Italy; .7 of 1 per cent in Scotland; .5 of 1 per cent in Canada; 3.2 in Russia; .7 in France; .5 in Sweden; 2.6 in Austria-Hungary; .3 in Switzerland; and 1.9 in other countries.

The 58 per cent native-born in the city supply 36.3 per cent of all hospital inmates, 25.7 of the insane, 14.6 of the Almshouse paupers, 62 of the Penitentiary criminals, and 42 of the Workhouse vagabonds. The 42 per cent foreign-born in the city supply 63.7 of the hospital inmates, 74.3 of the insane, 85.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 38 per cent of the Penitentiary criminals, and 58 per cent of the Workhouse inmates. The average of the percentages of native-born in the several kinds of institutions is 37; while that of the foreign-born is 63. Only in the case of the Penitentiary is the percentage of foreign-born lower than in the city. In the Almshouse it is more than twice as large as that of all foreign-born in the city; and in the insane asylums it is nearly twice as large.

Of the city's inhabitants, 12.6 per cent were born in Ireland. This percentage supplies 35.5 per cent of all inmates of the hospitals and insane asylums, 60.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 36.7 of the Workhouse inmates, but only 15.4 per cent of the Penitentiary convicts. This last, however, is still 3 per cent higher than Ireland's percentage of the city's inhabitants. This is an astonishing record for little Ireland. It is an effect for which there is somewhere an adequate cause.

In the case of Germany it will be noticed that her average percentage in the institutions is smaller than in the city. Of the city's inhabitants 14 per cent were born in Germany. From these German-born citizens 11.4 per cent of the hospital inmates are supplied, 20 of the insane, 14 of the Almshouse paupers, 6.8 of the Workhouse inmates, and 9 of the Penitentiary convicts. That Germany's percentage in the Workhouse is less than one-half of that in the city, is a very favorable feature, when we remember the character of those who are found there; and that her percentage in the insane asylums is 6 higher than in the city, is also a fact worthy of consideration.

England's percentages in all the institutions is considerably higher than in the city. Of the city's inhabitants 2.4 per cent were born in England. These supply 4.2 per cent of hospital inmates, 3.4 of the insane, 4.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 4.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and 3.3 of the Penitentiary convicts. The percentages for the Almshouse and the Workhouse are the same; being nearly twice as large as that in the city.

Italy furnishes 2.6 per cent of the city's inhabitants. From these 2.8 per cent of the hospital inmates are supplied, 2 per cent of the insane, .68 of 1 per cent of the Almshouse paupers, 1.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and 2.5 of the Penitentiary convicts. Italy's lowest is in the

Almshouse. Only in case of the hospitals does her percentage go above that in the city, and here only .2 of 1 per cent above. Her quota in the Workhouse is also low. The fact that the 2.6 per cent Italian-born inhabitants in the city supply only .68 per cent of the Almshouse paupers is worthy of notice.

Scotland's percentage in the city is .7 of 1 per cent. This fraction supplies 1.2 per cent of hospital inmates, .9 of insane, 2.2 of the Almshouse paupers, 1.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and .9 of 1 per cent of the Penitentiary convicts. Here it is noticed that the percentage in all institutions is higher than that in the city, which is, of course, in no case complimentary. The percentage of Scotland-born in the Workhouse is just twice as large as that in the city, while that for the Almshouse is more than three times as large.

Instead of giving in detail the percentages for the remaining six countries, I shall simply indicate the more noticeable points and refer the reader to the Tabulated Summary at the close of this article. By running the eye along the lines in this table representing Russia and Austria-Hungary, it will be seen that the figures make a very favorable showing for those countries. Their percentages in the city are much larger than in the institutions. Their highest in the institutions is in the insane asylums, the place for unfortunates. But even here the percentages are only about two-thirds as great as in the city. The Almshouse figures for these countries are not given, for the reason that during a portion of the ten years under consideration their numbers were so small that the Superintendent did not consider it worth while to keep them separate from the total; while he did keep separate the number of natives of Scotland, Canada, France, Sweden, and Switzerland, all of which countries have much smaller percentages in the city than Russia and Austria-Hungary. That the percentages of these Jewish citizens are lower in the public institutions than in the city's population, is sometimes accounted for by the fact that the Jews care for their own in private institutions; but, since their private institutions are charitable, not penal, this cannot account for the fact that they supply only about 1 per cent of the inmates of the Penitentiary and the Workhouse, while their quota in the city's inhabitants is about 3 per cent.

France's highest percentage is in the insane asylums, where it is nearly double that in the city. Her lowest is in the hospitals and the Workhouse. Her percentage in all the institutions taken together is exactly the same as in the city, which is true of no other country.

England, Ireland, Scotland, and Canada are all British territory.

The percentage of each of these, except Canada, is highest in the Almshouse, 67.5 per cent of whose inmates for the ten years under consideration were born British subjects. As has been stated above, the percentage of the English-born inmates in any institution or group of institutions is higher than the percentage of English-born inhabitants in New York city. The same is true of Ireland, Scotland, and Canada. Ireland's percentages in the institutions are about three times as great as in the city; those of England and Scotland about twice as great; and those of Canada about one-half greater. Strange as it may seem, what is here true of British-born subjects is not true of those born in any other one of the thirteen countries under consideration. In the cases of the natives of the United States, Germany, Italy, Russia, France, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland, the percentages of inmates in some or in all of the institutions are lower than their percentages in the city. This would seem to indicate that the tendency toward both pauperism and crime of that portion of New York city's inhabitants who were born subjects of the British Crown is greater than it is among those born in the other European countries or in the United States.

Since the Almshouse is the distinctively pauper institution, and the Penitentiary the one distinctively criminal, the tendency of the natives of the several countries to pauperism or to crime is distinctly seen by comparing the fourth and fifth columns of the Tabulated Summary. The tendency in the case of two or three of the nativities is here very marked. It is so with the native-born. They supply 62 per cent of the Penitentiary inmates, but only 14.6 per cent of those in the Almshouse. The percentage of native-born in the Penitentiary is more than four times as great as that in the Almshouse.

The reverse of this is true of the Irish-born. While their quota in the Penitentiary is only 15.4 per cent, it is 60.4 in the Almshouse. The 12.6 per cent of the Irish-born inhabitants in the city supply this 60.4 per cent of the Almshouse inmates. This means that if the tendency of the native-born to pauperism were represented by 1, that of the natives of Ireland in New York city would be represented by 20. Again, if all the inhabitants in the city were Irish-born, they would require eight such almshouses as the one now maintained for the whole city. The inmates born in Ireland are 10 per cent more than twice as many as those born in all the rest of the foreign world. Ireland does not make a great show on the map, but her existence is absolutely necessary in order to maintain in New York an almshouse of the present magnitude.

It will be seen that Diagram No. 1 is a comparison between the native-

born and the foreign-born in New York city in the different institutions, and between the totals in the institutions. The scale for all the accompanying lines is one-sixteenth of an inch for one per cent.

Each of the five groups in Diagram No. 2 represents an institution or some class of institutions. The first line in each group is the same as the corresponding Native-born line in Diagram No. 1. All the other lines of each group added together will make the Foreign-born line in Diagram No. 1 for the corresponding institution.

Each of the groups in Diagrams Nos. 3 and 4 is concerned with a single country. Each country's group is composed of lines representing the percentage of the city's inhabitants and of the inmates of the several institutions who are natives of that country. This manner of grouping out gives opportunity for comparing the percentage of the city's inhabitants which any one country supplies with the percentage of the inmates of each of the several institutions who are natives of the same country. The last group is a summary of the natives of the rest of the world not included in the individual groups.

Diagram No. 5 represents all foreign-born in all the institutions for ten years, divided between Ireland and the rest of the foreign world.

BYRON C. MATHEWS.

[The diagrams and Tabulated Summary referred to in this article appear on the following four pages.]

A STUDY IN NATIVITIES.—DIAGRAM NO. 1.

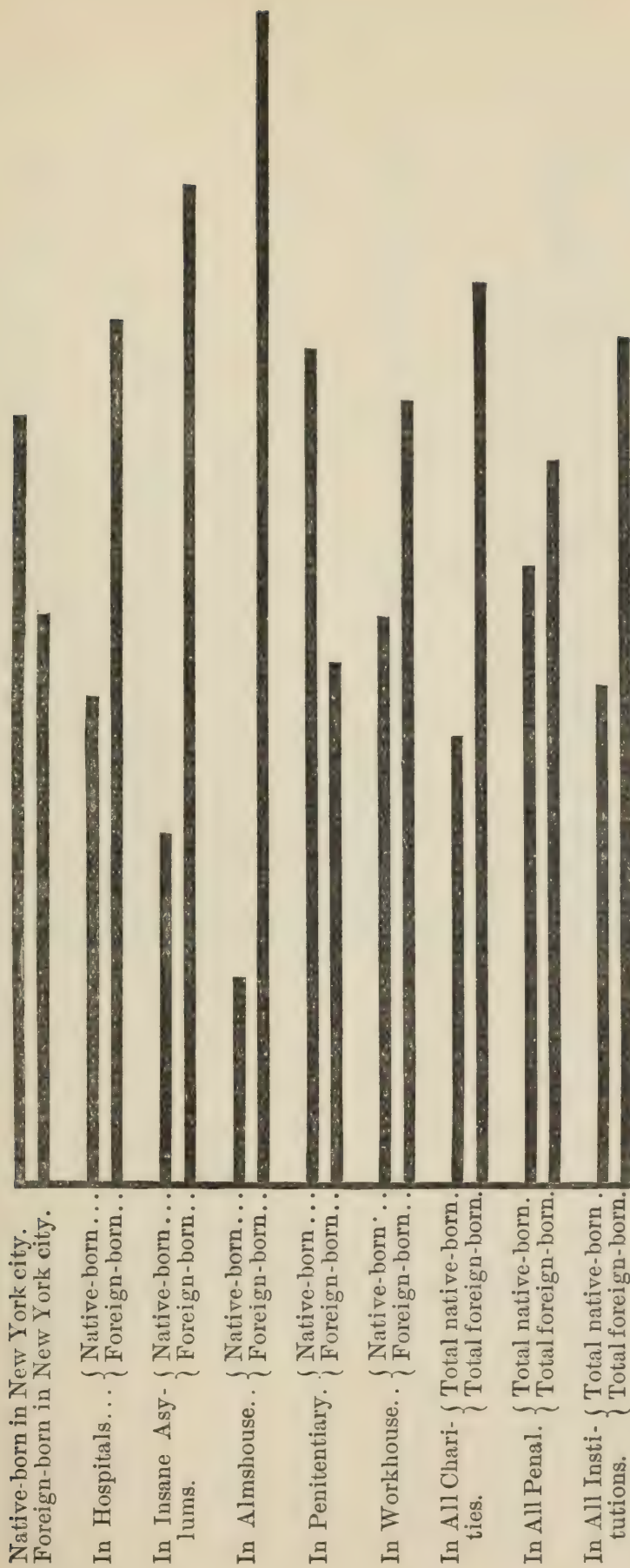


DIAGRAM NO. 2.

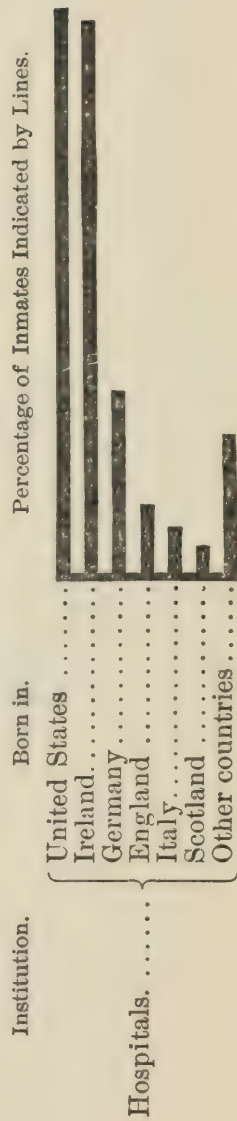


DIAGRAM No. 3.

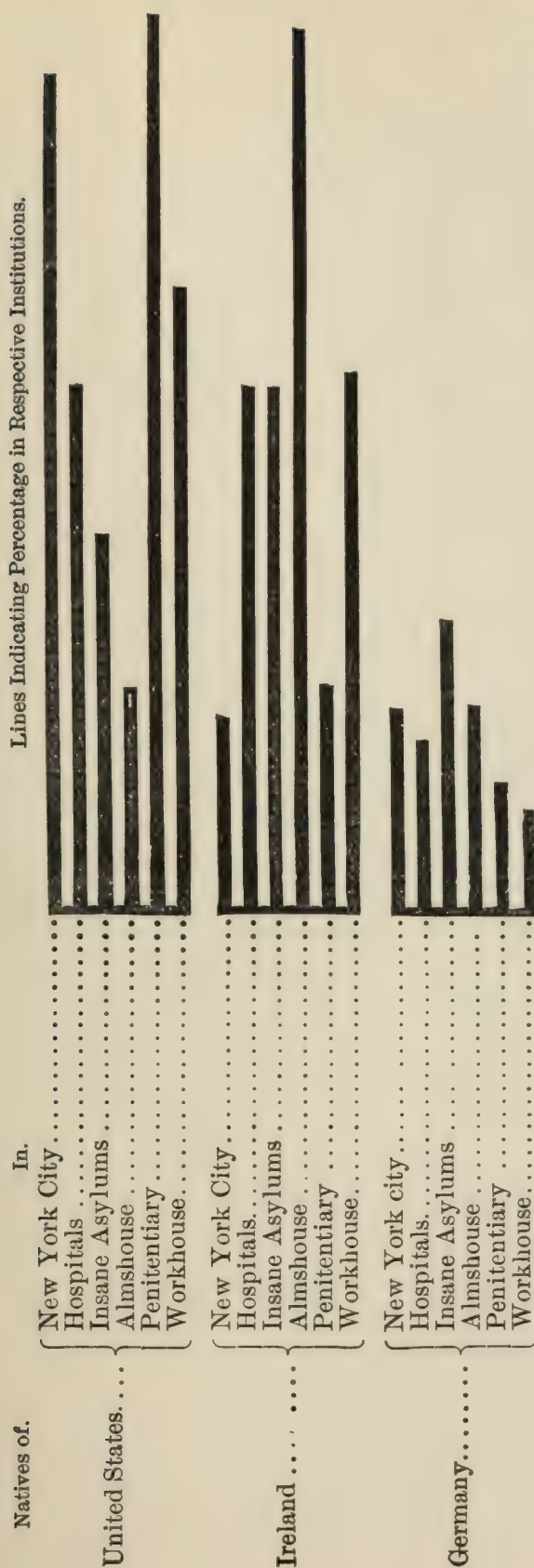


DIAGRAM No. 4.

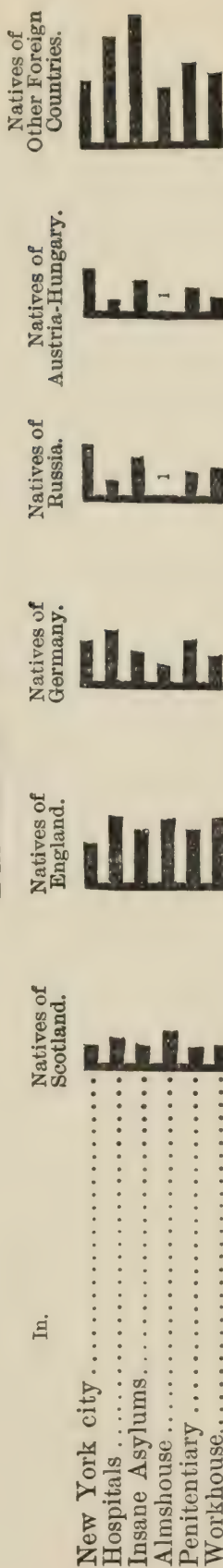


DIAGRAM No. 5.



¹ Data wanting.

Born in Ireland ..
All other foreign-born ..

TABULATED SUMMARY OF PERCENTAGES.

	Inhabit- ants of New York City.	In Hospitals.	In Insane Asylums.	In Almshouse.	In Peni- tentiary.	In Work- house.	Total in Charitable Insti- tutions.	Total in Penal Insti- tutions.	Total in All In- stitutions.
Natives of United States.....	57.76	36.3	25.7	14.6	62.0	42.0	33.5	46.0	36.9
Total Foreign-born.....	42.24	63.7	74.3	85.4	38.0	58.0	66.5	54.0	63.1
Natives of Ireland.....	12.6	35.5	35.5	60.4	15.4	36.7	37.4	33.43	36.3
" " Germany.....	14.0	11.4	20.0	14.0	9.0	6.8	12.15	7.17	11.0
" " England.....	2.4	4.2	3.4	4.4	3.3	4.4	4.15	4.2	4.2
" " Italy.....	2.6	2.8	2.0	.68	2.5	1.4	2.54	1.55	2.3
" " Scotland.....	.7	1.2	.95	2.2	.95	1.4	1.28	1.32	1.3
" " Canada.....	.5	.84	.7	.6	.72	.8	.8	.8	.8
" " Russia.....	3.2	.7	2.0	.....	1.1	1.1	.7	1.1	.8
" " France.....	.7	.64	1.3	.78	.85	.64	.72	.67	.7
" " Sweden.....	.5	.76	1.0	.4	.4	.5	.75	.5	.68
" " Austria-Hungary.....	2.6	.4	1.9	.....	1.1	.6	.5	.68	.5
" " Switzerland.....	.3	.53	.59	.8	.38	.29	.56	.3	.5
" " rest of the world.....	2.14	4.7	4.96	1.14	2.3	3.37	4.95	2.28	4.02

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

THE earliest literature, or, more accurately, the earliest writing, in this country concerned itself largely with the novel conditions in which the colonists found themselves: it was the work of men who were so absorbed in those conditions that they were content to be reporters of what they saw about them, or of the fortunes which had befallen them in the New World. This was the office of Capt. John Smith in his "True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Happened in Virginia," probably the first book written in America: it was also the office of a group of New England writers with Cotton Mather at their head. A long line of reporters and chroniclers kept up, in desultory fashion, the story of exploration and settlement and of the semi-legendary history of the aboriginal holders of the soil. There was a vein of romance in this story of the audacious assault of small companies of Europeans upon the unexplored fastnesses of the world; and those early narratives, devoid as they are of any touch of the literary spirit, are rich in the material of which literature is made. The vast mass of documents of all kinds, which Mr. Parkman explored with such indomitable courage and such noble patience, contains rich deposits of romance, which are crude ore awaiting the touch that shall transform them into works of art. Epics, dramas, and heroic histories are in solution in those dusty and difficult reports, narratives, and letters.

It has been the fashion, until within a few years, to speak of our beginnings as if they were devoid of the quality of romance. That they are not lacking in strains of heroism was conceded; but they were supposed to be devoid of the quality of imagination which has made the semi-legendary history of early Greece, Germany, France, and Italy rich in contributions to the poetry and romance of the literatures of those countries. Since we have come to understand our own history more clearly and to comprehend its significance, both as an extension and expansion of the spiritual history of Europe and as a new chapter in the unfolding of the human drama, our eyes have been unsealed, and we have become aware of the wealth of material at our disposal for the making of literature. This material has hardly been touched as yet

by the poets and novelists. One may easily recall the really successful attempts to use it for the purposes of the imagination; but it is safe to predict that the poets and romancers of a later period will be quick to feel the rich charm of this semi-legendary history and to turn it to artistic uses. Among recent handlings of these rich themes, Miss Grace King's "De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida" is noteworthy for its blending of historic accuracy and free, stirring, brilliant narrative style.

The early story of vigorous peoples is rarely free from brutality and unscrupulous aggrandizement. It is redeemed, however, by heroic endeavor, by undaunted courage, and by high ends often dimly discerned, but never permanently obscured. It may be safely affirmed that no country has had a more striking or romantic origin than our own, and that none has a richer accumulation of the material which stirs the imagination and gives it the stuff of which to fashion its work.

It is not fanciful to infer, perhaps, from the vast and varied putting forth of human energy under immense difficulties, and from the great importance which our form of government attaches to personality, that the human interest must always be uppermost in our literature; and that in the exact degree in which our art searches and discloses the depths of our life will our books be great and authoritative. Our literature for two decades has not made a very deep impression on the imagination of the country and has not deeply affected its character because, for the most part, it has lacked depth of feeling and profound seriousness. It has seemed to shrink from deep conviction, from strong feeling, from great emotion. It has been admirable in form, sound in tone, and often charming in style; but, for the most part, it has lacked elemental power. The great passions have not been portrayed by it; nor have the shaping forces which are always at work in the deepest consciousness of a people come to the light in it. A good deal of this literature has seemed to share the conventional dread of any real show of feeling, the conventional shrinking from outbreaks of the great emotions. It has observed the proprieties to a degree which has made it a well-bred and agreeable comment upon men and manners, without a suggestion of the tremendous forces which are never absent from human life, or a glance into those depths into which men of creative genius are compelled to look by the very possession of vision and insight. The well-bred man of the world is a very agreeable companion; but his world is not the world in which great spirits live or great work is done.

Between the magnitude and seriousness of American life and the

lightness, grace, and touch-and-go quality of a good deal of American writing, there is a great gulf fixed. The distance in depth and power between that life and many of the most charming books written here would be humorous if it were not pathetic. It would seem as if we shrank from any real knowledge of ourselves, and dreaded any hand-to-hand contact with the tremendous actualities of living. Our literature has largely lost the note of discovery, the audacity of spiritual adventure, the courage of great faiths and passions: it is in danger of becoming a resource of polite society, instead of an expression of vital experience and a dominant force in national life. It has struck some deep notes with great clearness and resonant power: but it must continue to strike such notes; and it must put behind the clarity of its vision the vitality and sheer human force of rich and deep experience. The idealism of the American character, which many foreign observers fail to recognize because it has so far taken practical rather than artistic forms of expression, is a prime element in the making of the books that stir the depths; but there must be substance and power as well. What Emerson recognized as "thinness of constitution" is still too much in evidence in American writing. The literature which pleases and refines is wholesome and welcome; but it cannot take the place of the literature which reveals and stimulates. This does not mean, of course, that literature shall become didactic: it does mean that it shall find the springs which feed it neither in culture nor in taste, but in the depths of experience and the hidden sources of motivity. A great deal of the literature of the last two decades would have been admirable as a subsidiary literature: it has been inadequate as a representative literature. It has had grace and refinement and charm: it has lacked depth, force, mass, passion.

We need this lighter literature, but we need still more the substance and power of the literature which is charged with national or racial emotion, and which becomes, by virtue of its representative quality, a veritable revelation of what is in our life. The American people have not yet come to full national self-consciousness. They have come to sectional self-consciousness; and, in New England for example, that clear realization of ideals and formative tendencies found expression in a literature the beauty and the limitation of which are significant of New England character. But the nation as a nation has not yet reached a clear understanding of itself: it does not know what is in its heart, although it responds with passionate intensity to every appeal to its instincts and ideals. It has found powerful expression of these

instincts and ideals on the side of action: it has found only partial and very inadequate expression on the side of art. The time is fast approaching, however, when the man of letters will find his prime opportunity in the ripeness of this vast population for expression; and literature must find a voice for this great dumb life or utterly and disastrously fail to discharge its function and do its work.

One of the chief uses of literature is to give the inner life clear and commanding expression; for it is only in and through some form of expression that the quality and significance of the inner life are comprehended. Inarticulate life may have reality and depth: it cannot have expansiveness and contagious power. It is essential, therefore, that a nation should understand itself through the disclosure of its instincts and ideals, in order that its spiritual life may dominate and form its material life. It may, for a time, make its way by instinct and feeling; but it cannot develop its full power, nor do its work with adequate force, until it has supplemented instinct and feeling with intelligence.

The American people stand in great need of this adequate expression of their life. They are spread over an immense territory. The industrial and social centres are separated from one another by great distances. The body of the nation is so vast that its safety depends upon a highly organized spiritual life. More than once it has faced the peril of sectional misunderstandings and antagonisms which have been made possible by the extent of ground which it covers. In no compact country would the dense ignorance of one another's character and resources, which prevailed in the North and South before the Civil War, have been possible. In no compact country would the failure to understand one another, shown of late years in the East and West, have been possible. In a small country like England the flow of thought and feeling from the capital to the remotest sections is so rapid and continuous that the most widely separated districts are never far apart in feeling and sentiment. They may develop wide differences of opinion; they cannot remain in ignorance of the movement of general opinion; they cannot drift out of the main currents of national feeling. In this country, for a long time to come, there will be serious danger of cleavage between sections which, by reason of the distances which separate them, will be likely to drift apart. Boston and New Orleans are almost as far apart as London and St. Petersburg: New York and San Francisco are separated from one another more widely than Paris and Damascus. The distance from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, is

considerably greater than that from Greece to Norway. The magnitude of the continent is continually put to the front as one of the great advantages which the Republic enjoys in its competition with the world, or, to use the language of the future, in its coöperation with the world. Other things being equal, terms of territorial superiority are also terms of moral superiority; but the vastness of the national estate, like every great opportunity, involves grave perils.

That these perils are not imaginary the history of the last half of this century has tragically shown. That they still exist those who know the country are firmly persuaded. As a rule, cultivated Americans know Europe more thoroughly and more sympathetically than they know their own country. They cannot know Europe too well for their own education; but they owe it to themselves to know their own country first. The knowledge of Europe by an American is, in a sense, a privilege and a luxury: knowledge of his own country is a necessity. The ignorance of many intelligent people concerning sections of this country which lie outside that in which they live is amazing, and would be inexplicable but for the remoteness of many of these districts. Intelligent people of the North are just beginning to understand the practical difficulties which confront the Southern people in dealing with the race problem: they have been talking about it for years in the most dogmatic spirit, without any real comprehension of the perplexities it presents. On the other hand, one of the worst effects of trying to justify a system which the rest of the civilized world had outgrown and abhorred was the intellectual isolation of the old South. It had drifted out of the main current of modern life and, if it had succeeded in establishing a government of its own, would have become, by the very logic of its own attitude, another Korea, a hermit nation. If the North had understood the Southern feeling at the start, the anti-slavery agitation would have been national instead of sectional: if the South had comprehended the motives and resources of the North, there would have been no Civil War. The sources of that tragedy were in historic conditions; but clear comprehension between the two sections would have secured another method of solution.

It is not many months since the newspapers in many parts of the West were filled with denunciations of the greed and rapacity of the East, its subserviency to the money power of Europe, its determination to crush the farmers and working people; and political orators made the air heavy with furious invective and the sky black with prophecies of approaching disaster. In the East newspapers were calmly

characterizing great masses of Western voters as defaulting debtors, eager to debase the currency in order that they might safely offer their creditors fifty cents in place of a dollar. It is needless to say that there was, as a matter of fact, neither concerted rapacity in the East nor organized dishonesty in the West: there were wide differences of view honestly held by people so widely separated that they did not understand one another's motives and spirit. This extreme form of localism is one of the greatest dangers which this country has to face. The East is likely to misunderstand the West; there are sections of the West which are in peril, by reason of their remoteness from either seaboard, of becoming isolated and detached from the broad currents of national life; the Far West faces the remotest East and has a destiny of its own to work out along new lines of racial interaction and commercial interchange; and the South has traditions which it rightly cherishes, but which are not national traditions.

Under these conditions, which are largely permanent and must be reckoned with in the history of the future, the country sorely needs great unifying forces; its spiritual unity must be made clear in its consciousness; and the solidarity of its work and influence in the world must be continually emphasized. Two things, M. Brunetière declared, stand in the way of the higher civilization in the United States; viz., the great distances between the centres of social and industrial activity, and the spirit of commercialism. And this shrewd generalization of one of the most intelligent foreign observers who have visited the country of late years finds confirmation in the judgment of the best informed Americans. The higher interests of the nation are imperilled by the lack of a coördination of intellectual standards and aims, and by the tendency to let the development of the soul of the country wait on the development of its land, its mineral resources, and its trade. The magnitude of its material resources makes an intense and a highly organized spiritual life a sovereign necessity in America. It is an open question whether we shall be makers of things or creators of ideas and ideals. If we are to be materialists in the final character of our civilization, we shall fill a great place in the activities of the modern world; but we shall do nothing for its spiritual fortunes: we shall fill pages of statistics in the encyclopædias; but we shall have small space in the history of art, culture, religion. The ingrained idealism of the American nature will probably preserve us from the dismal fate of being rich without being significant or interesting; but that idealism needs constant classification and reinforcement. It needs clear and commanding expression.

And that expression it must find mainly in its literature; for literature, in its greater forms, is both a revelation of national character and a force to form national character. Its influence, though not computable by any external records, is diffused through the atmosphere which a people breathes. It has recently been said, and not without a degree of truth, that the modern movement for expansion, which has made England active and potential at the ends of the earth, did not originate in the mind of a statesman, and was not the result of the scheming of a shrewd politician like Beaconsfield, but received its most powerful impulse from three writers: Carlyle, Tennyson, and Kipling. These men of letters, like many of their predecessors, have not urged definite policies upon their countrymen; but they have given the English spirit and temper the impulse of sharp definition, and of deep and passionate faith. Indeed, the service of English literature as a practical force in English life cannot be overstated. It has done more than any other single force to give the English race clear consciousness of its strength, its aims, and its work: it has bound the race together in the consciousness of a rich and enduring community of history and fortune. Shakespeare has done more for England in forming this consciousness than Pitt or Peel or Gladstone.

If this service was needed in a country of such narrow territory, with a population so compact, as England, it is sorely needed in this country, with its immense distances and its widely separated communities. And when one adds to these natural conditions the complexity of races now learning to live together in the Republic, the necessity of a literature that shall develop first a national consciousness, and then clarify national spiritual ideals and make them authoritative, becomes even painfully apparent. A literature adequate in its power and vision to the range of life on this continent is a prime necessity for our safety. We need a literature which shall speak to and for the consciousness of the nation as the New England literature spoke to and for the consciousness of New England. The note of nationality was struck with resonant clearness by Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier; but the force and depth of conscious national life were not behind these earlier poets as they will be behind their successors. The time was not ripe; but it is fast ripening.

This more inclusive literature will not be written by intention: it must come spontaneously and by the pressure of a wider and richer experience. The way has been prepared by every true man of letters from Irving to Howells. It is being prepared to-day by the wide-

spread activity in the field of history ; for the later historians, by making us aware of the stirring and romantic history behind us, are developing a consciousness of our racial resources and of the experience which has made us a nation. It is being prepared by the writers of fiction, whose work in many instances has depth and reality, and is a true revelation of American character. Such a story as Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's "Red Rock" is a contribution of lasting value to our knowledge of our own past ; a veritable human document, because it deals in a serious spirit with a significant and tragic experience ; a genuine interpretation of the spirit, the vicissitudes, and the historical attitude of a great section in one of the shaping crises of its history. A book of this seriousness of temper and artistic insight is to be welcomed, not only for what it brings us of enlightenment and pleasure, but still more for what it predicts in the way of large, conscientious, patient endeavor to make Americans conscious of the shaping forces of their history, and of the deeper ties and fortunes which unite them. In this spiritual history of the New World the novelists have already discovered material of such depth and richness that a generation of great writers could not exhaust it. One of the highest uses of that material in the forms of art will be the clear development of national self-consciousness.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

The Forum

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WHY THE TREATY SHOULD BE RATIFIED.

IN 1521 Magellan discovered the Philippines. In 1564 Spain took possession of them and named them after Philip II. She has held them ever since, except that England took and held Manila in 1762 for a ransom of 1,000,000 pounds sterling, which was never paid.

The archipelago covers about 1,000 miles north and south, and 600 east and west. The number of the islands is variously estimated at from 1,200 to 2,000. Some of them remain unexplored.

The principal islands are Luzon, Mindanao, Paláwan, Samar, Panay, Mindoro, Leyte, Negros, Cebú, Masbate, Bohol, Catanduanes, Tablas, Burias, and Ticao. Luzon is the largest. Its area is 41,000 square miles. Mindanao, the next largest, has 37,500 miles. The aggregate land area is 114,356 square miles, or greater than that of Arizona.

Owing to the great extent of the Islands from north to south, the climate varies. In Manila the hottest season is from March to June; the greatest heat being felt in May, before the rains set in. The temperature then varies from 80° to 100°. It is coolest in December, when the temperature varies from 60° to 75°. At Manila the average rainfall is from 75 to 120 inches per annum. In other parts of the archipelago it is heavier.

The estimated population is 8,000,000. The Philippine Malays are said to be superior to many other Asiatic peoples. They are orderly, amiable, courteous, honest, and superstitious. The inhabitants comprise Malays, Aítas, Negritos, pure blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Moors, Europeans, and mixtures of each with the others. There are

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many tribes and many languages and dialects. The inhabitants are generally tractable and amenable to government. They are fond of music, dancing, gambling, and cock-fighting.

Probably there are not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Spaniards who permanently reside in the Islands. Agriculture is not much developed. The people weave cotton and silk: they tan leather, excel in shipbuilding, and make wagons and carts.

The Philippines are rich in woods: ebony, cedar, iron-wood, sapan-wood, logwood, and gum trees are abundant. They produce gutta percha, cocos, bamboo, areca palm, the banava, and the melane. Mangoes, plantains, jack fruits, and the Malayan fruits are found. Rice, potatoes, peas, and wheat are raised.

Among animals are to be found deer, buffalo, horses, and monkeys. There are many reptiles, and birds of various kinds.

Among minerals gold, coal, iron ore, copper, galena, zinc, and sulphur have been found.

Commerce has been restricted; and transportation has been deficient. One railroad, running from Manila to Pangasinán (123 miles), has been constructed.

During the quarter ending December 31, 1897, there were exported from these islands to the United States and Great Britain 216,898 bales of hemp (280 pounds per bale), of which 138,792 bales went to the United States, and 78,106 bales to Great Britain. During 1897 hemp was exported to Continental Europe, Australia, China, and Japan. The total exports of hemp for the ten years ending in 1897 amounted to 6,258,965 bales; and 41 per cent went to the United States. During the same years the Philippines exported to the United States and Europe 1,582,904 tons of sugar, of which 875,150 tons went to the United States, 666,391 tons to Great Britain, and 41,362 tons to Continental Europe.

The exports of hemp and sugar during the ten years under review amounted to \$89,263,722.80, or an average of \$8,926,372 per year.

Taking into account the exports of cigars, tobacco, copra, woods, hides, shells, indigo, coffee, etc., the estimate is that the average of exports to the United States is \$1,000,000 per month.

In 1896 the trade of the Islands with Great Britain was in imports \$2,467,000, and exports \$7,467,500; with Germany, \$744,928 imports and \$223,700 exports; with France, \$1,794.90 imports and \$1,987,000 exports; with Belgium, \$272,240 imports and \$45,660 exports; with

the United States, \$162,446 imports and \$4,982,857 exports; with China, \$103,680 imports and \$13,770 exports; and with Japan, \$98,782 imports and \$1,387,909 exports.

In 1896 the total imports into the Islands were valued at \$10,631,-250, and the exports at \$20,175,000. The chief imports are rice, flour, dress goods, wines, coal, and petroleum. These data have been taken from a publication entitled "Military Notes on the Philippines," issued by the War Department.

Let it be noted that the exports exceed annually by \$175,000 the sum of \$20,000,000, which is the amount to be paid for the Islands by the United States.

The immediate question now is not whether we shall endow the Philippines with independence by creating a new nation, but whether, by refusing to ratify the treaty made at Paris, we shall give the Islands back to Spain.

Call it destiny, call it the will of God, call it the overruling result of circumstances, call it what you will, it is plain that an overpowering necessity rested on the commissioners who made the treaty to force on Spain the cession of the islands.

There was no other outcome or outlook. Honor forbade that we should turn over to the tender mercies of Spain the insurgents, whom we had armed and fed and encouraged in revolt. The insurrection against Spain existed before we set foot in Luzon. If we had never sent a sailor or a soldier to Manila, it cannot now be said that the just cause of an oppressed people would have failed. It would be the irony of fate, if, after we, with the aid of the insurgents, have raised the starry flag over the Islands, we ourselves should tear it down, and raise the Spanish flag in its place. Whatever may happen, let this humiliation be spared us. Let us not pillory our good name. Let us not prove recalcitrant to the instincts of humanity.

If the treaty be ratified, as even the Anti-Expansionist now agrees that it shall be, there will be grave problems upon us. The acquisition of territory of itself presents no new problems. The right to acquire new territory has always been affirmed by the Supreme Court. In 1824 Chief Justice Marshall (in *American Ins. Co. vs. Canter*, 1 Peters, p. 542) held that "The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union the power to make war and to make treaties; consequently the Government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or by treaty." Should other authorities be desired, I refer to a very able recent pamphlet entitled "Our Treaty with Spain," by Mr.

Charles Henry Butler, wherein many of them are very industriously and accurately collated.

It is curious that, although we have accepted eleven cessions of territory made to the United States, it should now be doubted by any person that we have the right to acquire territory.

Under our first Treaty of Peace with Great Britain that Power renounced all jurisdiction over what afterward became the Northwest Territory. On October 21, 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte ceded to us, for \$12,000,000 cash paid, and the relinquishment of certain claims, the territory of Louisiana. Spain ceded Florida in 1819. Oregon was acquired by discovery, but Spain quitclaimed to us in 1819. Texas was admitted as a State by joint resolution in 1845. California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and parts of Arizona and other States, were acquired under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo with Mexico in 1848. Horseshoe Reef in Lake Erie was ceded by Great Britain in 1850. The Navassa Islands, and other guano islands in the Pacific, were occupied by discovery, and so were the Midway Islands. Parts of Arizona and New Mexico were acquired by the "Gadsden purchase" in 1853. Alaska was acquired in 1867, and Hawaii in 1898.

We are three or four times as big as we were when the first acquisition was made; and our population is more than fifteen times as great as it then was. We have taken land by discovery, by conquest, by treaty, by joint resolution, and by annexation. We have sounded the gamut of acquisition of land; and in every case the Supreme Court, the tribunal which governs the United States by its judgments, construing the Constitution, has ratified, supported, and sustained the brave and wise Executive who dared to be an Expansionist.

And now the question arises, Shall we, in the face of all this body of law, halt and stop in the onward path to national greatness?

When, as the result of war, an hostile army possesses territory of the enemy, that territory is said to be occupied. From occupation follows supreme jurisdiction over the territory. The original sovereign ceases to reign; and the mailed hand of the conqueror writes the laws, civil and military.

In other lands and other wars the condition of the conquered people has been hard and deplorable. In our case we march bearing gifts, the choicest gifts—liberty and hope and happiness. We carry with us all that gives to the flower of life its perfume. The dusky East rises at our coming; and the Filipino springs to his feet and becomes a free man. This is not poetry, but reality wrought out by a people to

whom freedom is the breath of life, and who would scorn to enslave a country or a race.

We hold Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines as conquered soil. We will hold them by our armies from necessity until Congress, in its wisdom, shall turn them over to the civil power. We have assumed the duty of keeping order in these possessions. We shall not interfere with private rights. It is well settled by the law of nations, and has been adjudicated many times by the Supreme Court, that the inhabitants, citizens, or subjects of a conquered country, territory, or province retain all the rights of property which have not been taken from them by the orders of the conqueror. There is no question, there can be no question, as to the retention by the people of the Philippine Islands of all the rights, civil and religious, that they ever had; nor can there be any doubt that these rights will be greatly enlarged. The treaty with Spain wisely leaves these rights unmentioned. It says simply that

"the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

In other treaties it had been provided that the inhabitants of annexed territory might become citizens of the United States, and entitled to all the privileges of such citizens. In the Spanish treaty there is no such provision.

Will our own people never learn that we are a nation? Have we shed vast quantities of blood and spent countless treasure in vain? Are we still to stand manacled before the world by the doctrine that we are a confederacy of sovereign states? It is impossible for any man to read our judicial history without recognizing that

"the United States are a sovereign and independent nation, and are vested by the Constitution with the entire control of international relations and with all the powers of government necessary to maintain that control and to make it effective."¹

As long as lawyers exist—and I beg to pay to the profession the compliment of saying that liberty cannot prevail in a country that is without lawyers—questions of the construction of written language will arise and will be argued. The list of cases holding that, as Story says,

"the power of Congress over annexed territory is clearly exclusive and universal; and their legislation is subject to no control, but is absolute and unlimited, unless so far as affected by stipulations in the cession,"

or by some prior ordinance, stretches back to the adoption of the Constitution. Still we find to-day that distinguished gentlemen deny the power of Congress to govern the Philippines.

¹ 149 U. S. Reports, 711.

There are men in France who were born on the wrong side of the barricades. There are men in the United States whose political theory is to antagonize the Government. There are others—bright, glorious fellows—who are so devoted to human rights that they pass their lives in treading the dangerous line which separates freedom from anarchism. It will not do to say, as a Congressman said, "What is the Constitution between friends?" but it may be said that it is the wisest and the most expansive document ever written by the hand of man. It is like the tent that Saladin gave to Richard. When it was folded it rested in a nutshell: when it was expanded whole armies could recline under its shade. The dear, glorious old document, it is always on the side of common sense, always on the side of progress, always ready to strengthen the glowing periods of the judiciary devoted to our country's honor, and to stamp legality on the great statutes of freedom. Expansive? Why, it is expansive enough to cover the world, if necessary; and it can contract when the time and the occasion demand contraction.

The Constitution declares that no man shall be tried except by a jury of his peers. A jury is supposed to be twelve men. Bless you! we try Americans every day in China by a consul and two assessors. We try men accused of murder by a consul and four assessors; but the Minister must approve the death sentence. The Constitution provides that all civil cases involving more than \$20 shall be tried by a jury. In China the Consul hears cases involving more than \$20 by himself if he chooses. He calls two assessors to help him if he pleases; but the judgment is his judgment alone.

An adventurous American in Shanghai refused to pay his city taxes because he had no right to vote—not holding real estate. The Consul-General made short work of him; and the Minister approved his finding. The Consul-General held that the Constitution was not operative in China; that the treaties made between China and the United States, and the regulations made by the Ministers in accordance with them, governed. The man got the benefit of the advantages of the Shanghai municipality, and he must pay his taxes.

The Supreme Court has passed on all these questions. When a man was confined for life in a penitentiary in New York for a murder committed off Japan in a ship that flew the American flag, a writ of *habeas corpus* was refused to him by the Supreme Court. It held that his conviction was legal, although he was not tried by a jury. The Constitution had contracted to suit the case!

When a Turkish gentleman sued for damages because an attachment

had illegally issued against his goods, and cited the Constitution, it was held that in civil, as in criminal, matters the laws made in pursuance of the treaties to govern Americans in the East, or the Far East, need not comply with the provisions of the Constitution.

The Constitution is a great document. Interpreted by men supremely great, as it has been and is, it will consecrate just and wise laws made by Congress to take from the army the burden of maintaining law and order; and again, as often before in our history, *cedant arma togæ*. Is it possible that we are degenerate? Is it possible that a generation which put down a gigantic rebellion, and rebuilt from their ruins the fair edifices of the governments of the States, will not be equal to governing the Philippines?

I know that we who wear the rosette of the Loyal Legion, or the badge of the Grand Army, or the iron disk of the Confederacy, "lag superfluous on the stage"; but the war with Spain has demonstrated that our sons are worthy of their sires. This generation—do not doubt it, do not despair of your country—will meet all questions with wisdom and courage and honor. Difficulties as they arise will vanish at the touch of the spear of Ithuriel held in the hands of one who stands to-day for a reunited country. He has vanquished the prejudice of the North and the rancor of the South. He has displayed conspicuous ability under the most difficult circumstances that can attend any administration. Let us trust him to find a way out of the difficulties that lie before us. These difficulties will vanish as we approach them.

I put aside mere criticisms of past action as empty babble. The war was originally waged to secure Cuban independence. Yes; and when the revolutionary war commenced men did not dream of independence. Still it came. In the beginning of the Civil War no man thought of abolishing slavery. Still it was done. Wars rarely keep within projected bounds. Personal ambition, national aggrandizement, are factors which control the issue of events.

If the argument made herein has any force, the legal and constitutional difficulties which were quoted against expansion have disappeared; and the cold, hard, practical question alone remains, Will the possession of these islands benefit us as a nation? If it will not, set them free to-morrow, and let their people, if they please, cut each other's throats, or play what pranks they please. To this complexion must we come at last, that, unless it is beneficial for us to hold these islands, we should turn them loose.

I have answered this question elsewhere, and I do not like to repeat

in one magazine arguments made in another. Therefore I must be brief. By holding them we gain 8,000,000 of people who are ripe for the opening and extension of a magnificent commerce.

We furnish to our young men a new and splendid field for industry and ability. We open up new markets for our manufactured goods. We build up our merchant marine. We become an Asiatic Power; and we shall have something to say about the dismemberment of China.

How is it that every extension of our area has brought us benefactions, and that this one alone will do us harm? If colonies in Asia are injurious to national greatness, why is it that all Europe covets them? Why do England, France, and Germany divide Africa between them, and seize besides portions of China, if the policy of expansion is wrong? Why, if the idea of expansion is futile, has Russia come steadily without a shadow of turning, across the Asiatic continent until now her iron horses drink from the Pacific?

Of course no man disputes the material advantages which will come from greater markets and wider trade; but a sentimental element enters into the antagonism, based on the idea that we are going to govern people, and not all at once make them equal citizens of the United States with ourselves. There is great talk of justice and peace, as if we were going to oppress anybody—which we could not do if we wanted to. Elastic as the Constitution has been shown to be, it will stand forever as the bible of freedom.

We are going to govern the Philippines. Of course we are. Did we not govern the Southern States until they adopted new constitutions? Do we not govern Alaska? Did we not permit the governor, secretary, and judges to make laws for the Northwest Territory?

Why shall we not take the people of the Philippines kindly by the hand and lead them into the blessed light of perfect freedom?

In the government of them there are going to be insuperable difficulties. Are there? Do these difficulties bid England pause in India, or in the myriad settlements that owe allegiance to the Queen? Have the Dutch failed in Java? Is the experiment of colonization in Africa a failure?

In China there are thirty-five treaty ports; and at each one of them the European and the American rule the natives who are resident in the concessions. They rule them absolutely, and generally peaceably and quietly. Sometimes, when a city of a million of natives lies alongside of a small European concession, there will be fear and tremor in every home, and the pale-faced mother will not sleep at night: but the stalwart

man is there, and he has his rifle and his Gatling; and, perchance, the flag of an American, or European, or Japanese gunboat flies on the river which flows by the town.

These conditions are not uncommon. But the soil is Chinese; while in the Philippines our flag would wave over land that belongs to us. It is said that we cannot make these people citizens. Why not? We have made the Indian, the Mexican, and the Negro citizens; and recently the Supreme Court has held that every Chinese child born on our soil is a citizen of the United States.

But the question of citizenship lies a long way off in the future. Let us leave it to be met by a race which has encountered and solved every difficulty that stood in its path to greatness.

CHARLES DENBY.

THE WAR AND THE EXTENSION OF CIVILIZATION.

THE year just closed has revealed more than any other in a century of extraordinary development the extent of the energies inherent in the American people. The idea of disinterested duty, which has seldom animated nations, has nerved the Republic to the prosecution of a costly foreign war, as the result of which a decadent system of colonial exploitation has been swept out of existence, and our flag is found floating in triumph on distant seas.

If the war with Spain was a necessity imposed by "humanity" and "civilization," these principles do not cease to be imperative in the moment of victory. Whatever justified the war has demanded a peace in harmony with its motives; and it was, therefore, the desire and the duty of the Chief Executive of the nation to secure by treaty, through his commissioners, the great ends for which the war was undertaken.

Expressed in a single phrase, the purpose of the American people in assuming the task of intervention was "enforced pacification." A strife rendered interminable by resistance to oppression, on the one hand, and by administrative incapacity, on the other, demanded the interference of a Power strong enough to command a cessation of hostilities. If the theatre of our intervention was unexpectedly extended by our victories in the Pacific, the principles upon which it was based were not thereby modified; and a duty clearly recognized in the case of Cuba became equally imperative in the Philippines.

When the Peace Commissioners of the United States met those of Spain at Paris, it had become evident to our Government that there was no logical justification of the war which did not involve the abdication of Spanish sovereignty in all the territories in question. To claim the abdication of Spanish rule over Cuba and Porto Rico and to permit it to continue over the Philippines, would have been to assert that our motives and purposes were different from those which really inspired and authorized our war for Cuba.

It was, therefore, a moral and logical necessity that Spain should surrender her islands in the Pacific as well as those in the Atlantic. And, if we consider the history of the Philippines, it is still more clearly

evident that their loss to Spain was a fitting conclusion of the recent war. Conquered originally by a fleet sent out from Mexico in 1564, they were a natural adjunct of her American possessions. The first distinct knowledge of the Pacific Ocean had been given to Europe by Magellan, who discovered it in seeking a western route to Asia. For two hundred years the Philippines were a dependency of Mexico; trade and communication were forbidden except through Acapulco; and their government was administered by the Mexican viceroy and *audiencia*. So thoroughly were these islands identified with America by Spain, that not until 1764 was direct trade commenced between them and Europe by the circumnavigation of Africa. The loss of her continental possessions in America left the Philippines in practical isolation from Spain until the opening of the Suez Canal brought Manila within thirty-two days' steam from Barcelona.

By another course of development, the feeble colonies planted on the Atlantic coast of North America have spread their civilization to the Pacific, and their institutions over the whole continent. Hawaii, colonized and developed by American enterprise, has become a part of our national territory. California, along whose coasts the Mexican galleons, laden with the treasures of the East on their way to Europe, sailed from the Philippines to Acapulco three hundred years ago, now carries on a great Pacific trade by steam. A submarine cable will soon connect our western shores with Asia; and an interoceanic canal, wedding the Atlantic and the Pacific, will not only shorten the sailing-distance between our coasts by 10,000 miles, but will bring Boston nearer than Liverpool to Polynesia, Japan, and Northern China.

To the eyes of foreign observers, the opportunities for empire presented to the American Republic by existing conditions seem enviable, and may even excite the suspicion of being intentionally sought. The organization of "anti-imperialistic" societies among us,—a proceeding which implies a belief that some other portion of the American people seriously desires to extend an imperial sway over distant regions,—tends to confirm this false conception in the minds of foreigners, and does a great wrong to the motives and principles of this nation; for the thirst for foreign domination, and the passion for self-enrichment by the plunder of defenceless races, which have created the great empires of the past, are repugnant to our Constitution as well as to our people, none of whom have taken the pains to organize an imperial policy.

There are two propositions upon which, it would seem, all true Americans can solidly unite: (1) That we shall not suffer the peoples

in whose behalf we have intervened to relapse into anarchy; and (2) that we shall not permit the exploitation of defenceless populations under our protection by the methods of the very system which we have just destroyed. To repudiate these propositions, is to repudiate the ethical and logical justification of the war.

The more closely we subject the matter to analysis, the more clearly we perceive that we have been waging a war not of conquest, but of civilization. There are two ways of neutralizing its normal results and of repudiating its animating principles. One of these is to employ the methods which we have succeeded in destroying: the other is to drop the whole enterprise in its state of incompleteness and to confess our error in having undertaken it. Equally with the so-called "imperialists"—if any really exist—the "anti-imperialists" offend against the principle upon which the United States has thus far acted. That principle has been expressed as the right and duty of our Government "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization," to enforce the end of strife and to secure a rule of justice. To abandon in a critical moment the populations emancipated from the sovereignty of Spain, may seem more respectable than to exploit them; but neither the one nor the other is in harmony with the conception of national duty which inspired the prosecution of the war. There are only three possible positions to be taken upon the question of our proper relation to the late colonies of Spain: (1) That Spain had a right to exploit them, and, since we have defeated her, that we have succeeded to that right; (2) that Spain was wrong in her treatment of her colonies, but that we had no right to interfere; and (3) that Spain was wrong to an extent that justified our interference and our substitution of a better order. Those who accept the last position must admit that our duty has not been fully performed until we have substituted a better order than we found,—in truth, the best order we are able to secure.

Having invoked "humanity" and "civilization" as the watchwords of the war, they now clearly prescribe our task in imposing peace. The current course of events has been described by its enemies as "imperialism," and by its friends as "expansion"; but neither of these terms quite accurately meets the case. The purpose of our Government has not been the subjection of foreign peoples for the sake of empire, nor the enlargement of our territorial limits for the sake of expansion. Both of these words imperfectly express the situation, and, thus far at least, are not true to history. A more fitting term to designate the aims and achievements of the nation is, perhaps, the phrase "the extension of civiliza-

tion"; for it expresses the motive and controlling principle of the war and of the treaty by which, when ratified, it is to be concluded.

The real problem of the moment is, How can the permanent peace, for which the war was fought, be best secured? By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the sovereign power of the United States has a clear field for the exercise of its peaceful intentions. Nothing short of this unqualified opportunity could have satisfied the just expectations of the American people; and this fact alone is the sufficient justification of the work thus far accomplished. In the midst of the questions which now agitate the public mind there is one clear certainty; namely, that the presence of the Stars and Stripes is the best security against international intrigue, chronic revolution, and every form of violence to the inalienable rights of man.

Precisely what our ultimate relation should be to the territories over which Spain abandons her sovereignty, is a question to be determined by the future. The Treaty of Peace commits our Government to no particular policy in that regard, but opens the way for the final adoption of whatever course may seem most desirable after mature deliberation in the light of more perfect knowledge. To withdraw the protection of our flag and to recall our fleets and armies, would be to act upon an impulse and to render impossible that patient examination of the subject which its importance clearly demands. There is, therefore, no reasonable alternative to our temporary government of the ceded territories pending the settlement of ulterior questions.

It is sometimes alleged that, because we are a self-governing people, we are disqualified for governing others. Every step of our national progress has excited the fears of men who have believed that republican institutions could be safe only in some secluded community lying within narrow boundaries. Animated by this fear, the States reluctantly accepted the necessity of a closer union after the War of Independence; and little Rhode Island, jealously guarding its precious liberties, opposed the idea of federation and refused to ratify the Constitution until it had gone into actual operation. Every step of territorial extension has been followed by a spasm of hysterics over the possible dissolution of the Republic; but each in turn has vindicated the wisdom of confidence in man and the power of great principles. The annexation of Louisiana, which doubled the area of the country at one stroke, developed our inland navigation; and the addition of California stimulated the construction of our great railway system. New inventions, enlarged enterprises, increased prosperity, and a stronger sense of national unity have followed

every territorial extension, and augmented the influence of the Republic among the nations. And now that isolation is no longer possible, with a growing foreign trade that already extends over the globe, shall we doubt that new outposts of defence and influence, unified by a waterway uniting the eastern ocean with the western,—at the same time reducing, by more than half, the sailing-distance between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and thereby doubling the efficiency of our navy,—would create new markets for our merchandise, and place the seal of security upon the designs of peace?

It would, indeed, be an anomaly if the best form of government on earth, as we believe ours to be, were incapable of extension by virtue of its excellence. It is true that it is not in its fulness adapted to nations still in their minority, and that, as the highest product of political evolution, it is not to be commended to those which are unprepared to administer and maintain free institutions. Our colonial fathers had practically been self-governing for nearly a century and a half before the Declaration of Independence was written; and yet even they placed limits upon the elective franchise, and demanded specific qualifications for public office. Our territorial administration has always recognized a period of tutelage as a normal political condition; and millions of men have been happy and prosperous under it. Our Constitution was framed and has always been applied with a distinct consciousness that, while men are equal in natural rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, political rights are the creations of law, not the gifts of nature. No theory of republicanism has ever maintained that maturity in statecraft, or even any degree of political capacity, is essential to every unit of the population. As distinctly as a monarchy a republic must make provision for its natural wards.

Nor can it be consistently maintained that the principles of constitutional government are the exclusive prerogative of a particular race, and are incapable of ultimate extension. We may have reason as a people to be proud of our Anglo-Saxon origin; but let us not forget that the most cosmopolitan population in the world already exists in our own country, has largely assimilated our laws and institutions, and has shed its blood in the common cause of maintaining our heritage of liberty and union. Can we as Americans listen with patience to any word that limits our great achievements as a people to a single race? Shall we thus stigmatize the intelligence and patriotism of our good and faithful fellow-citizens whose lineage goes back to unselfish Ireland, or thrifty Germany, or patriotic France, or industrious Holland, or patient Sweden,

or long-suffering Africa, whose tributaries have flowed into the great stream of our national existence? If there is a larger word than "American," it is that great unfathomed word "human," which implies that, irrespective of stages of culture, which are the expressions of historic development, there is an underlying unity of nature that opens the door of hope for all mankind.

At the present moment this nation holds in trust the liberties of nearly twelve millions of human beings. When at last it renders an account of its stewardship, what will its answer be? Shall it say to the Lord of Nations, "Here is that which is thine; I have hid it in a napkin, and buried it in the earth; behold thy treasure undiminished"? Or shall it say, "With thy talent I have gathered increase. Behold the wilderness now populous with thriving cities; behold the sea made the highway of human intercourse; behold its islands, no longer bleeding under the sword, but blossoming with plenty, and smiling in the security of peace"? The true glory of a nation is not in the spoils of conquest, but in the fruits of the faithful husbandman; and what a glorious harvest is the ripening of a civic consciousness matured under liberty secured by law!

DAVID J. HILL.

THE INCREASING SUPPLY OF GOLD.

THE average annual production of gold in the world during the ten years from 1851 to 1860, inclusive, was \$132,298,000; for the period 1861-1870, \$126,301,000; for 1871-1880, \$115,081,500; while for the ten years, 1881-1890, it was but \$106,005,360. In the five years, 1881-1885, the average annual production was only \$99,116,000. For twenty-five years the yield diminished; and the output of 1860, \$134,083,000, was not again reached until thirty-two years later. Out of this supply an amount, variously estimated at the time as between \$30,000,000 and \$50,000,000, was annually consumed in the arts and manufactures.

It was during this period that grave doubts were entertained by many eminent men as to whether the supply of gold was sufficient for that metal to be made the universal standard of value and to enable all nations to base their currencies upon it. It was in these years that the statement,—erroneous then, and much farther from the truth now,—that industrial uses consumed one-half of the annual product of gold, was generally set afloat, and that falling prices and every economic change which pinched anybody seemed to find a plausible explanation in the theory of a restricted money-supply. This was the period during which many public men in the United States made records from which in more recent years they would gladly have been delivered. It was the time when International Bimetallism won advocates among scholars and statesmen, and propositions less sane gained countenance and favor.

In 1877 Dr. Edward Suess, the eminent Austrian geologist, published his book, "The Future of Gold," in which he developed an elaborate geological argument against gold as a single standard of value. He set forth that gold was found on the frontiers of civilization only, that lode production was unprofitable, that deep gold-mining had never proved successful, and that, therefore, the alluvial deposits in the yet remote and unexplored portions of the earth were the only dependence to maintain the monetary supply. More than one-half of the quantity of gold obtainable by the means thitherto employed, he estimated, had already passed through the hands of man. The inaccessible location of

the remaining scattered and unknown placers made it probable, in his opinion, that they would be but slowly exploited, and would yield only a moderate annual product.

The ability and learning with which Dr. Suess presented his view caused it to attract wide attention; and great weight was given to it at the time. We may say for him now, as for the economists who shared his fears, that, under the conditions then existing, it was a rational view. But the premises from which he argued have undergone a great change. Gold-mining in rock and at deep levels was then, as he said, of little promise; but in 1898 in South Africa—a field unknown when he wrote—rock was raised from nearly a mile underground, crushed, and treated at a profit, with a yield of \$10 per ton. The average yield of the Witwatersrand ore in 1897 was about \$9.50 per ton; and the average working costs about \$5.60 per ton. The yield of that district in 1898 was \$80,000,000; and within two years it will probably exceed the entire yield of the world at the time Dr. Suess wrote his book. So recently as 1890 the gold product of Colorado was only \$4,000,000, and that of the United States, \$33,000,000. Chiefly by processes of reduction unknown when Dr. Suess wrote, the product of Colorado has been raised to about \$25,000,000 a year; and its miners do not think the figure reached by the whole country in 1890 a very distant figure for their State. Through the same improved methods, the product of Australia has advanced, from about \$30,000,000 in 1890, to probably \$64,000,000 in 1898. These figures are sufficient to show the importance of the new factor which was absent from Dr. Suess's calculations, and which has wrought a revolution in the situation.

GOLD PRODUCTION OF THE RAND.

Months.	1896.	1897.	1898.	Increase over 1897.
	Ozs. crude.	Ozs. crude.	Ozs. crude.	Ozs. crude.
January	148,178	209,382	313,326	103,944
February	167,018	211,000	297,975	86,975
March	173,952	232,066	325,907	93,841
April	176,707	235,698	335,125	99,427
May	195,008	248,305	344,160	95,855
June	193,640	251,529	344,670	93,141
July	203,873	242,478	359,343	116,865
August	213,418	359,603	376,911	117,308
September	202,561	262,150	384,080	121,930
October	199,889	274,175	400,791	126,616
November	201,113	297,124		
December	206,517	310,712		
Totals	2,281,874	3,034,222	3,482,288	1,055,902

The new "golden period" had its beginning in the year 1884, when South Africa appeared on the stage with a modest contribution of about \$50,000 to the world's product. From that time, save for a slight check received in the latter part of 1895, due to the Jameson Raid, the production has been steadily progressing. The remarkably constant pace of its growth is shown by the above table, which gives the yield in crude ounces by months for 1896, 1897, and 1898.

These figures suggest the steady growth of a manufacturing industry, rather than the record of one usually regarded as extremely uncertain in results. Therein is contained one explanation of the extraordinary increase in gold production. Lode-mining, under modern scientific and business methods, has an assurance of stability which, with the profits that can be reasonably forecast, has made unlimited capital obtainable to develop an ascertained field. From 1890 the world's production has been as follows:—

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1890.....	\$118,848,700	1894.....	\$181,175,600
1891.....	130,650,000	1895.....	199,304,100
1892.....	146,651,500	1896.....	202,956,000
1893.....	157,494,800	1897.....	237,504,800

Although at this writing the year 1898 is not ended, enough is already known of the yield in the principal fields to make it certain that the increase in 1898 will be greater than in any previous year. Compared with the output of 1897, there is a gain in South Africa of more than \$20,000,000; in Australasia of about \$10,000,000; in the United States of not less than \$7,000,000; and in the rest of North America of probably \$10,000,000. These gains indicate that the world's product for 1898 will prove to be not far below \$300,000,000.

And what of 1899? We can make something of a forecast as to that. If the Rand and Australasia simply maintain throughout 1899 the rate of production which each reached in the latter part of 1898, they will, together, make a gain over 1898 of \$20,000,000; while, if we assume a progressive yield, such as they have been making for the past two years, and include an estimate for North America, from Mexico to the Klondyke, a greater gain is indicated for 1899 than was made in 1898.

Mr. George F. Becker, a distinguished mining engineer, formerly Chief of the United States Geological Survey, estimated, upon careful examination two years ago, that the area in the Rand within twenty miles

of Johannesburg now producing gold can scarcely fail to yield \$3,500,000,000, if mining operations are carried on at a depth of 5,000 feet, which has been proved to be feasible. The West Australian field, which for ten years has shown a continuously progressive increase, in 1898 reaches a product of \$20,000,000. It is an arid region presenting many difficulties to the miner; but the great investments now being made in pipe-lines for conveying water, and in ore-crushing-plants, indicate that it is a region of great possibilities. Colorado, Utah, Washington, British Columbia, the Klondyke, and Alaska may all be expected to show a progressive yield for years to come. All of these districts, except the Klondyke and parts of Alaska, are quartz districts, requiring capital for their working, and promising longer life than placer deposits. The probabilities seem to be that the output will not decline while the present generation of men is interested in affairs.

The estimates of the Bureau of the Mint as to production and consumption are sustained by the increase in visible stocks. The following showing is offered of the disposition of the world's new gold between December 31, 1892, and December 31, 1897.

For the five years, 1893-1897, the Bureau of the Mint, at the end of each year, has estimated the production of the world as follows:

1893.....	\$157,494,800
1894.....	181,175,600
1895.....	199,304,100
1896.....	202,956,000
1897.....	237,504,800
Total.....	<u>\$978,435,300</u>

The estimates of the Bureau, made annually, of industrial consumption, have been as follows:

1893.....	\$50,177,300
1894.....	52,183,736
1895.....	58,579,160
1896.....	59,251,640
1897.....	59,005,980
Total.....	<u>\$279,197,816</u>

The stocks of gold in the principal banks of Europe on or about December 31, 1892, and December 31, 1897, respectively, are given below. The figures, if not for the last day of the month, are from the statements nearest thereto. The sums for Russia and Austria-Hungary include amounts in the Government treasuries, as reported by the official representatives of the United States in those countries.

GOLD COIN AND BULLION IN EUROPEAN BANKS AND TREASURIES, ON
DECEMBER 31, 1892, AND ON DECEMBER 31, 1897, RESPECTIVELY.

	1892.	1897.	Gain.	Loss.
Bank of England.....	\$117,807,200	\$146,950,200	\$29,143,000	
Bank of France.....	329,779,100	376,909,700	47,130,600	
*Imperial Bank of Germany.....	134,739,734	134,744,000	4,266	
†Austria-Hungary.....	106,546,530	227,651,855	121,105,325	
Bank of Spain.....	36,727,900	45,834,660	9,106,760	
Bank of the Netherlands.....	15,406,200	12,776,940	.....	\$2,629,260
National Bank of Belgium.....	14,871,600	13,724,640	.....	1,146,960
Italy:				
Bank of Italy }	74,227,800	76,678,900	2,451,100	
Bank of Naples }				
Bank of Sicily }				
Russia:				
Imperial Bank and Treasury	382,567,601	676,786,666	294,219,065	
Bank of Finland.....	4,188,100	4,303,900	115,800	
National Bank of Roumania.....	10,576,400	11,097,500	521,100	
Switzerland: Banks of issue.....	12,969,600	17,987,600	5,018,000	
Bank of Norway.....	5,558,400	7,835,800	2,277,400	
National Bank of Denmark.....	15,729,500	17,447,200	1,717,700	
Sweden: Royal and Private Banks.	6,542,700	10,190,400	3,647,700	
Banks of Scotland.....	23,160,000	26,055,000	2,895,000	
Banks of Ireland.....	13,510,000	13,027,500	.....	482,500
Totals.....	\$1,304,908,365	\$1,820,002,461	\$519,352,816	\$4,258,720

Net increase.....\$515,094,096.

* The Imperial Bank of Germany does not report its gold and silver separately. One-third of the stock of coin and bullion reported has been deducted for silver.

† Total stock in country, officially estimated.

The banks of Australasia, South Africa, and Canada held gold on the dates under comparison practically as follows (the Colonial bank statements are averages for the years named):—

	1892.	1897.	Increase.
Australasia.....	\$101,536,795	\$113,001,736	\$11,464,941
South Africa.....	18,233,166	32,831,946	14,598,780
Canada.....	6,526,724	8,663,163	2,136,439
	\$126,296,685	\$154,496,845	\$28,200,160

Little allowance for error in these figures need be made; for they are definite returns of gold in sight and counted. A similar statement of gold stocks in the East in 1892 and 1897 cannot be compiled from data at hand; but the movement between the East and Great Britain is obtainable. For the British East Indies, China, and Japan, the excess of imports and estimated production over exports in the five years under review is \$43,500,000, which may reasonably be counted as the gain by the East.

The increase in the stock of gold of the United States from Decem-

ber 31, 1892, to December 31, 1897, was \$95,457,933. About one-half of this is shown by the reports of the Government Treasury and the national banks, the remainder being considered to have gone to State and private banks and into general circulation.

In the countries of the world not covered by the foregoing statements the change in stocks is not important.

The new gold of the period 1892-97, as estimated, has now practically been all traced into use as follows:—

GAINS IN GOLD STOCKS OF THE WORLD, AND ESTIMATES OF INDUSTRIAL CONSUMPTION, FROM DECEMBER 31, 1892, TO DECEMBER 31, 1897.

European Banks and Treasuries.....	\$515,094,096
United States.....	95,457,933
British East Indies, China, and Japan.....	43,500,000
Banks of Australasia, South Africa, and Canada.....	28,200,160
Industrial Consumption.....	279,197,316
Total	\$961,449,505

Subtracting this total from the production, \$978,435,300, we have but \$16,985,795 unaccounted for. The calculation comes out too close to be entirely satisfactory. A larger sum than this must have been absorbed in general circulation abroad; although Russia is the only foreign country in which any considerable increase of circulation is known to have been made. The calculation seems to show conclusively that the annual estimates of production have been conservative, and those of industrial consumption liberal.

A scrutiny of the gains in Europe shows that Russia and Austria-Hungary have taken \$415,324,390 of the total visible increase, \$515,094,096. Russia has taken an average of about \$50,000,000 per year for ten years for the purpose of establishing its currency on a gold basis. All of it was for the time withdrawn from the world's use. Russia's monetary system is now established. The great hoard, accumulated with remarkable persistency and sagacity, is now as open to commercial uses as the reserve of the Bank of England. M. de Witte, Minister of Finance, in his report on the Budget of 1898 recognizes and comments upon this fact in the following language :

“Some years ago the metallic stock of the Bank of Russia, at least to a certain extent, could not be affected by bad harvests, an unfavorable balance of trade, etc.

(Evils, real or imaginary, manifested themselves in the depreciation of the credit ruble.) On the other hand, the circulation, composed exclusively of notes and of bullion, might remain the same when the crisis was at its height, and at a time of great commercial activity. At present, when the bank redeems in gold its notes without any limitation as to the amount, and may issue only 300,000,000 of rubles in notes uncovered by metal, the metallic stock of the bank, the gold in circulation in Russia, the gold circulating in England, in Germany, etc., the gold metallic stocks of the banks of issue constitute a system of communicating vessels. As no chasm now separates Russia from other prosperous countries, the general movement of business will act on the circulation of the Empire and on the reserve of the bank as it does elsewhere neither more nor less."

Austria-Hungary has also practically completed the acquisition of the sum needed for establishing its currency on a gold basis. The artificial drain to both Russia and Austria-Hungary is therefore at an end; and there are now no other countries not on the gold basis which have the resources to buy and pay for that metal at the rate at which those two have been taking it.

The natural influence in the business world of the increased production has up to this time been broken by this diversion to the reorganization of monetary systems. The gold that has been used to retire or cover paper has not enlarged the monetary stock. But, from the time a nation's currency is put on a secure basis, every reënforcement of its gold stock is not only in itself an addition to the stock of money, but, if held in reserve, will support, when occasion requires, a considerably larger addition of paper. That stage has now been reached; and from this time forward the influence of the tide of gold pouring into every market will be an interesting subject for study. What will be the effect upon property values, wages, industrial progress, and social life? Incidentally, what will be the effect upon the political situation in the United States? What will the advocates of the free coinage of silver do in 1900 when they find themselves confronted by a gold output for that year of \$350,000,000, or \$400,000,000? The gold output of the world in 1873 was \$96,200,000, and that of silver, reckoning it at the ratio of 16 to 1, \$81,800,000; together, \$178,000,000. In 1896, the combined output of gold and silver, less the amount consumed in the industries and arts, reckoning silver at its full coining-value under the ratio of 16 to 1, was \$318,587,876. So, when Mr. Bryan comes into the field in 1900, he will find the additional supply of money for which he contended in 1896 furnished in gold. Will he go on affirming that the supply of money has been cut in two, and that there has been no business revival since 1896, or will he embrace the fortunate opportunity gracefully to drop the subject, on the plea that the end he desired is accom-

plished, and that the coincident revival of prosperity has vindicated his theories?

If he and his party go on with their demand for the free coinage of silver, they must do so without their old arguments. The supply of money never was cut in two or reduced at all. The world's stock of silver money has annually increased since 1873, and more rapidly than anybody in prior years could have anticipated. But the new output of gold has overwhelmed and ended all contention on that point. If they are going into a new campaign for the free coinage of silver, it must be made not in opposition to an appreciating standard, but in frank advocacy of a depreciating one.

Much has been written in recent years by Gold Standard advocates against the quantitative theory of money. In so far as their arguments have gone to show that the quantity of money in circulation is but one element in prices, and is usually so obscured by other influences that it can scarcely be traced, they are good; but I do not see how it can be questioned that the quantity of gold available in the world affects its exchange relations to other commodities. Its industrial use is limited, unless we assume a decline from its present exchange value. Its monetary use is also limited, unless we again assume a decline in value, so that more of it is required to make the same exchanges.

The writer has before him a letter from a newspaper editor who claims that more gold is required to do the business of the world, because the standard of living is higher than formerly, and people have more purchases to make. It is true that people buy and consume more: but it is because they produce more; and that, in the main, is due to the greater efficiency of labor. A man obtains the products of others by selling his own; and the gain all round comes by the steadily increasing output per unit of labor. But, though each man's product from the same amount of labor should be doubled, there is no advantage in using a larger amount of gold to effect the exchange of these products. The most equitable basis for the exchange of commodities is the amount of labor in them; and as labor is eliminated, the amount of money required to move them is naturally reduced. Purchases of identical goods, with a stable standard of value, require a constantly decreasing amount of money; and that is only offset by the constantly increasing quantity of goods consumed. There is in this no increased demand for gold, unless things are rated by a higher scale,—*i.e.*, unless gold is depreciated.

If this view is correct, a large and steady increase in the output of gold beyond the growth of population and wealth, such as trebling it in

ten years, must depreciate its value. We may reason from inference that this influence is operative even when it cannot be traced. Prices may be falling when the supply of gold is increasing, not because this law is suspended, but because the counteracting forces are more powerful. The new output of gold may or may not cause an actual rise of prices. It will mean a great and undesirable depreciation of the standard, if the natural tendency to lower prices through new labor-saving processes be offset and stopped.

With gold itself a falling standard, will Mr. Bryan and his supporters still propose a blind leap to a lower basis, or will anybody favor a lower or more rapidly falling standard? What reasons can they offer for such a policy?

The plea for debtors against a standard alleged to be rising may be honorably and forcefully made; but legislation to degrade a standard already favorable to debtors would be an undisguised swindle. Prices that rise merely because money is depreciating bring no legitimate advantages to anyone: for when all prices are affected equally every man's relative position in the exchanges remains unchanged; and if all are not affected alike a manifest injustice is done. Nothing in political economy has been more clearly established by experience than that it is the more uninformed and dependent members of society who fail to get their due in the general scramble of such a readjustment. All of the new "prosperity" which others are said to enjoy is obtained at their expense.

The plea for rising prices is made in behalf of property-owners—those who have real estate or commodities for sale;—but there is a very much more numerous class in society who also have something to sell, viz., the wage-earners. Under the industrial organization of to-day they comprise the millions. They are the class for whose welfare and progress society is most concerned,—the class in which are grouped those who most need the protection that the laws are designed to give. Whatever efforts are made to raise the conditions of men should begin from the bottom.

But as in a general advance wages lag behind, this class at such a time is put under constant disadvantage. Its members must be continually getting their pay increased in order even to hold their own. That is the worst possible position for the wage-earner. The most commanding position that he can occupy is to have a standard of value in which wages may be steady, while the prices of commodities fall to correspond with every elimination of labor from their cost. Then all the forces

that make for industrial progress work for him. Then his share of our constantly increasing production is laid promptly at his door. Every year sees the purchasing power of his wages increase without aggressive action on his part. None are so ignorant, timid, or dependent as to be unable to buy at lower prices when they are prevalent; but all are not equal in the intelligence, courage, and resources required to make a continuous fight for a higher rate of wages.

It is true that as prices advance ahead of wages, the increasing profits of employers stimulate the demand for labor, and gradually advance the price of the latter. This only illustrates the tendency of natural laws to restore an equilibrium that has been disturbed. After prices have ceased to advance, as eventually they must, wages will finally resume the relative position they have lost. Unfortunately, when prices cease to advance after a period of expansion, they generally do so with a crash which disorganizes the whole industrial machine, and throws thousands out of employment. The crash is commonly attributed to the interposition of some new influence; but it is as inevitably a part of the whole movement as any other feature.

It seems inevitable that we are to have a great increase in the volume of money, accompanied, no doubt, by full industrial activity and much speculation the world over. It will be a good time for debt-paying; but unfortunately people do not pay their debts at such a time. They see too many good things that they think they ought to buy. People make debts in booming times and pay them in hard times. Those who think the Government ought to provide money enough "to do the business of the country on a cash basis," and that panics and commercial depressions could be prevented by a "sufficient supply," will learn that indebtedness more than keeps pace with any increase, and that the most marvellous outpouring of gold may be followed by unparalleled stringency in the money market.

The only increase in metallic monetary stocks in recent times comparable to the one now being made was that following the discovery of gold in California and Australia. The stock of gold and silver coin in the world, excluding Asia, in 1850 has been estimated at \$2,000,000,000, and in 1860 at \$2,800,000,000,—an increase of 40 per cent. The present stock of gold and silver coin outside of China and the Straits Settlements is about \$7,500,000,000. To add 40 per cent to this stock in the next ten years would require a net annual increase of \$300,000,000; and it seems entirely probable that this will be made in gold, besides any additions to the stock of subsidiary silver.

The influence in Western Europe of the increased output following 1850 was modified by the extraordinary movement to the East which set in about that time. The building of railways in India, and other extensive investments, with a rapid increase in exports, raised the net imports of gold and silver into India for the five years, 1855-59, to an annual average of about \$65,000,000. That was taking 40 per cent of the entire product. The expense of the Crimean War, with the subsidies and loans made by England and France to Turkey, distributed large sums of coin in Eastern Europe, a region comparatively destitute of it. As a result of these movements, no increase of metallic stocks in the banks of Western Europe from 1850 to 1860 is apparent.

It is generally accepted, however, that the output of Californian and Australian gold was responsible for at least a part of the rise of prices which occurred from 1849 to 1870. Jevons estimated the average rise in commodities from 1849 to 1860 at 24 per cent, and the net rise to 1869 at 19 per cent. He considered that this sustained advance was due to the depreciation of gold; but it is difficult to see how the influence of the wars and new trade conditions which intervened can be so identified and measured as to enable any calculation to be made of the influence of the new gold.

If we look only to money in banks, and ignore estimates of production, consumption, and coinage, we get rid of many uncertainties; and after all that is the potential quantity in monetary stocks. Money in idle hoards, and required in pockets and tills for the daily exchanges, is not available for loans or for new enterprises. So far as money is the basis of credit, it is the supply in banks that is effective, and supports industrial undertakings and speculation, and that through these channels has bearing upon prices. The supply of money in banks is now increasing more rapidly than at any previous time. The stock of gold in such depositories in Europe and in the United States, we have seen, has increased nearly 40 per cent in five years.

Another feature of modern trade relations which has an important bearing upon the effective use of monetary stocks, is the vast accumulation of high-class investment securities known and traded in in all the important money markets of the world. Their value is so stable, and their shipment so easy, that in large degree they take the place of gold in the settlement of international balances. An unusual harvest in one country with shortage elsewhere is coming to require less and less an alarming drain of money from one to the other.

In conclusion, as we contemplate the waste of capital and produc-

tive energy in the search for gold in the Klondyke and elsewhere, the time seems opportune to recall the comments of the French economist, Blanqui, in reviewing the outpouring of the precious metals which resulted from the discovery of America. Writing about 1840, when the rich flow from Mexico and South America, which for several centuries had poured into Europe, had almost ceased, and the mines of the New World seemed to be exhausted, he said:

“Everyone knows to-day that the real advantages which Europe derived from the discovery of the mines of the New World do not come exclusively from the abundance of the precious metals, but from the cultivation of the commodities for consumption which constitute the basis of our exchanges with that country. Gold and silver have disappeared: cotton, sugar, and coffee remain. The single discovery of the potato was worth more than all of the mines of Mexico and Peru.”

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

GOOD ROADS AND STATE AID.

THE last two generations have seen a wonderful growth in transportation facilities. The opening up of new territory has continued to lend tempting opportunities to capital for railroad investments. The development of commerce and traffic has been constantly encouraged by legislation. Large appropriations have been made for the building of canals; rivers have been made navigable; steamboat lines have been heavily subsidized; and untold millions have been showered on railroads by cities, counties, States, and the nation, through stock and bond subscriptions, cash donations, and grants of boundless tracts of public lands. The results have been marvellous. To-day the cost of shipping a bushel of grain from Chicago to New York is only one-fifth of what it was at the close of the Civil War: the cost of shipping it from New York to Liverpool is only two-fifths of what it was then.

The improvement of country roads—the principal arteries of commerce and travel—has not kept pace with the development of transportation facilities by rail and water. The country road seems to have been a stepchild of legislatures. Its construction and improvement have been left almost entirely in the hands of the farmer; and the rural district is not equal to the occasion. Road-building requires method and system, a considerable investment of funds, judicious financiering, careful economy, and, above all, scientific knowledge. The farmer too often fails to bring any of these essentials into his road-building efforts. "Working out the road tax" is generally a farce. Our average country highways are little better to-day than they were at the close of the Civil War.

The present losses from bad roads in the United States are enormous. Investigations, made in 1,200 counties throughout the country by the United States Office of Road Inquiry, show that the average load of crops drawn to market in the United States weighs 2,002 pounds,—practically a ton,—varying from 1,397 pounds in some States to 2,409 pounds in others. Collateral investigations of the Office, made through United States consuls abroad, show the average load of crops hauled in Europe to be upward of 4 tons. In the consular district of Munich, Ger-

many, the average load is $5\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and in that of Hanover, it is practically 6 tons,—a load which a good team there can haul for an all-day trip. Let us assume that loads of farm produce in this country are one-half, or one-third, of what they are in Europe, and some conception may be formed of the enormous waste of effort in hauling them. The Road Inquiry Office states the cost of hauling to be 25 cents per ton per mile in the United States; while reports from our consuls show it to be only 8.6 cents per ton per mile in Europe,—a trifle more than one-third of what it is with us.

The first estimates of our losses from bad roads were made in the fall of 1891 by John M. Stahl, editor of the "Farmer's Call" and secretary of the Farmers' National Congress. They were based upon reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Department of Agriculture, and upon the bulletins of the Census Office. Mr. Stahl says:

"I was forced to the conclusion that the annual cost of wagon transportation of the country was \$900,000,000, and that if all the road improvement were made that could be profitably made, the annual saving would be \$500,000,000. These figures were so large, so astounding, that I held them for months, to verify them before making them public. They were stoutly disputed, but have never been successfully assailed."

Gen. Roy Stone, Chief of the Road Inquiry Office, has verified Mr. Stahl's estimates. The results were given to the present writer in 1895; and they showed that the total haulage on the public roads was 313,349,227 tons, costing \$946,414,665.54. Gen. Stone points out that this constitutes more than one-third of the total value of farm products in the United States, stated at \$2,460,170,454 by the Census of 1890.

Sterling Elliott, editor of the "Good Roads Magazine," once very aptly said, that before we could thoroughly realize the difficulty of hauling on our common country roads, it would be necessary for one of two things to happen: either the horse must learn to talk, or else we must take his place on the wagon. The latter occurred, he said, when we learned to ride the bicycle. Every bicycle rider is an agitator for better highways. When the League of American Wheelmen was organized at Newport in 1880, one of its purposes was declared to be "to promote the improvement of public roads and highways." Credit has often been given to the League of American Wheelmen for having initiated the present Good Roads movement. With a membership consisting largely of young and energetic men, and which has grown beyond the hundred thousand mark, the League is generally acknowledged as the most potent factor in the promotion of Good Roads sentiment. Many

years ago Isaac B. Potter, of New York, the best known of its Good Road workers, published his "Gospel of Good Roads," which was widely circulated, and did much to lay the foundations for the Good Roads movement on a large scale. Since 1892 the League has maintained the "Good Roads Magazine," which has been merged more recently into the "L. A. W. Bulletin and Good Roads," the official organ issued weekly to its entire membership. A monster petition to Congress, with signatures collected by the L. A. W. in every State, resulted in the establishment of the United States Office of Road Inquiry, in the Department of Agriculture, whose investigations, published in bulletin form, are of incalculable educational value. The Highway Improvement Committee of the L. A. W. sends its emissaries to numerous Good Roads conventions and to the more important gatherings of farmers; and the highway laws of a number of States have been improved through its efforts. Its latest undertaking in the interest of good roads is the printing of an edition of a million illustrated pamphlets, and their circulation by mail among farmers, whose addresses are being collected for the purpose by the thousands of L. A. W. officials throughout the United States. This project has the endorsement and coöperation of the United States Department of Agriculture, through its Road Inquiry Office, the results of whose investigations will by this means become widely known among farmers. The entire expense of this project is being borne by the L. A. W.; and the first three hundred thousand pamphlets have already been printed and mailed.

While often admitting the need of better highways, the average farmer is inclined to resent any attempt to interfere with his road-building methods, which he considers peculiarly his own affair. No reform, therefore, can be forced upon him. Any proposed plan of road improvement, to be successful, must leave it optional with him to avail himself of its provisions, or not, as he may choose. The initiative must be left in his hands.

The State Aid system seems to have solved the problem of country road improvement to the farmer's satisfaction. This system has been adopted in several States, but is most successfully in operation in New Jersey, where it was first introduced about five years ago. The New Jersey laws for its establishment were passed through the combined efforts of the League of American Wheelmen and of the leaders of thought among the farmers, notably the late Edward Burrough, the president, and E. G. Harrison, the secretary, of the New Jersey Highway Improvement Association. This system of State aid divides the cost of

road improvement between the State, the county, and the owners of abutting property. Improvements are made only upon a petition from the latter, stating the character of the improvements to be made, and consenting to an assessment of their property to cover one-tenth of the cost. Plans and specifications for the proposed improvements are drawn by a county engineer, and must be passed upon by the State highway commissioner. Upon his approval of the work to be undertaken, the county lets the contracts for its execution, and the State appoints a supervising engineer. When the improvement is completed, this engineer certifies that it has been properly made according to the plans approved; and payment is thereupon made by the State to the county of one-third of its cost, the county paying the remainder out of its own treasury. The 10 per cent to be paid by the abutting property is collected with the next year's taxes. This system provides that all improvements shall be scientifically planned, insures economy of methods under the supervision of trained engineers, and admits of large investments without waste of funds. It properly leaves the initiative in the hands of the farmer, so that no proposed improvement can be made except with his full consent; and it relieves him of the largest part of the cost.

The State Aid system has come to be thoroughly understood and appreciated in New Jersey; and hundreds of miles of excellent stone roads have been built. As a result, loads of potatoes have increased from twenty-five baskets to eighty-five, and loads of manure, hauled from Philadelphia, have weighed 6,869, 7,300, and even 7,920 pounds, clear of the wagon, which alone weighed 2,300 pounds, making a total of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 tons. Highway Commissioner Budd states that farmers are enthusiastic over the workings of the law. Both Connecticut and Rhode Island have successfully experimented with State aid on a small scale. In Pennsylvania a State Aid law, drafted by Prof. John Hamilton, Superintendent of Farmers' Institutes, was passed by the legislature of 1897, largely through the support of the League of American Wheelmen. In New York the Higbie-Armstrong Law, providing for State aid, and making appropriations for its establishment, was passed during 1898. The passage of this law was championed by Mr. Potter, the present president of the L. A. W., who is an earnest Good Roads worker. Massachusetts has done a great deal to assist in the building of good roads through State aid. There the State pays three-fourths of the entire cost of the improvements; and large appropriations for the purpose have been made by almost every legislature for a number of years. In some of the Northwestern States constitutional obstacles to the

establishment of State aid are beginning to be removed. Minnesota passed such a constitutional amendment at her last State election by a large majority. A similar amendment passed the Wisconsin Assembly at the last session, but was defeated in the Senate from political motives. In all these States the League of American Wheelmen is largely responsible for what has been accomplished.

The farmers of the United States are beginning thoroughly to appreciate the need of better highways; and the work of the League of American Wheelmen in the direction of State aid is receiving much support from the more progressive among them. The Farmers' National Congress last December passed resolutions strongly endorsing State aid as the solution of the Good Roads problem; emphasizing the great need of better country highways and the inability of the agricultural districts alone to pay for them, and commending the efforts of the League of American Wheelmen to bring about the general introduction of the State Aid system. This body, made up of delegates appointed by the governors of the several States, is considered the most powerful agricultural association in the United States, and was declared by Congressman William H. Hatch, for many years Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, to have more influence with Congress than all other agricultural organizations combined. The National Road Parliament, consisting almost entirely of farmers, which was organized some years ago by Gen. Roy Stone, at the instance of the Department of Agriculture, passed similar resolutions at its last annual meeting, in October, 1898. The feature of the State Aid system which appeals most strongly to farmers is the fact that city taxpayers—especially the large property-holders and the wealthy corporations holding valuable franchises in the State—are made to contribute to the cost of improved country roads, through the medium of the taxes and license fees which they pay into the State treasury.

The enormous agricultural wealth passing over our country roads to the cities has largely made these cities what they are to-day. Both in their own interest and in fairness to the farmer, the cities can well afford to aid the latter to a reasonable extent in providing suitable highways for this traffic. It is wrong to leave the burden entirely on the farmer's shoulders. In the language of Gen. Stone:

"The farms of the United States are between one-fourth and one-fifth of the whole property of the country,—probably not more than one-fifth,—yet that one-fifth is providing the primary highway for transportation for the whole country. In the State of New York this burden is borne by less than one-tenth of the property of the State."

OTTO DORNER.

SOME JAPANESE WAYS.

IN the present sketch, which is based upon personal experience acquired during seven years' residence in Japan, I shall give a brief description of the Japanese home, and tell just a little of how Japanese gentlemen spend their leisure hours.

As for the Japanese home, it may be said that the houses have practically no outer walls. The floors of the living rooms are covered with soft, thick mats called "tatami." These mats, which are made of straw, are of uniform size,—about 6 by 3 feet,—whether for use in the Imperial Palace or in the hovel of a baker. They differ, however, in thickness, style, and finish. A room, no matter what its size or purpose, is never spoken of as so many feet long and wide, but as of so many mats. The main auditorium of the Nishi Hon-gwan-ji temple at Kyoto measures 136 feet in length by 93 feet in breadth; and the floor covers an area of 702 mats. Shoes are always—or ought to be—laid aside when one steps into the house; so that these mats are usually clean and neat. They require constant attention, however, as they are liable to become damp and musty in rainy weather. Upon these mats the people eat, sleep, and die: they represent the bed, the chair, the lounge, and, sometimes, the table, combined.

Of furniture, as we understand the word, there is none; so that, to a newly arrived foreigner, the rooms present a singularly bare appearance. They are not altogether without ornament, however: for in the larger ones, and particularly in the apartment which may be styled the parlor, or guest-room, there is in one corner a small alcove containing an ornamental piece of pottery or a bronze; and on the wall of the alcove a scroll picture will be seen.

The bed is made up on the floor-mats in any part of the room which may suit the whim or convenience of the occupant. One or more lightly or heavily wadded quilts are spread to lie upon; and others of similar size are supplied for coverings. The common quilts are wadded with cotton, and are stiff and uncomfortable; while the best, which are made of silk, are wadded with floss silk. Sheets are not used. The pillow may be simply a block of wood, with a small cylindrical

cushion on top, over which is sometimes tied a fold or two of soft paper, simulating a pillow-case, and possessing the advantage of being easily changed. It may contain a drawer for toilet accessories. The better classes of the Japanese divest themselves of their day clothing when they go to bed, and don a robe, similar in style to the outer one of the day, the *kimono*. In cold weather a large, heavily quilted garment is worn at night. Besides the very hot bath, the charcoal brazier is the only means the Japanese employ for supplying artificial heat. Early rising is the custom in Japan, as in China; and the people are abroad soon after sunrise.

The Japanese have the reputation of being extremely clean; but I wonder if they really deserve it? It takes but a few minutes to change from the sleeping-clothes to those to be worn during the day; and the morning ablutions are completed when the face has been washed and the teeth brushed. True, they do take a hot bath every day, when they can get it; but water without soap does not suffice when one wears the same clothing for weeks together. Sir Edwin Arnold's enthusiasm over the fragrance of a Japanese crowd has caused more mirth and has been more ridiculed than any other of his many extravagant speeches about Japan and the Japanese.

The people eat very much less meat than do the Chinese, many of the laity abstaining altogether from animal food. Rice is the staple; fish, both fresh and dried, is eaten whenever obtainable; vegetables, either fresh or pickled, are numerous and palatable—except the evil-smelling *daikon*, a turnip-radish, which, when pickled, outvies the rankest *Sauerkraut*. Among the poor, millet or some other cheap grain is substituted for rice. But the food fails entirely to satisfy our palates; and, as has been aptly remarked: "After a Japanese dinner, you have simultaneously a feeling of fulness and a feeling of having eaten nothing that will do you any good." This is due to a lack of nitrogen and fat, and to the non-use of salt in preparing the food. The Japanese themselves get sufficient salt from their pickles; but no ordinary European can stand them. The Chinese *cuisine*, while less inviting than that of Japan, is much better adapted to our needs. An American might live for years in China upon the native food alone: under similar conditions in Japan he would die of dyspepsia.

One seldom sees nowadays the old style of dressing the hair, in which the middle of the skull from the crown to the brow was shaved, and the back hair drawn forward in an unbraided queue just long enough to reach to the forehead. But some of the fishermen and farmers in remote

districts, which the influence of foreign customs has not yet reached, still wear the hair in that way; and one does occasionally meet, even in Tokyo, an ultra-conservative old fellow who sticks to the ancient fashion.

The Japanese costume is so familiar to most people as to need no description here. It seems almost a pity that, since the native garb is both elegant and thoroughly sanitary, so many of the men should now dress in the European style. Moreover, European dress is inconvenient for the changing conditions of life. Trousers and tight coats make it almost impossible for a man to assume the position the Japanese take when they sit upon their mats; and in the relaxation of home even those who have adopted the foreign dress change to the *kimono* for comfort.

The Japanese have been rightly called an undevotional people. The two religions, native "Shinto" ("Way of the gods") and exotic Buddhism, are so strangely mixed in their lives, that the number of pure Shintoists or pure Buddhists, outside of the priesthood, must be extremely small. The only exception is the province of Satsuma, from which the Buddhist priests have been rigidly excluded ever since some of their number betrayed the head of the clan into the hands of Hideyoshi, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. There are usually to be found in each house a shelf, upon which are Shinto emblems, and a Buddhist shrine. A little lamp burns constantly before the former; while incense is burned occasionally at the latter. These domestic accessories to religion seem to be provided principally for the female members of the household, the men paying but little attention to them. Yet even those men who profess to scoff at religion are still superstitious enough to believe in omens, to consult fortune-tellers, and to go to a temple occasionally. I am not prepared to endorse unqualifiedly the statement, that for every class there is a special god in the Japanese Pantheon; but it would almost seem as if there must be. In Osaka I once saw, just after New Year's Day, a procession of women of the town going to a temple to pray for success during the year (!) It was such a gala occasion that spectators turned out in crowds; and a special force of policemen was detailed to preserve order.

On going abroad the Japanese greets his friends by placing his hands on his thighs and sliding them down toward the knees as he bends his body in a low bow; and, if it be before eleven o'clock, he gives a pleasant "Ohayo!" This means literally, "It is early!" but is the equivalent of our "Good morning!" To use this expression in the afternoon or evening, as many foreigners do who wish to show off a smattering of the language, is manifestly absurd. Another common salutation

is "Konnichi wa!" or "Good day!" Upon formal occasions, and when within doors, the people kneel and bow the head to the hands, which are extended before them; uttering indefinable expressions conveying every shade of meaning, felicitation, or condolence, according to a rigid school of etiquette in which children are as carefully taught as they are in the rudiments and finish of the language. As in China, these expressions are self-deprecatory and laudatory of the person addressed. There is, however, nothing in Japanese etiquette so abject as the Chinese *kotow*.

If the man be one of the merchant princes, he goes from his residence in the aristocratic quarter to his office in the business centre, where his clerks will have arranged his desk for him; but if he be an ordinary tradesman or shopkeeper, he goes from the living apartments at the back of the building to the store in front, and himself takes a hand in preparing for the day's work.

It has been appositely remarked that the Japanese play at business, as they do at life generally. It is not with them, as it is with the Chinese, a serious matter, in which centuries of training have wrought the exactness of commerce. Until less than forty years ago trade was considered positively degrading; and in the social scale the gap which separated the tradesmen and shopkeepers from the *eta*—the pariahs and scavengers—was narrower and less plainly marked than that which existed between the tradesmen and the farmers, who were reckoned of considerable importance. Some of the latter were even permitted to wear swords. No one then respected the word of a man engaged in trade; and it was not to be expected that this feeling, which grew stronger and stronger during the centuries since the establishment of the feudal system and the ennobling of the art of war, could be effaced in the short time which has passed since the reorganization of the government and the readjustment of classes. Every foreigner who has engaged in commercial enterprises in Japan knows how exasperating are the flippant reasons given by the native merchants for breaking a contract or for delaying its execution.

The profession of law has been raised to the dignity it holds with us; and the courts are organized in very much the same way. Many members of the Japanese bar are recognized by the world as masters of jurisprudence. The medical profession, too, is now comparable with our own; and the names of some of its members have a world-wide reputation. There are, however, still too many who adhere to the old-time, empirical methods; and charms are worn to prevent or to cure

every ill to which flesh is heir. The priesthood remains as of yore. Most of the Buddhist cult are celibates; and none of them mingles in general society. The Shinto priests may marry; and, when not actually engaged in the services of the temple, they live pretty much as laymen.

The general holidays of the Japanese are numerous, and were formerly similar to those of China. Since the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in 1873, Sunday has been kept as a holiday by the Government; but it is not a holy-day. Some confusion followed the change of calendar,—as, for example, in throwing the New Year, on an average, six weeks earlier. A few of the most conservative still hold to the old *régime*, and celebrate the New Year and other occasions by the lunar calendar: many give themselves the benefit of any doubt and keep the holidays by both calendars. While all the official holidays, especially those of the New Year, the spring and autumn festivals of the Imperial ancestors at the equinoxes, and the Emperor's birthday (November 3), are observed, it is probable that quite as much interest is taken by the people themselves in their own local festivals. The Gion festival at Kyoto, and the Sanno at Tokyo, which take place about the middle of July, and the Kanda at Tokyo, in the middle of September, are the most famous. All three are distinguished by processions, of which the chief feature is a train of enormously tall triumphal, or rather mythological, cars, called "dashi" by the Tokyo people, and "yama" or "hoko" by the Kyoto folk. In 1886 the prevalence of cholera led the Government to order the postponement of the Gion festival at Kyoto until the scourge had abated; and that year it was celebrated with unusual pomp in connection with the festivities attending the Emperor's birthday. I was so fortunate as to witness that *fête*, probably the last with so much elaboration; for, since the height of the cars has been found to interfere with the telegraph, telephone, and electric-light wires that now spread their webs over the great cities, all three are doomed to disappear.

The favorite amusements of the Japanese have been described by Chamberlain as follows:

"the ordinary theatre; the No theatre, which is attended by the aristocracy only; wrestling matches; dinners enlivened by the performances of singing- and dancing-girls; visits to temples, as much for purposes of pleasure as of devotion; and picnics to places noted for their scenery, especially to places noted for some particular blossom, such as the plum, cherry, or wistaria. The Japanese also divert themselves by composing verses in their own language and in Chinese, and by playing chess, checkers, and various games of the "Mother Goose" description. Ever since the early days of foreign intercourse, they have also used certain kinds of cards, of which *hana-garuta*, or flower-cards, are the most popular kind,—so popular, in-

deed, and seductive, that there is an official veto on playing the game for money. . . . Poker, whist, *vingt-et-un*, horse-racing, circuses, quadrilles, etc., have begun to establish their claims. Even shooting and lawn-tennis have their Japanese devotees; but, for the most part, the interest taken in field-sports is languid and not likely to endure."

The aspect of a Tokyo ball-room has been amusingly described by several writers. Netto says:

"At these festivities Japanese ladies and gentlemen are to be seen taking part in the dancing, especially in the square dances; but most of them show by the expression of their faces that they are making a sacrifice on the altar of civilization."

The young men—especially those who attend the Government schools and colleges and the many private schools of missionaries and other foreigners—are taking an active interest in athletics; and some good games of base-ball and cricket may be seen. Nor are their regattas by any means to be despised. The prowess shown by a number of the Japanese who have attended our colleges is familiar to all. The old game of polo, as played by the Japanese, was a most exhilarating sport, and sufficiently perilous to satisfy the demands of our enthusiasts. It is played occasionally now, but in a more or less modernized form. Japanese gentlemen do not take kindly to any active sports when years and dignity have laid heavy hands upon them.

To show how Japanese gentlemen sometimes amuse themselves, I may cite the following. While connected with the Third Higher Middle School, when it occupied buildings near the Castle in Osaka, I was called on one afternoon by one of my scholars, who had been sent by a gentleman to invite me to spend the next day with him and some of his friends in the pursuit of pleasure after the Japanese fashion. I was told that my host would send for me about nine o'clock and that my young pupil himself would be in attendance to act as interpreter, in case my knowledge of the language was insufficient to assure me that clear understanding of the conversation and of the play—the theatre was to be the scene of our frolic during much of the day—which would be essential to my enjoyment. The invitation had been accompanied by one of those pretty boxes of sweets which the Japanese so often send in such cases.

Next morning, promptly at the hour named, arrived a handsome jinriksha, drawn by two men in livery; and I was taken to my entertainer's town house, where I met some of his friends. We were served with cigarettes, tea, cakes, and a tiny cup or two of the finest *saké*. At eleven we went to a very fine restaurant, one of those which, while

retaining the native menu, have introduced many details to contribute to the comfort of foreign guests. I was, however, a little disappointed. We were shown to a large apartment overlooking a pretty little garden. This room was furnished more than one usually finds such places: for there were hemp rugs on the floor over the mats; the paintings on the *fusuma* (the sliding panels which serve as partitions between the rooms) were exceptionally fine; and the *ramma* (the carved open-work dados) were beautiful specimens of the cabinet-maker's art. Pretty lamps, with electric lights, hung from the ceiling. We were seated on the small, flat cushions which served in lieu of chairs; small, low tables of convenient height were placed, one for each person; and the first course of an elaborate meal was served—a cup of *saké* and some comfits. Then the *geisha*, or professional singing- and dancing-girls, and the *samisen* players appeared, to add to the entertainment. They did not devote themselves exclusively to their arts; for some of them helped in serving the *saké*, and engaged in conversation with us. I found the young woman who had been detailed especially to attend to me to be a remarkably bright person, well able to make me understand her conversation, and, what was even more satisfactory, able to understand my Japanese fairly well; so that while at the restaurant I had little occasion to call in the aid of my interpreter.

These *geisha* constitute such an important factor in the amusements of Japanese gentlemen, that a few words concerning them may not be out of place. Like the Greek *hetærae*, they are usually sold to their trainers when quite young (often at the age of seven) by their indigent parents, and are carefully educated in music, conversation, and dancing. They are always handsomely dressed, but in showy materials, and in a peculiar style which distinguishes them from respectable women, who invariably wear plain clothes of subdued colors. The life, once entered upon, is difficult to escape from; but, so far as the girls are personally concerned, no disgrace attaches to them. If a man ransoms one and marries her, she takes his rank and station without any stigma attaching to her. I have met in the highest Japanese society women who had been *geisha* for a time, but who were received as their husbands' equals without a question being asked as to their antecedents. It is a curious phase of society.

At about 2 P.M. the bowl of plain boiled rice and the cup of tea, which mark the end of a feast in Japan, as in China, were served; and we were then asked to get ready for the theatre. Unlike China, buildings used expressly for Thespian purposes are common in Japan, although

out-of-door performances on a temporary stage are also given. The theatres of Osaka are in the Dotom-bori district, and are surrounded by side-shows of every description. We went to the largest and best,—a plain wooden building, not in any way attractive as regards its exterior, nor ornamental in its interior. The auditorium is a large, square room; the flat floor being divided into many small sections by low railings, each section accommodating six or eight persons, and being equipped with mats. A party may hire a section; or single tickets may be bought, the holder taking his chance of getting a place where he can. Ushers are in attendance, also peddlers of play-books, fruit, and lunches; for a theatrical day is a long one, lasting from early morning until late at night. The flatness of the floor is no obstacle to vision, as the stage is high enough for all to see well. Surrounding the pit is a gallery divided into boxes; and one of these had been reserved for our party. A couple of red blankets had been spread to protect the mats; and chairs were provided for our comfort,—a thoughtful concession to the stiff joints of the foreigner, although tending to make him unpleasantly conspicuous. The stage was a revolving one; and the scenery and accessories, while decidedly crude, were a marked improvement over the bare theatres of China. The plays—for we saw a part of two—were amusing comedies, bordering on the farce. Everybody smoked, women as well as men; and at intervals tea and sweetmeats were served to our party. Some of the most effective entrances of the performers were made from the rear of the building, along narrow aisles raised a little above the floor; and I noticed that some of the spectators sat along the edge of the stage, as they used to do in England in Shakespeare's time.

Our *geisha* accompanied us from the restaurant; and mine appeared to be highly amused that I understood so much of the play. I confess that the acting helped me,—particularly an exclamation of a shipwrecked mariner, who, finding himself cast up by the waves on a rocky island, cried out that he wondered where he was: "It may be Europe, or America, for all I know!" At about six o'clock one play ended. The actors suspended operations for supper; and we went to a restaurant next door for ours,—another elaborate meal, at which I learned why I had been asked if I were fond of eels *à la Japonaise!*

We returned to the theatre about half-past seven, to find another play going on. I stayed until ten, when I thought I had had enough and went home. My host appeared to be a little disappointed at my early departure, and expressed regret at his failure to afford me enjoyment. I assured him that he had been eminently successful. During

the entire day nothing was said or done which could offend the eyes or ears of the most refined; but when my student-friend informed me a day or two afterward that they had kept it up until two in the morning, I concluded that, after I had left, the fun had become fast and furious.

The foregoing description may be taken as a rough outline of what is considered a day's pleasure by the fast set. A more refined way of passing a holiday is to go to some suburban temple, garden, or grove, with luncheon, to enjoy the scenery, the flowers, and the budding trees. Practically, all Japanese make these pleasant pilgrimages at stated times. First there are to be seen the plum-trees, which send out their hardy blossoms before winter has entirely loosened its icy grip; then the famous cherry-blossoms (it should be noted that these are the large double flowers, which do not develop fruit); afterward, in succession, come the azalea (fancy a whole mountain-side covered with these blooms!), the tree-peony, the wistaria, the convolvulus, the lotus, the chrysanthemum, and the lovely maple-leaves.

It cannot be denied that the cup which inebriates, while it may cheer momentarily, plays a conspicuous part in these "flower-viewing" picnics. This evil is growing each year, because the mild *saké* of earlier days is being fortified with alcohol, often the very worst kind of wood alcohol; and strong foreign beers, wines, and spirits are becoming too popular. It used to be a pleasure to mingle with the Japanese on one of these flower-viewing occasions; but to-day it will bring to the intruding foreigner insult and rough language from the tipsy crowd. I think that all who have carefully observed the Chinese and the Japanese in their native environment will agree with me that the Japanese of to-day are more dissipated, more truculent, and more ill-mannered than the Chinese.

A ceremony which gives amusement, and which is still patronized by Japanese gentlemen of wealth and refinement, is called by them "Cha no yu," or, as it has been rendered in English, "the Tea Ceremony." This is a survival of feudal days, when, in times of peace, there was little for the minor Daimyo, who were not invited to take part in the administration of affairs of State, and the Samurai to do, since few of them had any taste for letters, and could not spend *all* of their time in military exercise; while it was entirely beneath their dignity to engage in anything like commerce. It is difficult to determine whether much is lost or gained to the Japanese people by abandoning this ceremony. Certainly there is loss of those æstheticisms which do little harm, while there may be gain in doing away with the dawdling which marks the

Cha no yu. This ceremony, which has been observed for about eight hundred years, originated with the Zen sect of Buddhists in the latter part of the eleventh century of our era; but it had no special significance for them, and was simply a social way of using an infusion of tea to keep them awake during their midnight devotions.

In the early part of the fourteenth century the *Cha no yu* had attained the height of luxury; and in the latter part of the sixteenth century Hideyoshi, the famous Taiko Sama, gave to the ceremony the finishing touches of æstheticism, stripping it of all meretricious display. Under his command Sen-no-Rikyu, a name which every Japanese enthusiast reveres, collated, purified, and, so to say, codified the Tea Ceremony, stamping it with the character which it has ever since borne. Simplicity had long been compelled by the poverty of the country, exhausted as it was by ages of warfare. He raised this simplicity into a canon of taste as imperative as the respect for antiquity itself. The worship of simplicity and of the antique in objects of art, together with the observance of an elaborate code of etiquette—such are the doctrine and discipline of the Tea Ceremony in its modern form, which has varied but little since Sen-no-Rikyu's day.

It is still considered good form for enthusiasts to join the Zen sect of Buddhists; and it is from the Abbot of Daitokuji at Kyoto that diplomas of proficiency are obtained. In the establishments of most of the wealthy men there is a tiny detached building of only a few mats, to which the celebrant and the participants make their way, clad in the plainest garb; keeping a certain prescribed, mincing gait, and patterning their conversation after fixed rules. In other houses there is a special room, the *cha-beya*. The tea is made and drunk in an exceptionally slow and formal manner, each action and gesture being fixed by an elaborate code of rules. Every article connected with the ceremony, such as the tea-canister, the one large, rough, hand-moulded cup, the incense-burner, the hanging scroll, and the bouquet of flowers in the alcove, is either handled, or else admired at a distance, in ways and with phrases which usage prescribes. Even the hands are washed, the room is swept, a little bell is rung, and the guests walk from the house to the garden and from the garden back into the house, at stated times and in a stated manner which never vary, except in so far as certain schools, as rigidly conservative as monkish confraternities, obey slightly varying regulations of their own, handed down from their ancestors, who interpreted Sen-no-Rikyu's ordinances according to slightly varying canons of critical explanation.

The tea used is not in the form of leaves, but is of a certain green kind, ground to a fine powder in a mortar. This, after the addition of the proper quantity of water, boiled and cooled a little, is whipped up with a split bamboo implement until it resembles in color and consistency frothy pea soup. Some foreigners say that the ceremony is lengthy and meaningless, and that, having been once witnessed, it becomes intolerably monotonous; and many *fin-de-siècle* Japanese ridicule it. Personally, I did not find it so. I was always glad of the opportunity to attend.

But, perhaps, my chief delight came from the subsequent inspection of the curios and art treasures which the master of the house brought out from his fire-proof storehouse, where he carefully kept them in boxes, or wrapped in countless folds of cloth, or in handsome brocade cases. These opportunities to study what the Japanese themselves consider art—and how very different the specimens were from the motley collections in certain so-called “Japanese rooms” in this country!—I look back upon with intense satisfaction.

The end of the day in Japan is marked by the bath before the evening meal. It is always taken hot, about 110° Fahrenheit, and is so usual that in the city of Tokyo there are some eight hundred public baths, with separate pools for the two sexes. In former times, however, they used to bathe together, and that, too, without scandal. In every respectable private house there is a comfortable bathroom, the tub of which is equipped with a furnace; so that the water is heated in place, and the same water serves for the whole household. As soon as the bath is ready, the gentlemen guests are invited to enjoy it; then the men and boys of the family take their turns; afterward the women-folks; and finally the servants; although these last are sometimes required to go to the public baths.

The thought of a person bathing in water which has been used by another is not pleasant, but is rendered less revolting from the knowledge that soap is not used; while this same knowledge detracts somewhat from the validity of the claim that the Japanese are such marvellously clean people.

In closing this sketch I may say that, were I seeking commercial life, I should greatly prefer to live with the stolid, honest Chinese than with the flippant, weak Japanese; but were I seeking pleasure, or studying art, I should go to Japan.

JOSEPH KING GOODRICH.

QUARANTINE AND SANITATION.

It will be my purpose in this article, first, to show that sanitation receives its primary impulse from quarantine, and follows it in natural sequence, whether considered from a local, municipal, State, or national point of view, and, second, to discuss the proper field of operation to be covered by local, municipal, State, and national authority. All are doubtless familiar with the quarantining of a room wherein a case of measles or scarlet fever is confined, or of a house whose front door is placarded with a warning on account of scarlet fever, diphtheria, or small-pox. Many, also, have observed the precautions taken to prevent the spread of typhoid fever; including, under municipal regulation, not only the disinfection of dejecta, but the examination of drains and sewers and the closing of infected wells, the source of water-supply, by local boards of health. The step from quarantine to sanitation here is a short one.

Now, while there are some who seem to think that these measures—affecting so closely the individual—should be supervised by a great central bureau, they are at present, and always should be, under the direct control of local or municipal governments, which are as capable to manage these matters as they are to manage their police and fire departments. The general sanitation of towns and villages, including systems of sewerage, disposal of garbage, water-supply, house draining and plumbing, ventilation of school-houses and other buildings, examination of the milk-supply, proper disposal of the dead, enforcement of the disinfection of dwellings after the ordinary contagious diseases, such as scarlet fever and diphtheria,—all these and many other functions of like character are matters with which the United States Government, under the Constitution, has nothing to do; and they properly belong to municipal governments, which derive their charters from their respective States.

Anyone consulting the annual reports of the health departments of our leading cities will be impressed with the care and labor bestowed on their work; but the operations of these departments would be better and more easily accomplished if there were a stronger sentiment of approval and endorsement by the people. Just as all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, so sanitary regula-

tions may be taken as an index of the desire of the people; and it may almost be said that the degree of prosperity, cultivation, and refinement of any city is indicated by the care which is given to the enactment and enforcement of its sanitary regulations. This demonstrates the necessity, on the part of the people, of upholding the hands of physicians and others who are engaged in work pertaining to the public health, the suppression of contagious diseases, and the enforcement of necessary sanitary measures. It is the duty of the general practitioner, whose relations are more intimate with the people than those of the health officer, to cultivate a sentiment of respect for the efforts of the latter; for it is from the people that the sanitarians must derive their power for good. General practitioners should take an interest in the labors of these their *confrères*, as well as in the formation of local boards of health, in order that good men may be appointed; and all their influence—professional, political, and social—should be given to the support of these boards and their officers. A strong public sentiment should be encouraged, to the end that municipal cleanliness may rank as one of the foremost features of municipal government.

One of the most notable events of the past decade was the review in New York city, some two or three years ago, by the Mayor and other officials of the metropolis, of its neatly uniformed street cleaners,—the “Waring Brigade” as they were called,—organized and conducted by that eminent promoter of sanitary reform, Col. George E. Waring, Jr., who recently sacrificed his life in the performance of his duties as a public sanitarian. His conduct of his army of street cleaners really marked an epoch in municipal sanitation in the United States; and the example set by him has been followed in a number of other cities, where the so-called “White Wings” may now be seen at work.

STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH.

Now, there are some questions of sanitation concerning which municipal authority finds itself deficient in legal power, or as to which there is doubt regarding the expenditure of municipal funds,—questions involving the relations of one municipality to another, and requiring consideration by some official body representing the authority of the State. Nearly every State, therefore, has its board of health, to act where municipal authority fails, to harmonize conflicting interests, to encourage local boards and to exercise supervision over them, while allowing each independence of action to fulfil without restraint its local functions.

The State organization is the medium through which relations are sustained with other State organizations and with the National Government. Every encouragement should be given to the development and perfection of the State boards of health; and the legislatures of the respective States should be liberal in their endowments.

To show the sequence of public health service to quarantine, it may be mentioned that the first State boards of health were organized largely on account of the quarantine service, and only subsequently developed their other and more appropriate functions. With the development of national quarantine their quarantine functions have become less important; and with the perfection of national quarantine their maritime quarantine functions should be entirely removed. Maritime quarantine is a function of the Treasury Department of the National Government; and its exercise by State or local health organizations diverts the efforts of these bodies from what should be their essential functions. For example, until about a year ago the so-called Louisiana State Board of Health was little more than a quarantine board for New Orleans, with no authority whatever in the parishes of Louisiana. Divest the State boards of their maritime quarantine duties, and they will devote themselves to their legitimate ends; such as the perfection of morbidity and mortality records throughout the State, sanitary engineering, filtration of water-supplies, suppression of the ordinary epidemic diseases, the development of laboratories, the suppression of quackery, the supervision of the practice of medicine, and the management of State hospitals and of State institutions for the care of the poor and the insane.

The question of smallpox in the United States is illustrative of the foregoing. It is evidently the duty of each State to suppress this disease within its borders; and most States do give it the attention it deserves. But there are other States which, either through faulty organization or because their legislatures do not appropriate the necessary funds, are powerless to suppress this disease; and, since its prevalence endangers neighboring States, the National Government is obliged occasionally to take charge of local epidemics. Some of the most strenuous opponents of national maritime quarantine have been certain health officers who have been utterly unable to suppress smallpox raging within their jurisdiction; and the rather remarkable situation has been developed of appeals being made by the mayors and local boards of health urging the Marine-Hospital Service to suppress smallpox in States whose health officers have been most pronounced in decrying so-called Government interference in maritime quarantine.

Smallpox is so easily prevented by vaccination that one afflicted with it meets with scant sympathy; and the improvements in the preparation of pure vaccine lymph have been so great that the fear of untoward results from vaccination is unwarranted. Further, the spread of smallpox is so easily prevented, under proper and vigorous management, that it is discreditable to any State or locality to allow the disease to get beyond control. If the inability to manage it is due to a want of funds, then this lack is discreditable to the legislative bodies of the infected States or localities. The Marine-Hospital Service has suppressed a number of local epidemics of smallpox, and is ready at all times to send expert assistance to advise in preventive measures; but operations involving the expenditure of money are undertaken only when necessary to prevent the spread of the disease from one State to another.

The above remarks demonstrate clearly, to my mind, both the important functions of local boards of health and the necessity of developing and strengthening the State boards of health.

NATIONAL QUARANTINE AND SANITATION.

Now, maritime quarantine, as a national function, is maritime sanitation, and is intimately connected with the sanitation of seaports. It is the sanitation of ships, of merchandise, and of personal effects. In interstate quarantine it is the sanitation of common carriers, merchandise, and personal effects; and, as illustrating its intimate association with the sanitation of towns, reference may be made to post-epidemic disinfection by the Marine-Hospital Service of towns and cities in the South after the yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1888, in Brunswick, Georgia, in 1893, and in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in 1897. As a quarantine measure, too, it will be the duty of the present Government to insist on the sanitation of Havana and other Cuban cities, and, in due time, of every city in the western hemisphere which is known as a yellow-fever-breeding port. These matters should be, and are, the care of the National Government; the Marine-Hospital Service being charged with the duty of preventing, through the operations of the national quarantine law, the introduction of disease from foreign lands.

Until 1893 there was, properly speaking, no national system of quarantine. All previous legislation had required only that assistance should be given to State or local quarantines; and each State and locality had its own quarantine requirements,—some good, some bad, some made

strict enough to keep out disease, and others purposely weak, to attract, as it were, commerce to a more favoring port. At least half a dozen conventions were held by State health authorities, both before and after the War of the Rebellion, to bring about uniformity; but all efforts failed until Congress enacted the law of 1893. This was a great advance in national quarantine; and under its provisions regulations have been promulgated. But the law requires a demonstration of inefficiency of management on the part of the local authorities before the National Government can assume control at a given port. This demonstration of inefficiency is precisely what should not be allowed. The law requires the Government to aid State and local authorities in the execution of their own regulations, which are sometimes unwise. It should require the local authorities to aid in the execution of the Government regulations. It does not provide that, when the national quarantine officer has inspected a vessel, such inspection shall be final; nor does it provide penalties for the infraction of the national regulations.

These are the defects which are sought to be remedied by the Bill introduced into the Senate by Mr. Caffery (S. 2680) and in the House of Representatives by Mr. Hepburn (H. R. 4363). This Bill provides, also, that during yellow fever epidemics the President may prohibit travel and traffic, except under safeguards imposed by national authority. At the same time, to obviate interference, by unreasonable local quarantines, with commerce and mail passing from one State to another, it grants authority for travel and traffic after application of the necessary sanitary measures. The Bill has received the endorsement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and has been reported on favorably by the committees of the Senate and of the House, the House Committee having given hearings on it extending over two or three months. With regard to maritime quarantine, the Bill, which is simply an amendment to the present law, makes the national regulations paramount. Maritime quarantine is a regulation of commerce over which, under the Constitution, the National Government has absolute control; and it naturally belongs to that department of the Government invested with the power of regulating commerce in other respects. It is a function of the Treasury Department.

The Treasury Department has charge of the registry of all merchant vessels of the United States; inspects their hulls, boilers, and machinery; determines the number of passengers that may be carried; provides for the housing and rations of the crews; examines pilots on American vessels before granting them licenses; supervises immigration; enforces

navigation laws; aids vessels in distress through its revenue-cutter service; provides lighthouses, and marks the channels with buoys; makes the soundings and furnishes the charts of our coasts in further aid of vessels; and provides for the sick and injured of the merchant marine. Why then should it relegate to a State or local authority the sanitary inspection of a vessel on its arrival, or the power to determine whether the people and merchandise on these vessels, destined to all points in the United States, shall be permitted to enter with or without detention?

Maritime quarantine actually begins in foreign ports. Under our present law, the United States consul—a government official—issues a bill of health. In times of danger medical officers of the Marine-Hospital Service are detailed to serve in the office of the consul to enforce the Governmental health regulations; and immigrants arriving on this side are by law required to be examined by medical officers of the Marine-Hospital Service, to prevent their bringing contagious disease. These provisions are in themselves national quarantine. Prior to 1891 the surveillance over immigration was left to State commissioners at the several ports: but in that year Congress placed the whole matter in charge of the Treasury Department; and no one will deny the benefits resulting from the change.

Notwithstanding the above argument, the quarantine Bills introduced into Congress, and already referred to, do not abolish or interfere with efficient State or local quarantine establishments. They require simply that these establishments shall execute the national regulations; and it is only in the event of inefficiency that the Government intervenes. They enable the Government to establish quarantines at places where they are deemed necessary by the Secretary of the Treasury.

In addition to the twelve national quarantine stations operated by the Government, there are a number of State quarantines well equipped and conducted. Some of these, as at Boston and New York, have been established at great expense, and are efficiently equipped; and the quarantine Bills referred to do not disturb them, leaving it to the discretion of the municipal governments themselves to determine when they may choose to be added to the national quarantine stations. Overtures have been made by certain quarantines to this end, inasmuch as a national station is supported by a Congressional appropriation, and relieves the shipping of the port of quarantine fees.

Now, there is annually introduced in Congress some Bill looking to the establishment of a new bureau of public health; the authors laying stress upon the name of the Marine-Hospital Service as not indicating

any public health functions, and claiming that it was originally established for the relief of sick and disabled seamen of the merchant marine. This latter statement is true. But the service was established a century ago; it is now in its centennial year; and during the past one hundred years it has grown, just as other branches of the Government have grown. During my twenty-two years' connection with the Service I have seen many important functions added to it. The fact that it has the care of twenty marine hospitals and of one hundred and fifty other relief-stations, with a corps of seventy-eight commissioned officers and one hundred and thirty-six non-commissioned officers, specially trained in the performance of duties akin to those of quarantine, is considered to be, instead of an objection, an additional reason why the Service should be charged with quarantine duties. Nevertheless, these Bills to establish a new bureau of public health, providing as they invariably do for large representation from the States and local governments, naturally receive the endorsement of such bodies.

Another contention is, that what is needed is sanitation and not quarantine. Yet, with strange inconsistency, two-thirds of the provisions of these Bills always relate to quarantine; taking it out of the hands of the Marine-Hospital Service, although the latter has had the management of it, so far as national law permitted, since 1878, with the exception of four years (1879 to 1882), during which a national board of health was in operation by Act of Congress. This board, however, was discredited and discontinued by Congress. Some of those most earnest in accomplishing its downfall are now the advocates of a similar board. The Marine-Hospital Service, despite its name, has continued to exercise quarantine and other functions, and has been the only medium through which real progress in the matter of national quarantine has been accomplished. The so-called public health Bills are retrogressive in this respect, as they are necessarily framed with a view to securing the assistance of local quarantine authorities in their passage.

The Marine-Hospital Service has simply executed to the best of its ability the duties imposed upon it by Acts of Congress; and in the report of a committee on a department of public health presented to the American Medical Association in May, 1896 (which report was adopted), the declaration was made that the Marine-Hospital Service

"was, by the Act of 1893, converted into a national health department, with very large and far-reaching powers and abundant means. It is not called a department of public health, but is a department of public health in fact."

In a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Interstate and For-

Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, January 3, 1894, the Secretary of the Treasury, commenting on one of these Bills to establish a bureau of public health, said :

“The Bill does not establish a bureau of public health, as that term is generally understood, or, if it does, then a bureau of public health already practically exists in the Marine-Hospital Service, which is now exercising every essential function that is provided by the Bill.”

In illustration of this statement, I shall only briefly allude to measures other than quarantine and marine-hospital relief which are receiving the attention of the Service. These are special investigations in the perfectly equipped laboratory of the Service into the causes and nature of disease; a commission appointed by the President to investigate yellow fever in Havana; the weekly publications of the bulletins of public health; and investigations of the pollution of water-supplies and of the prevalence of leprosy. Bills specially authorizing these last two measures are now before Congress.

To enumerate the steps now being taken to prevent the introduction from abroad of contagious diseases would extend this article beyond its proper limit; but it may be said that very unusual measures are now being perfected with regard to the prevention of the introduction of yellow fever next summer. Quarantine measures, as stated at the outset, are followed in close sequence by sanitation; and, in the efforts to prevent an invasion of yellow fever, the Government is not losing sight of the necessity of sanitation in Cuban seaports.

There is little doubt that, with American predominance in the Island of Cuba, the dreaded scourge of yellow fever will be suppressed and will, in course of time, almost, if not entirely, disappear. But a still further advance should be made. That great pestilential centre, Havana, even if purified and freed from yellow fever infection, will still be subject to reinfection from other ports in Central and South America, which are in almost as bad a condition. It is, therefore, worth serious consideration whether anything less than the total elimination of yellow fever from the American continents should be attempted; and it should be remembered that this disease is practically limited to the western hemisphere.

It is not pure optimism to suppose that an international sentiment may be awakened which will cause yellow fever in a given port, and the faulty sanitation which it implies, to be an opprobrium upon the Government in possession of the offending port. Every nation should be held responsible for conditions, within its borders or dependencies, tending to propagate epidemic diseases and to threaten other nations

with which it expects to maintain a friendly commerce. As soon as the cities of our own dependencies are freed from fever by sanitation, it would be appropriate for this Government to invite in convention representatives of each of the other American republics; the convention to be composed of public sanitarians, civil engineers, and financiers, whose duty it should be to prepare a treaty providing for the examination of the chief yellow fever ports by a commission representing the republics concerned. Each country should obligate itself to put into effect the measures recommended by this commission, or measures of its own which should meet with the commission's approval.

Since obligations without penalties would be worthless, the treaty should provide that if, after a sufficient time, these improvements are not made, each of the other nations interested should impose such discriminative tariff or tonnage tax or quarantine restraints upon the offending nation as would cause it in its own interests to comply with the terms of the treaty. Provision might also be made in the treaty that if, by chance, the necessary funds were lacking, a loan to provide them should be raised by *pro rata* assessment upon the other countries. This suggestion may seem to some impracticable; yet, when one reflects upon the constant dread, the great mortality, the burdensome restraints on vessels and persons, and the destruction of commercial prosperity, caused by this Western pest, no effort to suppress it can be considered too great. I am assured by those who are intimately associated with the representatives of the Central and South American republics in Washington that the plan is by no means impracticable, but is rather one which, if the initiative be taken by the great Republic of the United States, will be gladly and quickly entered into by the other republics of the western hemisphere.

It could be shown, in favor of such a treaty, how greatly it would benefit each of the countries entering into it, by relieving their commerce from present burdensome and expensive quarantine restrictions. Its effect would be far-reaching, and would mark an epoch in the matter of health laws and sanitation; for the improvement of harbors and cities, to prevent yellow fever, would bring corresponding improvement with regard to other diseases and would give an impetus to municipal sanitation everywhere. It would also have the effect of bringing closer together, commercially and socially, the great cities on this side of the Atlantic; so that we should feel a common friendly interest in freeing our commerce, our harbors, and our towns from this common enemy.

WALTER WYMAN.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

A WELL-KNOWN political economist once said, "The ultimate danger to society does not lie in the unequal distribution of wealth, but in that of culture. All social reform must begin its work here, and must regard it as its first duty to raise the standard of life among the lower classes."

What a splendid prospect for education is here presented! According to this view, the very future of a nation would seem to depend not alone upon the educational influence exerted by the adult population upon the young, but upon that of the educated upon the uneducated classes as well.

At the same time, a new task is imposed upon the nation's ministers of education; and the importance of this task becomes greater the more the development of individual branches of labor threatens to destroy the framework of society, to rend the nation asunder, and to force it into the fatal struggle of conflicting interests. Economic competition is urging nations to ever-increasing efforts; and the chief feature of the struggle is the exploitation of every available means regardless of principles. No consideration, it seems, must be shown to fellow-countrymen as such, the interests of fellow-workmen being regarded as paramount. Common economic problems are causing the removal of landmarks between nation and nation. Organized labor is becoming international, and is placing itself in opposition to capital, which, being identified with no particular country, is also preparing for organization on international lines.

Thus we see that not only are labor and capital arrayed against each other within the confines of one and the same country,—a condition already predicted by Fichte at the beginning of this century,—but that classes bound together by economic interests, in spite of all national differences, now stand shoulder to shoulder ready for the conflict. A remarkable transformation indeed! One involuntarily recalls Schiller's introduction to his "History of the Thirty Years' War," wherein he describes how states were drawn together by one common conviction, one similar profession of faith; how French Protestants felt themselves nearer to Germans of the same creed than to their Roman Catholic com-

patriots. An idea breaks down national boundaries, and, passing over them, shows itself stronger than national and political ties. But, whereas during the period following the Reformation it was religious belief which closely united those who were politically divided, in our own day—or, according to our reckoning, since the reestablishment of the German Empire—it is economic advantage which forms the bond of unity between the same classes of different nationalities. This is the issue that now divides the members of a nation into two hostile camps. At present the ascendancy of the one camp ever arouses the anger of the other; and thus not brotherly love, but hatred has become the order of the day. The nation suffers thereby; for we constitute one body, and are united by indivisible bonds. If one member is afflicted, the whole body necessarily suffers. We can no longer separate our fate from that of our fellow-countrymen. The misfortune of the oppressed is our misfortune; and the need of the poorer classes is our need.

Thus times change, but the principal features of the drama remain the same. In the seventeenth century, religion formed the centre of the struggle which divided states into factions and which gathered around its standard men of all nationalities. In the eighteenth century, philosophy ruled the intellectual world with a similar result; while during the first half of the present century natural science became the issue upon which men agreed or differed. All these questions have now been superseded by social science, which engages public attention in many and various directions. This is indicated by those barometers of society, women and poets; for these have now entered the ranks of the social reformers. Others also wish to enter into the discussion on state socialism, social reform, and the state of the future: they are anxious to lend their assistance in order that the social chasm may be bridged over. But is the latter at all necessary, or even possible? The present class distinctions have developed quite naturally; and, in consequence of such a development, we find united on the one hand, property and culture, and on the other, labor and lack of culture. Ought one therefore to strive against this fact; and is it possible to achieve anything toward the amelioration of the prevailing conditions?

Whoever, without further inquiry, accepts the axiom, "Whatever is, is right," will pass lightly over the matter, only seeing to it that he himself is on the right side. Indeed false piety, which has the name of God ever on its lips, even goes so far as to designate the present social classification as the "will of God." Others again, like Fichte, behold in it the preliminary to the nation's downfall, and are impelled by an

uneasy conscience and a stern sense of patriotism to hurl themselves into the abyss, in order that by self-annihilation they may help to close the gulf. The School has also been called upon to take its part in the solution of the great problem. Since the Napoleonic wars our educational institutions have considered it a self-evident duty to serve the country by instilling patriotic sentiments into the hearts of the young. But, after the reëstablishment of the Empire, while the nation was still occupied with structural details, the question arose whether the School might not be made to serve the national ends in a better, fuller, and surer way than theretofore. The question was put concerning public education, "What are the great aims called for by the interests of the nation?" And the answer was, "All aims are contained in the two words, 'Character' (*Gesinnung*) and 'Health.' " These words are old acquaintances in educational circles. Since Herbart we know that the centre of instruction in all schools, primary as well as secondary, is represented by religion, history, and the mother-tongue. These three subjects are the chief factors used in the formation of character; and it is necessary that all other branches which have for their object the creation of many-sided interests should be closely connected with them. Indeed, although valuable heirlooms for generations, a right understanding of their worth is more important now than formerly; for they constitute the very basis of every form of education.

Hitherto the languages taught have determined the character of education, and, at the same time, have formed the dividing-line between classes of schools. It is necessary to-day, however, more than ever before, to call attention to the importance of those elements common to the education of all classes; viz., the cultivation of the religious sentiment, and the awakening of an interest in the history, language, and literature of the nation.

Our educational system must not be looked upon as a building of three distinct stories with separate entrances, but rather as a structure containing a central hall, accessible to everyone, in which all the elements requisite for the national education may be found. From this central hall passages lead to particular rooms, to which only privileged individuals can obtain admission. This hall is Teutonic, resting on the foundation of practical Christianity. Some of its architectural features can be traced back into antiquity; but the spirit which has raised the building is purely national. We have served our apprenticeship in the temples of the ancients; and now, having established ourselves in our own house, we are of an age to work out our own national culture.

The unity of a people must be reflected in the unity of its system of education, in the organic relation of all the separate parts of that system, and in a corporate spirit animating to great and definite ends all who consider it their calling to direct the education of the people. We must not suppose, however, that by these means we may effect a magical closing of the gulf between the masses and the classes. Generations will probably pass away before this can be done. Moreover, it will also be necessary to overcome that love of exclusiveness which is far too prevalent among the German people, and, more particularly, among the educators.

But what the schools *can* do to fit the rising generation for the reconciliation of the different classes of society must be done at once; and it must be done under the supposition that the early development of the social feeling will be of permanent advantage in later life. On this account, leaven must be put to work among the adult population as well as among the rising generation. The educated must become more and more conscious of their duties to the uneducated. People have always regarded divisions based upon mere outward advantages as detestable and pernicious, and the schools have long sought to inculcate the same lesson; but to-day the *reveille* is sounding louder than ever before.

Among the educated classes, and more particularly among the scholars, there are many who decidedly oppose this view. They decline to hear the awakening call for various reasons. Some say, the people are happier in a state of ignorance than with that enlightenment which often means half-education only: this they claim gives rise to desires which cannot be gratified, and in consequence engenders among the masses a discontent which tends to revolution and threatens the stability of the state. For this reason we frequently hear the cry, "Not culture for the people, but more religion." Those who take this position, and look upon themselves as the true champions of Christianity, do not even realize how unchristian, barbarous, and egotistic is this point of view.

Not less reprehensible is the opinion of those who believe that the torch of Truth is intended for an intellectual *élite* only, and that the smaller the circle it illuminates, the brighter its radiance. These persons live in constant dread that, if the light be carried into wider circles, it will begin to flicker. They contend that only the narrow circle of the initiated can understand the mysteries in their fulness. Doubtless, there are scientific spheres which, by reason of their very nature, are removed from every-day life and are open to a narrow circle of *connois-*

seurs only. But are not these subjects practically dead, as far as the life of the community is concerned? Do they not appear merely as ornaments of the whole educational structure,—to be admired only because they give joy to a small circle and do no harm?

But even if these views were correct, they could find but tardy acceptance to-day. The wishes of individuals can no longer arrest the union between the processes of culture and of education. Powers far stronger than the convictions of individuals have arisen among the people, causing them imperiously to demand their right to education. They accept no refusal, and base their claims on the following institutions; viz., (1) elementary education, which must embrace all strata of society, and for the sake of the state must arouse the need of education among the masses; (2) compulsory military service, which demands the highest possible standard of independence and circumspection; and (3) the franchise, the use of which presupposes an educated people, if these are to perform properly the functions of citizens.

For thousands of years the masses have willingly submitted to leading-strings and have peacefully lived under many a crozier. But the new age, with its new institutions of primary schools, compulsory military service, and the franchise, has broken with this system, which has now vanished forever. The sun not only shines upon the heights, but also penetrates into the valleys. Those dwelling below feel its beneficial warmth just as much as those dwelling above, and are grateful for it.

Bismarck ingeniously united imperial government and popular franchise in order to make the national strength irresistible. Who would dissolve this union? Single voices make themselves heard to prove that his was a fatal gift; yet no one dares propose the abolition of the franchise. It would raise a storm the end of which could not be foreseen. Therefore, we must take the franchise into account; and we do it willingly because it contains impulses which will continue to work until the people are ripe for the proper use of the right which has been bestowed upon them.

"Education first, liberty next!" is the watchword. Accordingly, the task of educating the people is a prominent issue of social politics. In order to perform the task efficiently, however, it is necessary to proceed carefully, and to build upon the foundations of our present educational system. Numerous innovations have already been introduced. Evening Continuation Schools, lectures for the people, and similar institutions have been organized by communities, institutes, and private individuals. I need only mention the "Humboldt-Akademie," the "Urania" in Berlin,

and the various other institutes that provide general or technical education by means of public lectures, free libraries, and reading-rooms. All these institutions, catering to the educational necessities of the people, are centres of knowledge and enlightenment. The universities of Leipzig, Jena, Berlin, and, more particularly, of Vienna are also taking an active interest in the movement, and are steadily bringing greater numbers under the influence of university education, thus greatly contributing to the enrichment of the national life.

It cannot be denied that all these efforts still impress us as discursive and disconnected, indeed, at times, even as superficial; consequently, the question is frequently asked whether we are not encouraging an intolerable dilettanteism. This, indeed, would be bad, were there not a justifiable dilettanteism. Goethe endeavored to show that dilettanteism is not bad in itself. Conrad Lange of Tübingen even goes so far as to designate it as a condition preparatory to a future artistic age, inasmuch as it makes the dull senses receptive of new truths and new beauties. Dilettanteism becomes dangerous only when a true intellectual craving among the people receives poor and insufficient nourishment, and when inferior *dilettanti* talk loudly and assume the leadership, while wise and able men withdraw in disgust. It is for this reason that the latter must be admonished to assume the charge of those eager for culture.

It is not wise to mock and scold the people for their confusion of thought,—a thing that self-complacent specialists are only too fond of doing. It is not statesmanlike to punish the people for too much zeal, and for foolish and imprudent speeches in the manner of the “Umsturz” bureaucracy. The blame rests upon the educated who consign the people to the care of half-educated persons; upon the statesmen who subject the people to the influence of factious politicians, instead of nobly striving to obtain possession of the popular mind by means of education. Reprehensible also is the policy of those who pursue false aims in regard to popular education. Here we have a repetition of the same phenomenon which we have to combat in that theory which holds that the main object of education is the transmission of knowledge in the greatest possible quantities.

We Germans received our earliest education in the Latin schools of the Roman Catholic Church. The barbaric, illiterate people looked with reverence upon the treasures of an ancient culture; and this reverence for learning has remained with us to the present day, although it is now on the eve of decline. Nowadays it is generally admitted that knowl-

edge and learning alone are not culture: experience teaches that a person may be very learned and yet be the reverse of cultivated.

Culture is no mere dead possession; it is the power of determination; it is life,—inward personal life, full of independence, and not subject to the opinions of others. Therefore, it is the cultivated person who is really free: he is the master who controls the destinies of the people. But “controlling,” in the true sense of the word, implies “educating.” True government is possibly only through education. Thus it lies in the nature of culture to widen the circle of its participants; while it lies in the nature of learning to narrow its circle.

In the development of culture we can, to a considerable extent, trace the history of our people. At the time when we Germans came into history, the number of the cultured was very small, and confined to those of royal birth. The higher nobility educated the gentry; and these, in their turn, educated the *bourgeoisie*.

The history of middle-class culture extends from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Through education, admittance was gained into the community of the cultured, *i.e.*, into society. With admittance into this circle came authority; for a share in culture means a share in power. To-day the middle class has assumed the rôle of the educator, and educates the lower class, which is struggling toward the top. The middle class should not refuse the work thus allotted as its share; for education is a necessity. The history of the world advances through sacrifice; and the characteristic of the process lies in the fact that the ruling class must divest itself of its monopoly by uplifting the rank below.

We are now in this position: The elevation of the middle class has continued for nearly five hundred years; the education of the lower class has only just begun. Will the accomplishment of the latter also require so long a period? This should by no means be taken for granted; for, through the introduction of the franchise, the pace has been greatly accelerated. Though contrary winds may, for a time, arrest the progress of the ship, causing it to pitch and struggle against the waves, it must in the end make progress. Thus, too, will popular education move onward, if the middle class rightly conceives its educative mission.

Above all, however, it should be clearly understood that the ideas now reigning among the lower class are products for which the middle class itself is responsible. The revolutionary tendency of to-day may be traced to the democratic ideas of the *bourgeoisie* in 1848; while the atheism at present prevailing has arisen from the religious indifference

of the liberal middle classes. "He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind." If the middle class does not wish to be swept away by the whirlwind, it must be prepared to answer the question, What shall we sow to-day in order that our children's children may rejoice in our sowing?

If the definition already given of the essential elements of real culture be borne in mind, the answer to this question will not be difficult. The task of popular education, as a continuation of school education, should not be conceived merely as the transmission of mere fragments of knowledge, however valuable these may be in themselves, but rather as a preparatory training for the exercise of independent judgment. He only is free who can judge independently: he who has to depend upon the judgment of others is a slave. The individual must be capable of finding his own way amidst conflicting ideas. And thus the chief aim of popular education is the development of a clear and correct process of thought. Where clearness of thought has been reached, the will that acts is to be found. Instead of confused desires, firmly fixed principles of action are acquired; the training of correct reasoning will develop the moral judgment; and in this way the highest step, the formation of the will, may eventually be reached.

Here we are confronted by a gigantic task. It is easy to say that what school education begins popular education must continue; but how can this be accomplished? Fortunately the means are many and various. At school the youth can be confined to one course, comprehensive in itself. But the world without is manifold, rich as life, and tolerates no restraint. Everything in it is based on free will. And how numerous and manifold the ways and means of influencing the thought and character of the people!

Last summer, while wandering across the heights of Edinburgh, I met two young Englishmen. They were masters in an English public school, and were making a tour through Scotland,—though not alone and not merely for pleasure; for they acted as leaders of a party consisting of about seventy people. Their travelling companions were not rich boys from Rugby School, but working-men making their escape for a week from the grime and noise of the town. And now, under the able guidance of both masters, they were occupied in viewing the historic places of the Scottish kings and the picturesque landscapes of the country of Sir Walter Scott, amidst a happy variation of instruction, conversation, games, and songs. It was a kind of school-journey,—but on a larger scale and with a greater purpose in view.

As I descended from the heights into the large park of the city, I saw hundreds of people grouped, at small intervals, about several of those speakers who are almost daily to be found on the "Meadows" in the heart of the capital, talking with loud voices and vigorous gestures. There the atheist speaks next to the devout Christian; close to these a zealous adherent of the Government sounds its praises; while at his side an Anarchist expresses views and uses terms which, with us, would bring the Public Prosecutor to the spot. But there the policeman, as guardian of the peace, walks quietly among the various groups; and no notice is taken of him. Even the outbursts of the Socialists against the excrescences of capitalism do not disturb his equanimity. That also, if you like, is a school, an opportunity for the people to hear extremely divergent views, in order that they may form their own opinions.

One who directs his steps upward from the broad "Meadows" of the Scotch capital toward the old royal residence will perceive on his way a huge building containing the Public Library, with its 40,000 volumes, and the Public Reading Room. The spacious halls of this palatial building are daily filled with an eager throng of readers, recruited from every class of society in the city. Farther up, close to the Scotch royal palace, rises the "Outlook Tower," with its commanding prospect over town, hill, and surging sea; reminding one of that mysterious tower in Wilhelm Meister's "Wanderjahre," whose stories symbolize the world, its countries, and the development of mankind. Here university tutors are working for popular education.

In Germany a wider view must be obtained of the necessities of the people, and means must be devised to gratify these necessities. Side by side with other institutions, universities, as centres of intellectual culture, now constitute one of the principal factors of the educational movement. This is very fortunate. Only too long have the universities proudly held aloof from the life of the people, and catered to the intellectual needs of a chosen few only. While this is perfectly justifiable as regards those branches of science which must, by their very nature, be confined to a limited circle, it does not apply to such as are closely identified with the intellectual tendencies of the present day. The latter the University must recognize, unless it be willing to stagnate and to dispense a dead learning such as is stored up in thousands of musty folios. In my opinion, the following subjects should not be confined to the universities; viz., philosophy, history, literature, history of art, some departments of the natural sciences, political economy, pedagogics, and hygiene. I be-

lieve also that it would do no harm to bring theology into closer touch with life. Yet, who desires to know anything about theology at a time when all are thirsting for a renewal of faith, while the Protestant Church is tending in the direction of Roman Catholicism as a means of self-preservation?

The standing of the universities makes it incumbent upon them to become the intellectual leaders of the nation. In order that they may fulfil this mission, however, they must renounce their scholarly isolation, and widen their circle of students so as to include the entire nation. In short, they must, in addition to their restricted task, assume a more comprehensive one, though without becoming unfaithful to their chief aim, *i.e.*, scientific research. The comprehensive task to which I allude is imposed upon the universities by the institutions of compulsory education, compulsory military service, and the franchise. The University must resolutely take part in the great work of education, and relieve the people of moral responsibility. This goal can be reached only when that degree of culture is attained which recognizes no tutelage but that of reason and truth. But to this end we require a staff of elementary teachers equipped with a university education; we also require a new school of clergy, who can assume the responsibility of educating the masses, in order that they may understand the historic development of our present state of culture, grasp the problems which confront us, and become qualified, through the exercise of independent judgment, to take part in the political life of the nation. In this way, popular education may be brought into relation with school education, and become a continuation of this in a higher and freer sense.

It is important that our small group of educators should not lose sight of this aim. It is a good thing to teach; but teaching can only become a living thing through contact with life. For this reason educators should ever bear in mind the precept, "All educational activity should serve the people." Whatever our position, we should ever, in the first place, exercise our ability within our immediate circle, and fulfil the duty which our calling, in its narrower sense, has imposed upon us. But there are other obligations besides these. Educators must be awake to influences as they arise, and endeavor to trace the connection between the more direct duties of their profession and the great problems of contemporaneous culture. In short, they must be prepared to utilize their faculties to promote the education of the people at large.

WILHELM REIN.

SAXON AND LATIN COURTS.

IN the City of Mexico a few months ago, while in conversation with a prominent Minister of the Cabinet of President Diaz, I took occasion to remark on the preponderance of the executive department of the Government of that country, as compared with ours.

The Minister, who was interested, said in reply, "Supposing your President McKinley should express a wish to have some important change made in the conduct of one of your great railroad systems, surely the managers of the railroad company would comply with his wishes?"

"They would," I replied, "be more likely to tell him—in diplomatic terms, of course—that he should mind his business and that they would attend to theirs."

"But," said the Minister, "suppose there had been gross mismanagement or an abuse of privileges by the railroad company or its officers, where would you get redress?"

"In the courts, of course," I answered.

The Minister could hardly conceive how a few judges, none of whom, perhaps, had ever seen a field of battle or knew how to drill a regiment, could wield such mighty power in a nation of such military resources as ours. Nevertheless, it was the truth.

The Latin nations are governed by their executives; the Saxon nations, by their judges. And ours—Saxon of the Saxons—is preëminently a judge-governed land. In no other country of the world does the power of courts of justice compare with their power in our country. An executive edict or a legislative act is powerless for good or for evil if the court of last resort, after argument and consideration, shall pronounce that it is contrary to the fundamental law of the land.

In France, in the recent Zola trial, we have seen a court subordinating itself to the executive power, and men in military garb giving "reasons of state" as their excuse for refusing to testify in a civil cause, turning their backs on cross-examining counsel, and successfully defying the power of the subservient judiciary. There is not, let us hope, a justice of the peace in all the United States so weak that he would not have had nerve enough, if the proceedings had been in his

court, summarily to commit to jail for contempt half the witnesses in the first Zola trial.

In the Dreyfus case the discussion has been long and acrimonious over the proposition whether a judgment of conviction, based on a secret document that neither the prisoner nor his counsel had been permitted to see, should be allowed to stand. In any part of our country the conviction would have been reversed by the Appellate Court almost before counsel had finished his statement of the proposition. To the credit of the High Court of Cassation be it said, that when the Dreyfus case did finally get before it, it had courage to act as becomes a court.

Our land is the land of freedom because it is a judge-governed land. Our English-speaking race has secured its free institutions because it has secured a government by judges. The power of the executive is exercised arbitrarily and from a partial or partisan view of the situation: the power of the judiciary is exercised deliberately and after hearing all sides of the question. The one may sustain its authority by force: the other has to support it by reasoning. The one depends upon that which man enjoys in common with the beasts; the other, on that which we share with angels. Latin nations to-day have institutions which guarantee some degree of freedom to their people; but the institutions on which their people depend for whatever degree of freedom they enjoy have been copied from ours. Their hope for the future is in copying more. They will have to keep on copying until a Dreyfus or a Zola trial shall be as impossible with them as it is with us.

Not only do the courts play a much more important part in the government of our English-speaking race than among Latin nations, but such courts are very differently constituted under the two systems. With us the judiciary is independent: with the Latins it is more or less the servant of the executive. The Latin executive is wont, in practice,—however it may be in theory,—to fix the limit of the scope of judicial inquiry. It is quite the contrary with us. In our country the judiciary itself determines the limitations of executive and legislative power. In no other nation in the world, not even among our English-speaking brethren across the sea, would the Dartmouth College decision or the Income Tax decision have been possible.

I once visited, on litigation bent, as the counsel of a large corporation doing business there, a country where Latin jurisprudence prevailed. As soon as my presence and the object of my visit were known, I received a polite note from the Governor of the state asking me to call on him. I did so. My opponents, he said, had been to see him;

and he had become satisfied that they had the right of the case. I said I supposed that that was a question for the judges to decide. He replied in astonishment, "But I appoint the judges!" I saw that it was impossible to make the Latin mind appreciate that the power that made the judges should not control their actions. I found it easier to persuade the Governor that *we* had the right of the case; and after that, I had no trouble with the court. Our new New York Governor has a considerable reputation for irrepressibility; but even the man who so gallantly led his regiment into the bush at Las Guasimas, and up the hill at San Juan, would hardly have the courage to try to dictate to Chief Justice Parker as to the decisions of the Court of Appeals.

A distinguishing feature of our courts is that they always act in the open. A Saxon court has no closet. Under the original Latin practice—in some Latin countries this practice has been modified—the proceedings are all taken by the judge in privacy. The witnesses are examined by the judge in private; the record is made up by him in private; and the cause is submitted and decided on written arguments. He is always right: for he has to give no reasons for his decision; and the evidence upon which it is based is never made public. It has been said of this method of taking the evidence of witnesses in the judge's private closet, that if he was an honest judge he took only testimony; otherwise, he was wont to take whatever he could get.

The bulwark of our Saxon judicial system is the free and unrestricted cross-examination of witnesses in open court. Notwithstanding its occasional abuse, it is the best device for eliciting truth and securing justice that has ever been invented by mortal man. Latin jurisprudence has no such bulwark.

Another distinguishing feature of the Saxon court is the trial. The Saxon lawsuit is a battle. The lawyers on each side are the opposing commanders. The issue is determined by a trial. A battle is a trial on a battlefield. A trial is a battle in a court-room. In every legal controversy in a Saxon court there comes a time when the suitor must meet his adversary face to face and *try* issues with him. In Latin courts—except as they have in modern times occasionally copied from our system—there is no such thing as what we call a trial. The judge has charge of the case from the beginning. It is under trial all the time; and it is usually a long time. If the judge is in doubt,—and he usually is,—he takes more testimony, either of his own motion or by examining witnesses suggested to him by either side. When he can think of no more evidence to take, or because he is tired of the case, he decides it. The

responsibility for the management of the case is, from the beginning to the end, with the judge and not with the parties interested or their counsel. A determination is finally reached; but it is evolved from the gradual mental processes of the judge and not as the result of a sharp and decisive trial. The Latin, except as he has learned it from us, has no conception of what we know so well as the trial of a lawsuit.

The distinguishing difference between a Saxon and a Latin court is well illustrated by the form of the pleadings. The Common Law declaration, the Saxon's formulation of his claim, is the assertion of a right; and it concludes with a demand. The Bill in Equity, the typical Latin plea, is a petition; and, except where we have Saxonized it, it ends with a prayer. The Saxon issue is sharp, clear, concise. It has a clear affirmative and a plain negative—something one can fight about. The Latin pleadings are long, complicated, verbose. They suggest much to talk about, but little to fight over. The Saxon declaration is the demand of a freeman for his rights: the Latin petition is a persistent plea for grace. The Saxon in a lawsuit seeks his own, and is ready to fight for it: the Latin asks for bounty and begs for it.

Latin law is always codified. The Latin judge is ever following the strict language of the code, and dares not depart from it. In these modern times we Saxons of North America have experimented somewhat with codes, but usually to our sorrow. The common law of the English-speaking race has too much of life and vigor in it to be bottled up.

The Latin law is an artificial law. There is no law in a Latin country until somebody makes it. When made, it is a dead law with no inherent power of growth and development; and it is easily codified. The Saxon law was never made. It grew and developed, as order and institutions were evolved by our Saxon ancestors out of the wild freedom of the German forest. It is more alive and growing faster now than ever before. You may write what you know of it in a book, and call that book a code, and the legislature may enact it; but no press can print it so quickly but that before it reaches the public there will be more law outside your code than in it. The Saxon court draws its inspiration from a library of living precedents which it is ever modifying and to which it is ever adding. The Latin court looks only at its book of enactments, dead because there is no power to change or modify or adapt them to meet new conditions.

The lawyer, too, plays a much more important part in a Saxon than in a Latin court. There is much more need of him in the development of a live and growing system of jurisprudence based on real living

precedents than in the administration of a dead system based on artificial and codified enactments. We sometimes call our body of law reports judge-made law. It would be more accurate to call it lawyer-made law. The part that judges have played in the evolution of our grand and benign system of common law has usually been to phrase and adopt what the lawyers have evolved and formulated. The best judicial opinion is usually that which follows most closely the brief of the lawyer who has the wit to state his case so that it can come within and become a part of the common law of the land.

I said at the beginning that ours is a judge-governed land. I used the word "judge" in a broad sense. I intended to include in the term all the accessories of the administration of justice; including, as by no means the least important element, the lawyers who aid the judges in such administration. I might perhaps have said more accurately that ours is a court-governed land. The court includes the bench and the bar—the lawyer behind the bench, and the lawyers before it. I should be the last one to admit that under our system of jurisprudence the lawyer is any less important than the judge. The Children of Israel rebelled in Egypt because they were required to make bricks without straw; and the judges upon the bench of our Saxon courts would soon have to go out of the business of pronouncing judicial decisions and of further evolving the common law of the land if the lawyers ceased to furnish them with the requisite raw material.

The conspicuous figure in the Latin court is the judge dispensing justice; in a Saxon court, the lawyer fighting for it. The Latin judge represents in his own person the fountain of justice, and is a law unto himself: the Saxon judge is but an instrument for enforcing the fixed and settled principles of the laws of the state. One says, "What shall I, the representative of the state, do for this supplicating subject?"; the other, "How shall I, an arbiter upon the bench, so administer the law of the realm, and extend its operation, if need be, that this freeman may maintain and defend his rights secured to him by the letter or the spirit of that law?"

But the difference between the Latin and the Saxon lawyer is even greater than that between the Latin and the Saxon judge. The Latin lawyer is but the channel through which the subject approaches his sovereign and prays his help: the Saxon lawyer is the representative of a freeman demanding and fighting for his rights. The Latin lawyer is but an incident of his court, that may be dispensed with without seriously impairing its efficiency: the Saxon lawyer is an inherent, integral, and

necessary part of the court in which he practises, that cannot be dispensed with without fatal results. Under our system the wheels of the court would soon cease to revolve if the lawyer's guiding hand were taken from the lever.

The Saxon lawyer is not one whit less dignified, less responsible, or less vital to the court's existence than the judge himself. The Latin court consists of a master behind the bench and of his servants before it: our courts consist of lawyers on the bench and of other lawyers of equal dignity and importance—as we of the bar are fain to flatter ourselves—before it.

Well is it for our race that we have never been content to live under a paternal government. While all the rest of the world was going to Rome as the fountain-head of legal learning for their systems of jurisprudence, we remembered that we were sons of Saxon sires who preferred liberty even to order, until they learned how to secure both, and who chose the wild freedom of the German forest rather than the glittering grandeur of imperial slavery. We remembered that we were descendants of those who followed Hermann when, in the mountain passes of our ancestral home, he attacked Varus and his Roman legions; annihilating them and so saving the Saxon race, to find in after years the full development of its character and institutions in England and America. And so it was that we refused to adopt the paternal jurisprudence which had its origin in imperial despotism, and evolved for ourselves a system which has for its basis the recognition and protection of a freeman's rights. We have our institutions that provide guardianship for infancy, idiocy, and lunacy, help for helplessness, and fair dealing for all. But self-reliance is the corner-stone of our Saxon judicial as well as our Saxon political system; and our courts are organized not to scatter justice broadcast as a bounty, but to enable self-reliant Saxon freemen to assert and defend their own rights.

The basic difference between Latin and Saxon jurisprudence is that the one accords privileges, while the other protects rights. The one is but an amelioration of despotism; the other, the strong right arm of a free people. We have taken just enough of the Latin into our Saxon system to temper some of its harshness, to round off some of its rough edges, and to make it a little milder in its application. We have adopted the form of equity procedure from the Roman jurisprudence; but we have changed its substance, so that it is no longer in fact—whatever it may be in form—a plea for a privilege, but is simply a more effective method for safeguarding rights. In New York we have gone so far as to change

the form, so that the plaintiff's pleading in an equity suit, as well as in a suit at law, *demand*s judgment, and no longer *prays* for it.

A few years ago, the wise, patriotic, and beloved president of a Latin republic was stricken down by the hand of a Latin Anarchist. A few months ago the lovely and beloved queen of a nation where Latin jurisprudence prevails was the victim of the mad act of another Latin Anarchist. Many lesser, but not less atrocious, crimes have been committed by Latin Anarchists in all the Latin countries of Europe during the last few years; and Latin Europe to-day, notwithstanding the perfection of its police organizations, is trembling with terror before these same wild Anarchists. A European congress has been held in Latin Italy to devise means for their suppression.

We have had Anarchists and crimes by Anarchists in England and in the United States; but in most cases the Anarchists themselves, and in all cases their ideas, have come to us from Latin, or at least non-Saxon, countries. Socialism also finds the most promising field for its evangelization in Latin Europe. We have, it is true, Socialists in England and in the United States. The Socialists are probably stronger in the State of New York than in any other State in the Union. Here they are well organized into a political party of their own; but this party polled at the last election less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the total vote. They may have a little more than this of proportional strength in England; but, if we allow them $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the voting population of the English-speaking world, we shall be quite liberal to them. Their comparative strength in Latin Europe is at least ten times what it is in English-speaking Europe and America.

Paris is the capital of the Latin world. Communism finds its home in Paris. It has a number of times secured absolute control of the city, and is at all times a source of danger. Communism is a sort of hybrid product of socialism and anarchism. The habitat of the Anarchist, the Socialist, and the Communist, and the source of anarchistic, socialistic, and communistic ideas seem to be Latin Europe. Is this merely a coincidence; or is there to be found in the facts an underlying relation of cause and effect? Is there anything in the institutions or jurisprudence of these Latin countries that promotes the growth of anarchism, socialism, and communism? Has it never occurred to the promoters of anti-anarchist congresses and to the men who fear so much the growth of socialism and communism that the Anarchist, the Socialist, and the Communist may be the natural and inevitable product of the jurisprudence of privilege?

The nations of our English-speaking race have never sought to promote equality of condition, because we have always known that there is not and cannot be an equality of merit; but we have sought to lay the foundations of institutions and to establish a jurisprudence that should insure an equality of opportunity. We have made every man the architect and the artisan of his own fortune; and it has been on the grindstone of toil that the Saxon has whetted the sword of his success.

A jurisprudence founded upon rights, and courts organized to maintain and defend rights, are the best possible guarantees to everyone born a citizen of a nation that he shall have equal opportunity with every other citizen to win the wages of honest toil and to secure the more splendid rewards of extraordinary industry. A man born and educated under such a jurisprudence, and growing to manhood under such institutions, with an equal chance with every other man to write his name high up on the roll of those that the world most honors, is not likely to turn out either an Anarchist, a Socialist, or a Communist. He has every possible incentive to strive to raise himself above the level of those around him, rather than to waste his energies in trying to drag those above him down to his level. The basis of our Saxon civilization is the institution of property, founded upon the right of every man to enjoy the fruits of his own industry. A jurisprudence founded upon rights is the only jurisprudence that can insure adequate protection to private property, and the only jurisprudence which gives no fostering encouragement to anarchism, socialism, and communism.

May we not, therefore, suggest to anti-anarchist congresses that perhaps the best security for Latin Europe against the further spread of anarchistic ideas, and against the continued prevalence of the awful crimes of anarchy, would be to reform their institutions so as better to safeguard human freedom; to base their jurisprudence on rights rather than on privilege; and to establish a free and independent judiciary; so that those who are now vainly seeking there equality of condition may at least find the same equality of opportunity that the English-speaking nations offer to their every citizen?

At Runnymede, some seven hundred years ago, was laid the foundation of a jurisprudence which now insures liberty and order and prosperity to half the world. Perhaps it might be just as good for the other half.

WALTER S. LOGAN.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF PORTO RICO.

As is the case in examining all public institutions in Porto Rico, an intelligent investigation of the schools and school system must begin by divesting the subject of the veil which official reports and statutory provisions have thrown around actual practices. This is a somewhat difficult task, in view of the fact that, except by the closest questioning, no answers can be got out of officials which reveal the discrepancies notoriously existing between theory and practice.

The examination of reports and school statutes, and interviews with mayors and public officials, lead to one set of conclusions. Personal observation and the testimony of educated natives, coupled with a close analysis of statistics, lead to quite another.

It is undeniable that the school system for which the taxpayer gets a bill is well thought out and well adapted to a progressive people in an early stage of development; and it is equally undeniable that the school system with which the taxpayer is actually provided is adapted only to a degenerate race that has lost all desire to avoid disintegration.

Of course the official reports and school statistics are not absolutely valueless to the investigator; but on the whole he will derive from them less information than amusement at the vagaries of official arithmetic. Columns do not balance, figures do not tally, totals are incorrectly added, and data not only fail to agree, but are often absurd on their face. It is useless to try to straighten these things out. If an explanation is asked from any official, he smiles, changes the subject, and leaves you with the impression that figures are not meant for mankind to take seriously.

The trouble with the School Census is not in the system, but in the execution. The blanks which are sent for the teachers to fill out are comprehensive and intelligent; but they frequently get no farther than the teacher's substitute for a waste-paper-basket. From some of the larger places, however, school returns are exacted. This is regarded as another instance of the annoyance of Spanish tyranny; and it is only at the very latest moment that the Government demand is complied with. In one city I examined a file of papers for the year 1897, and found among them a succession of telegrams from the authorities re-

quiring an immediate rendering of the figures for the previous year. I asked the Mayor if the figures were sent on receipt of the telegrams. He smiled and said, "Yes, figures were sent,"—significantly leaving out the word "the," and accenting "figures."

In another city I asked the Mayor's Secretary to show me the record of school attendance for 1897; but he gravely answered that the teachers had not yet returned the blanks. On my suggesting that the statement for 1896 would answer my purpose just as well, I was told that the returns of that year were not yet available either. As a last resort, I asked to see the record compiled for the last Decennial Census, that of 1887; but the Secretary shrugged his shoulders, and implied that I was unreasonable.

I found that most of the mayors had no idea that a census of the whole Island had ever been taken. Nevertheless, what purported to be such an enumeration was taken in 1887; and in back numbers of the "Official Gazette" I found portions of it.

As I never succeeded in seeing a copy of the whole compilation for that year, I cannot give with absolute certainty the statistics of illiteracy which it contained. But I read in an unofficial pamphlet, whose accuracy I have no reason to doubt, that the Census of 1887 showed a population of 806,708, of whom 111,380, or less than 14 per cent, could either read or write. In a rectification of the Census for 1883, however, which I found in the "Official Gazette," statistics of illiteracy are given which reveal a gross blunder somewhere. According to the returns for that year, 238,294, or more than twice as many inhabitants as four years later, could either read or write; the logical deduction from which would be the absurd proposition, that during the interim 127,000 people in the Island had lost the ability to do so.

All the Census figures are nearly valueless, as they are founded on the statements of the heads of families; and heads of families in Porto Rico leave something to be desired in the way of accuracy.

The City of Ponce is the largest in the Island, having a jurisdiction of 49,000 souls. For this city an excellent Census for 1897 has been published, from which much information may be gained, although it is doubtful even in this case whether the statistics of illiteracy are to be relied on.

Ponce is divided territorially into 28 *barrios*, or wards, of which five, with a population of 15,242, constitute the city proper, and three, with a population of 9,412, constitute the port and suburbs: the rest are country districts. In the city proper more than 54 per cent can either

read or write; in the country, from 6 per cent in some wards to 27 per cent in others. The percentage for the 28 wards is 29.37 per cent.

Judging from the above Census and from figures and opinions given me in other towns, I had almost decided that it could be fairly estimated that nearly one-third of the population could either read or write, when my faith was shaken by an examination of a few of the registration-sheets for voters. As not more than 35 per cent of the people exercise their franchise, and as, presumably, those who do so are above the average in intelligence, I was surprised to find that 20 per cent would be a high estimate for the number of voters who could sign their names to the rolls I saw.

On the other hand, Don Manuel Rossy, Secretary of Public Instruction, told me that, in his opinion, nearly 30 per cent of the population could either read or write; but I could not find, on questioning him, that he had any good ground for his opinion. In fact, the suspicion continually grows on one that at some time in the past the authorities must have given out the statement that one-third of the population could either read or write, and that no one has thought it worth his while to dispute the proposition. Hence this idea has gradually spread, and hence all officials, when asked about the question, give practically the same estimate.

So much for the tangible results of the school system on the inhabitants of the Island. On investigating the system itself, equally unsatisfactory and conflicting data must be struggled with. Different official, or semi-official, authorities give different figures in enumerating the schools; but it is safe to say that the number for the whole Island would not be underestimated at 600, of which less than 40 are private or religious establishments.

The common schools are divided into four classes: Superior, Elementary, Auxiliary, and Rural. Each school has one teacher, whose salary ranges from 1,200 pesos, or, say, \$600, in a Superior School of the first class, to 300 pesos in a Rural School. It is needless to say that the education inflicted follows an equally low range of values.

The total enrolment in the 9 Superior Schools of the Island is 567 pupils of both sexes. There are supposed to be 2 Superior Schools—1 for each sex—in every Departmental capital. This would make 14 such schools in all; but, as a matter of fact, in some cities the girls, and in one city the boys, are obliged to forego this advantage.

Fortunately for the 9 teachers in these Superior Schools, a large number of the 567 enrolled scholars do not attend. In the Superior School

for Girls at Mayaguez there were 126 pupils enrolled in 1897; but, in response to my request to be allowed to visit this school, I was informed at the Mayor's Office that it had been closed for lack of pupils. As the city was occupied at the time by a large force of American troops, this may or may not have been the true reason for the suspension of education. It is possible that no schoolmistress could be obtained who was willing alone to undertake the management and instruction of 126 girls, —a task from which even the redoubtable Yankee schoolmarm would recoil.

The Superior Schools are supposed to prepare for the Institute at San Juan; but many of the pupils at the latter establishment had been obliged to derive their earlier education from private sources, owing to the inferior quality of instruction in the public schools ever since 1886. In that year Captain-General Eulogio Despujols was recalled to Spain, much to the detriment of education, since he had spared no effort to keep up the standard. Subsequently schoolmasterships became political footballs, to be kicked in the direction of the faithful by the successful politician; and they have ever since served that purpose.

Considering that a graduate of the Institute of San Juan could not pass the examinations for admission to Harvard or Yale, it may be surmised that in the Superior Schools, which prepare for it, the supply of higher education is limited. Some of the studies, to be sure, are glorified with high-sounding names; but, when that disguise is removed, it is easy to recognize our old friends, the three R's.

In the Elementary School the course is still more juvenile; and, when the grade of Rural School is reached, the pretence of teaching is almost abandoned, so that the most arduous labor of the master is the drawing of his pitiable salary.

In the larger townships there is 1 school to about every 1,000 inhabitants; but in a great many parts of the Island the proportion is much less. Notwithstanding a compulsory school-attendance law, many country districts are entirely without schools.

The school-attendance law, which there is no attempt to enforce, provides that children shall attend regularly when the schools are open, —that is to say, for six hours daily during nine months of the year, and for two hours daily during the other three, July, August, and September. The state of the roads during the rainy season alone renders compliance with this law impossible; but, apart from this, it is obvious that such a law could not be enforced during the entire year among the poor people.

The city of San Juan, being the seat of government, is comparatively favored in the number and quality of its schools. Besides its 29 common schools, it has a Normal School for each sex, a Manual Training School of recent establishment, and the Institute.

The Normal Schools are said to have an attendance of about 50 pupils each; while the Manual Training School is said to have an attendance of about 200 and to be a marked success.

According to the catalogue of 1896-97, 323 pupils were enrolled in the Institute at San Juan. Of this number, 91 attended lectures at the college and were classed as "Official," 208 attended affiliated schools in other cities, and 11 received private instruction at home. The remaining 13 were pursuing an advanced course in commercial education of so little practical value that it has since been abandoned for lack of pupils. All these students, of whatever class, are examined either at the Institute itself or else by itinerant professors of that establishment.

Although the cost of education at the Institute is defrayed by the state, and the fee for enrolment is only 5 pesos, but 60 per cent of the scholars attend regularly; while the number who receive in any one year the degree of Bachelor seldom exceeds 15.

The course is for five years; and those who purpose taking it in full usually enter at about eleven years of age.

The following subjects are taught; viz., latin, geography, history, rhetoric, poetry, mathematics, French, philosophy, physics, chemistry, natural history, and agriculture.

Affiliated with the Institute are seven lesser schools, private, subsidized, and religious, situated in various cities, with a total enrolment somewhat exceeding 200 pupils.

A branch of the University of Havana was once established in Porto Rico; but it languished, and soon was abandoned. Since that time the entire educational system has been as described above.

In spite of these adverse circumstances, there are many educated Porto Ricans; but, almost without exception, their education has been obtained in Europe, Havana, or the United States. Our medical colleges are apparently more attractive to them than our other educational institutions.

Of course, such a method as this of acquiring a higher education is open to but few; yet it is surprising to see what sacrifices families of very moderate means are willing to make in order to give their sons this advantage. Herein, in fact, lies the only ray of hope which illumines the pessimism with which the educational problem inspires one.

Were it not for their willingness to make these sacrifices, the inhabitants might be regarded as hopeless from an educational point of view, so unambitious, lazy, and incompetent do they appear. This is not because Porto Ricans do not work hard when they work at all, but because they seem incapable of the sustained and persistent effort which the acquisition of an education necessitates.

At best, however, the case has anything but encouraging features. It is not that it would be very difficult to frame a reasonable law which would compel parents to send their children to school, but that the question of how to make the children learn when they get there bristles with obstructions.

Laxity of discipline is the general characteristic of the schools; and it is a question how far this can be remedied. The children are ruled at present neither by love nor by fear; and it is at least doubtful whether they can ever be ruled in the way our school-children are. A very little observation convinces one that the only method which can be applied successfully is compulsion, and that of a severe type; yet experience teaches us that it is only with lusty young barbarians that such a system produces good results. Now, lusty young barbarians is what Porto Rican children least resemble. They are timid weaklings, entirely lacking robustness, and possessing the characteristics of decadence. Instinctively one feels that severity would break their spirit; while just as instinctively one feels that they would return nothing more practical than sentiment to a policy of gentle methods and to appeals to reason. They would love their teacher; and there it would end.

However, ethnology is not such an exact science as to render it certain that attempts to rehabilitate decadent races are foreordained to failure; nor are the symptoms of a decadent race so unmistakable that there can be more than a strong probability that Porto Ricans can be classed as such. Consequently, this paper would be worse than useless if it did not point out certain remedies worthy of trial, however discouraging the prospect may be.

Summing up the situation as a whole, the skeleton of the Porto Rico school system seems fairly good, although here and there bones may be lacking which should be supplied. Educational facilities are more or less evenly spread over the whole Island; and each community is accustomed to handling and paying for its own schools.

A higher grade of common schools must be established; and many new primary schools will be needed.

Better-paid and more competent teachers must be employed; and

herein lies one of the greatest difficulties. American teachers, except as instructors in English, can make but little progress until our language has spread to all classes; and meanwhile a sufficient number of competent native masters and mistresses will be hard to find.

A compulsory school-attendance law, founded on reason and on existing conditions, must be enacted and enforced; and the Truant Officer must come into existence. To make this official's duties possible of fulfilment, schools must be closed during the rainy season; but, above all, the people must be raised from their poverty-stricken condition, which is quite as much the result of their own fault as of Spanish oppression. Otherwise, mothers will continue to excuse their children's non-attendance on the ground that they have no clothes,—a statement so literally true that even the most elderly American schoolmistress would shrink aghast from a line of school-children dressed in their national costume.

Raising a nation from poverty, however, is a science which no government has ever yet mastered. It is individual effort which raises nations from poverty; and the question here is, How can the Porto Ricans be educated up to individual effort?

A. P. GARDNER.

THE AMERICAN SEAMAN UNDER THE LAW.

IN spite of the virtual revolution that has taken place within recent years in the character of sea-going craft, the condition of the seaman remains practically unchanged. While every possible means has been invoked to improve the *matériel* of shipping, practically nothing has been done to further the interests of the *personnel*.

In this respect, the condition of the American seaman is the most conspicuous. Not only in the positive sense, as compared with other seamen, but relatively to the progress of the United States toward personal liberty, he is worse off to-day than at any time in the past. The declaration of Augustus Cæsar, "I rule the land: the law rules the sea," still holds good, except in this, that the immutability of the maritime law is now construed as inhibiting only a *progressive* tendency. In the practical application of the Cæsarean dictum, the authority to alter the law of the sea *retrogressively* is freely admitted, and as freely practised.

The primary circumstance of the seaman's life, the basis upon which rest all the incidentals of his calling and character, is involuntary servitude. The contract which he must make, as a condition of getting employment, binds him to his ship, in effect, as securely as the serf was bound to the soil, or the negro to his master. The principle of this contract is of remote origin. The highest judicial authorities trace it as far back as the law of the Rhodians, some nine hundred years before the birth of Christ. That it has survived to the present time is due to an error in the public mind concerning the seaman and his calling; which error, in turn, is attributable to obvious circumstances, preventing a general understanding of the matter. The everyday life of the seaman is, of course, unknown to the public. For information on the subject the public depend upon written accounts; and these are usually colored by motives other than the narration of plain facts. Only the effects of the seaman's life, as they develop in his conduct ashore, are seen. These effects are, unfortunately, but too well calculated to confirm the public prejudice and to substantiate the theory of law by which the seaman's relations to his employer and to society are regulated. The public opinion thus formed is generally founded upon an inversion of cause and effect.

In law the seaman is a "ward of admiralty." The significance of this term is contained in the following language, from the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Robert Robertson et al. vs. Barry Baldwin*¹:

"Seamen are treated by Congress . . . as deficient in that full and intelligent responsibility for their acts which is accredited to ordinary adults, and as needing the protection of the law in the same sense in which minors and wards are entitled to the protection of their parents and guardians: 'Quemadmodum pater in filios, magister in discipulos, dominus in servos vel familiares.'"

Originally, this position was consistent with the system of government prevailing among all classes, and was further justified by the circumstances of maritime enterprise. But, notwithstanding the radical modification of these circumstances, the assumption of paternalism is still maintained, and in a capacity almost exclusively primitive. As pointed out in the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan, in the case just cited,

"Their [the seamen's] supposed helpless condition is thus made the excuse for imposing upon them burdens that could not be imposed upon other classes without depriving them of rights that inhere in personal freedom."

It should be noted, too, that the theory of the seaman's helplessness, while originating mainly in the necessities of his calling, is to-day justified upon an assumed necessity in the nature of the seaman himself. The peculiarities attributed to the seaman are described by the term, "natural improvidence." The alleged mental weaknesses and moral excesses of the seaman are thus explained as part of his nature,—a congenital complaint, as it were,—and are dealt with upon that hypothesis. Yet, investigation shows that these traits are natural, not to the seaman himself, but to his legal status; not to anything inhering in life at sea, but to the circumstances of law and usage which are superimposed upon it.

The maritime law of the United States derives its authority from the codes of the Middle Ages, beginning with the *Consolato del mare* of indefinite antiquity, but generally attributed to a period earlier than the thirteenth century. Following in chronological order, are the Laws of Oléron, originally promulgated by Eleanor of Guienne, and afterward confirmed by Edward III in 1339; the Laws of Wisby, the exact date of which is in doubt, though, judged by historical inference, they appear to have been first published in the latter part of the thirteenth century; and the laws of the Hanseatic League, first enacted in 1597, and revised in 1614.

¹ U. S. Reports 165.

In considering the applicability of the ancient codes to seamen of the present day, it is important to observe the conditions under which they were enacted. The earlier maritime authorities belong to an age anterior to the dawn of personal liberty, when little or no account was taken of human rights, and when governments were designed to serve the ambitious and despotic ends of the ruling classes, rather than the welfare of the people. Slavery was the common lot of the industrial masses; hence there was at least the justification of consistency in the law imposing that condition upon the seaman. Even as late as the end of the thirteenth century, when the League of the Hanse Towns was first established, the commerce carried on between the Baltic and the Mediterranean was exposed to the depredations of nations steeped in extreme barbarism, whose piracies, but for the mutually defensive steps taken by the Free Cities, would have prevented the success of maritime ventures. The distinctively naval arm of public defence was then unknown: each vessel combined the characteristics of merchantman and man-of-war. It was with a view particularly to the latter, the public, aspect of his calling that the ancient codes restricted the seaman in his coming and going.

To-day personal liberty, under any and all circumstances short of criminal process, is the first requisite of our governmental system. Piracy is a thing of the past; while the danger from war is obviated by an international comity looking to the freedom and safeguarding of all floating property, contraband alone excepted. The functions of commerce and defence are segregated in the two classes of seamen, merchant and naval. As applied to the latter, the principle of involuntary servitude is still justifiable; but the application of that principle to the merchant seaman is an invasion of his rights, committed either in ignorance or defiance of the implied difference between the seaman as a public servant and as a private one.

Considered in this light, the maritime law of the United States places the seaman in a position more unjust and degrading than that of his predecessors, in proportion as the people generally of the present day are freer than those of the past. In the matter of his personal liberty, the American seaman lives under all the disabilities that formerly bore upon the Negro: he is a chattel, both in law and effect. The law of involuntary servitude in his case not only degrades him morally, but it operates inevitably to create numerous other abuses even more repugnant, because more obvious, to the American mind.

A comparison of ancient and modern law upon this and other points

shows that the harshest features of the latter are of recent origin, developed by the omission of the safeguards formerly surrounding the seaman and by new aggressions upon his liberties in successive acts of legislation.

The principle of the ancient codes was that seamen were liable to punishment for desertion or absence without leave only in case of accident to the vessel or damage to the cargo. Even in that event imprisonment was inflicted only as the alternative of failure to respond in monetary damages. Thus, in practice, the penalty was limited to a forfeiture of wages sufficient to cover the deserting seaman's share of responsibility.

In later legislation this principle has been subverted by the rule that desertion, or absence without leave, is, *ipso facto*, punishable by imprisonment. Moreover, the principle that the seaman was liable in monetary damages for his share of loss resulting to vessel or cargo has been set aside in favor of a law providing for the forfeiture by the deserting seaman of all the clothes and effects left by him on board, and all or any part of the emoluments he had earned at the time of desertion. With all this, however, the protection of the port authorities was still vouchsafed the seaman, since he could be arrested only upon a warrant issued from a specified court.

Such, in general, were the terms of the first Act of Congress on the subject, passed in 1790. That Act provided for the arrest, detention, and return on board of deserters in ports of the United States by warrant issued, upon complaint of the shipmaster, by a justice of the peace; but it made no provision for imprisonment as a punishment for desertion. It also limited the monetary penalty to an amount equal to the cost of commitment. This law continued in force until 1872, when the Shipping Commissioners' Act was passed.

It is in the latter legislation that the most drastic evils of maritime usage, known to this or any other time, originate. By the terms of Section 4511 of the Act in question the master of every vessel in the foreign-going trade must sign an agreement with each seaman, by which the latter contracts for service during a specified voyage. Under Section 4599 if, either at the commencement of or during the voyage, the seaman deserts or refuses to fulfil his contract, the master, mate, owner, consignee, or shipping-commissioner, in a United States port, with or without the assistance of the port authorities,—who are directed to give their assistance if required,—and also in a foreign port, if and so far as the laws of such port will permit, may arrest him and convey him before

any court authorized to take cognizance of offences of like degree and kind, to be dealt with according to the provisions of law governing such cases. The prescribed penalties (Section 4596) are: For desertion, imprisonment for not more than three months, and forfeiture of all or any part of the clothes or effects left on board and of all or any part of the wages or emoluments earned; for refusing to proceed to sea or for absence without leave not amounting to desertion, or not treated as such by the master, imprisonment for not more than one month, and also at the discretion of the court, the forfeiture of his wages, of not more than two days' pay, and for every twenty-four hours' absence either a sum not exceeding six days' pay or any expenses which have been properly incurred in hiring a substitute.

The constitutionality of these sections was recently tested before the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Robertson vs. Baldwin*, previously cited. The appellants were four seamen of the American barkentine "Arago," who deserted at Astoria, Oregon, in 1895. The brief set forth that the sections under which the seamen were held to servitude operate to deprive the seaman of liberty and property without due process of law, to deprive him of the right to trial by jury, and to hold him to slavery and involuntary servitude, contrary to the respective provisions of the Constitution. On the latter ground it was contended that the law binding the seaman to fulfil his contract against his will is in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibits slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime.

The decision of the Court, rendered January 25, 1897, sustained the law upon the grounds, first, that the Thirteenth Amendment "was not intended to introduce any novel doctrine with respect to certain descriptions of service which have always been treated as exceptional"; second, that "from the earliest historical period the contract of the sailor has been treated as an exceptional one"; and, third, that

"the prohibition of slavery in the Thirteenth Amendment is well known to have been adopted with reference to a state of affairs which had existed in certain States of the Union since the foundation of the government; while the addition of the words 'involuntary servitude' were said . . . to have been intended to cover the system of Mexican peonage and the Chinese coolie trade, the practical operation of which might have been a revival of the institution of slavery under a different and less offensive name."

Finally, the Court ruled that the term "involuntary" does not attach to the word "slavery" continuously, thus making illegal any service which becomes involuntary at any time during its existence, but at-

taches only at the inception of the servitude, and characterizes it as unlawful because unlawfully entered into.

This decision has attracted wide attention on account of its similarity, in point of the issue involved, the reasoning, and the conclusion, to the famous Dred Scott case. In both cases the rule of personal liberty has been taken exception to,—in the case of the negro on account of his color; in that of the seaman because of his calling. But a more immediate feature of public interest in the "Arago" case is the ruling of the Court that contracts made by persons on land may be made penally enforceable by statute. Thus, for the first time, it is declared that the personal liberty of the citizen is not a right inherent in the fundamental law, but is merely a privilege enjoyed under the tenure of public opinion and public policy.

The words "except as a punishment for crime," in the Thirteenth Amendment were supposed to have given to the term "involuntary servitude," as distinguished from slavery proper, a definite application to the custom of leasing convicts, which still prevails in certain States. Obviously, servitude which is involuntary at its inception is slavery; hence, by the construction placed upon it by the Supreme Court the term is merely a repetition of language. However that may be, the fact is that the seaman does not voluntarily make a contract. The law compels him to do so, and provides a penalty of \$200 upon the shipmaster who employs him without such contract. It would be begging the question to say that the seaman has the alternative of remaining ashore. Theoretically, this may be true; but in practice it would mean to the seaman idleness and destitution, and to shipping, complete suspension for lack of crews. As it is, the seaman's necessities compel him to surrender his personal liberty under the different and less offensive name of "contractual slavery."

In considering this phase of our maritime law in its relation to the institution of slavery, it is worthy of note that the seaman has been specifically treated by American legislation in the past as among those classes which were bound to personal servitude. The earliest American law on the subject was an Act of the Colonial General Court of Massachusetts, passed in 1647, which provided in the case of a deserting seaman, that "if he shall have received any considerable part of his wages, and shall run away, he shall be pursued as a disobedient runaway servant." This Act was passed when slavery was tolerated in Massachusetts with the assent of the British Government, and antedated the Declaration of Rights promulgated in 1789, the effect of which, as declared by the

courts of that Commonwealth, made contracts for a specified term of servitude against the policy of its institutions and laws. The earliest Federal legislation, enacted in 1790, was also characteristic of the slave system at that time permitted under the labor, or "slave," section of the Constitution (Article IV, Section 3). Indeed, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 bears inherent evidence of having been modelled upon the maritime law of 1790. In respect to the provisions for the pursuit, arrest, and return of persons escaping, or "deserting," from the service of their masters, and for the punishment of persons secreting such fugitives, the laws concerning the seaman and slave were analogous, and in great part identical. While, as regards the latter, these laws are understood to have been made void by the Thirteenth Amendment, the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Arago" case shows that they still apply in original severity to the seaman.

Another primary evil of our maritime law is contained in the Allotment system. It is provided that a seaman engaging to serve on a foreign-going vessel may allot a certain portion of his wages, not exceeding \$10 per month, to his "wife, mother, or other relative, or to an original creditor, in liquidation of any just debt for board or clothing." On its face, this system provides means whereby the seaman may procure clothing, and discharge his debts, before embarking on a voyage. In practice, however, the Allotment system develops quite different characteristics.

In the great majority of cases the allotment is made payable to an "original creditor." This term is merely a legal euphemism descriptive of the crimp, or "shark." The latter is the seaman's employment agent, and as such is distinguished by an aggravation of methods proportioned to the helplessness of his victims. By combination the crimps control the shipment of crews, and thus compel the seaman to accede to their terms as a condition of securing employment. The first of these conditions is that the seaman shall sign an allotment note in favor of the crimp for the full amount allowed by law, generally one-half or more of the wages to be earned during the voyage, and usually largely in excess of the seaman's indebtedness. As in the case of the contract by which he signs away his personal liberty, the seaman's only alternative in practice is to remain ashore in idleness. Thus, Allotment, from being a convenience to be availed of at the seaman's option, becomes a compulsory tribute which the seaman pays in support of those whose chief function is to prey upon him. As the seaman signs away one-half of his wages at the beginning of the voyage, he receives but one-half when he lands. This

fact, combined with the crimps' control of the shipping business, operates to place the seaman at the latter's mercy, so that Allotment, instead of palliating the results of "natural improvidence," actually induces that condition. It is a principle of maritime law, older than any statute, and residing in the nature of his calling, that the seaman's wages are exempt from garnishment. According to numerous Admiralty decisions, "the law is forced to declare that no man can be permitted to say anything or do anything to deprive the seaman of the right to demand his wages when he leaves the ship." The Allotment law is a negation of this principle, since in practice it deprives the seaman of the right to secure his wages before he joins the ship.

The terms "allotment" and "advance" are frequently used synonymously. Strictly speaking, the latter term defines a system under which a part of the seaman's wages was paid "on the capstan-head," *i.e.*, as soon as he joined the ship, or within a few hours after sailing. This system was confined mostly to British and American vessels. In view of its generally acknowledged evils, Advance was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1880, but was afterward reestablished at the instance of the shipowners, who complained of difficulty in securing crews. Congress, in 1884, also abolished Advance. The law then passed is still in force, but amended in such a way as to make it a dead letter. The law of 1884, besides abolishing Advance, limited allotments to the seaman's relatives. The American crimps repeated the tactics of their British *confrères*. They refused to ship crews, and thus forced the shipowners to make common cause with them in a movement upon Congress. Consequently, in 1886 the law was amended to permit the payment of allotment to an "original creditor." In effect this amendment reestablished the Advance system in all its essential features, with the additional objection involved in the speciousness of its language and, consequently, the greater difficulty in exposing its real purport.

The experience of many years, and in different countries, proves that the crimps are the first and, in fact, the only beneficiaries by the Allotment system. That system is the chief support of the crimps, who are thereby enabled to fleece the seaman and to force the shipowner into a transaction degrading to his self-respect and inimical to his business interests. The tolerance of the latter is explained by the correlation of Allotment and imprisonment for desertion. This is seen in the provisions of the old laws, which made imprisonment for desertion contingent upon the fact that the seaman had received "any considerable part of his wages" in advance. It is seen in the fact that the British Par-

liament abolished imprisonment for desertion simultaneously with the abolition of Advance in 1880, and that the later legislation reestablishing Advance also revived that institution. It is seen, further, in the attitude of our own shipowners, who have used the Allotment system as a defence of imprisonment for desertion, on the ground that the latter is their only safeguard against financial loss. Judged by its practical workings, the truth seems to be that Allotment is the means used to justify the end of involuntary servitude. It is, in effect, a relic of the "Queen's shilling," the "fee" of the hind, and the "head-money" of the press-gang, the acceptance of which constituted a legal bond to servitude.

The personal treatment accorded the seaman by American ships' officers is the most oppressive, because the most acute, feature of his life. Extreme brutality is the rule, almost without exception. It is a standing charge against our maritime law that it requires no qualification other than that of citizenship on the part of sailing-ship officers. In this respect the United States stands alone among maritime nations of any consequence. The result is that the men in authority on board American ships are chosen for their ability to "drive," *i.e.*, to beat, the men under them, rather than for their ability as seamen and navigators. The reputation thus attained finds its sequence in an *esprit de corps* leading to the commission of the most wanton brutalities conceivable by minds trained to ingenious methods of inflicting torture upon their subordinates, and undeterred by the fear of consequences, social or legal.

The frequent recurrence of seamen's charges against ships' officers, and the monotonous regularity with which these charges are dismissed by the courts, has created a feeling of indifference, and even scepticism, on the part of the public. The charges made by the seaman appear incredible when judged by the standard of conduct prevailing on land. But it must be remembered that the standard prevailing at sea is one of practical slavery, in which a *Legree* is an actual personification.

An investigation shows that during the past eleven years more than one hundred ships' crews have brought charges against their officers in ports of the United States alone. This list includes only those cases that have come most prominently before the public. Characteristic features of this record are: Fifteen deaths resulted from the treatment received; many cases resulted in the loss of limbs, eyes, or teeth, and in other injuries of a permanent character, including insanity; several suicides are attributed to persecution; only seven convictions were obtained, and, with one exception, the penalties inflicted were merely nominal; the names of certain ships and their officers recur frequently in the list.

This condition of affairs is due primarily to the construction of the law on the point. The statute provides that any officer who, "without justifiable cause, beats, wounds, or imprisons any seaman," shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or by both. Read conversely, the term "without justifiable cause" authorizes corporal punishment at the sole discretion of the ship's officer. Under this law courts and juries have consistently approved the declaration of accused persons that assaults upon seamen were justifiable, or, at any rate, that they were deemed such.

In this particular a radical difference is observable in favor of the ancient codes. The right to inflict corporal punishment, while vested in the port authorities in extreme cases, such as mutiny, causing the loss of ship and cargo, or assault upon the master, was specifically prohibited to ships' officers. The position of a shipmaster was deemed of such honor and importance that great care was taken to employ none but "honest and experienced" men. In addition to these qualities, the ordinances of the Hanse Towns required "good manners." In general, shipmasters were enjoined to refrain from "giving the lie" to, or physically abusing, their seamen. By Article XII of the Laws of Oléron, if the master gave a seaman the lie he was subject to a fine of eight deniers; if he struck a seaman the latter was required to bear with the first stroke, "be it with the fist or open hand," but if more than one blow was struck the seaman was authorized to defend himself. In the Laws of Wisby the principle of self-defence was still more clearly recognized in the provision that "if he [the master] strikes he ought to receive blow for blow." The present law of Russia—the only other nation which permits corporal punishment—contains a similar guarantee against abuse of the seaman in a provision limiting such punishment to five blows with a rope or knout "in case of saving the ship, masts, sails, or rigging" and to twelve blows on the back in case of "disturbance or mutiny, and in the direst emergency." In the latter case, however, the shipmaster must secure the consent of the "mate, boatswain, carpenter, and the oldest or best able seaman," failing which he must refrain from punishment and refer the case to the port authorities or the commander of a Russian warship.

The essential merit of these provisions over those of the United States law consists in their restrictiveness, both as to the measure of punishment and the method of administering it. Congress, in 1850, passed an Act prohibiting flogging on merchant vessels. The effect of that Act, instead of abolishing corporal punishment, was merely to

change its character from the specific to the general: it prohibited the cat, and, by implication, authorized the use of the belaying-pin and hand-spike. The license thus granted to ships' officers, combined with an extreme delicacy on the part of the public in matters relating to discipline at sea, has had the effect of constituting the former a class of legal and moral immunes. Even the Constitutional inhibition of "cruel and unusual" punishments fails of application in their case. The "exceptional" character of the seaman's calling is again cited in support of the theory that brutality is not cruel in his case: in the words of a recent popular writer, it only "looks cruel" (!) In short, no treatment, however harsh, is considered cruel or unusual when judged by the standard of the American "hell-ship."

These three features constitute the principal indictment against our maritime law. The remedy for them is contained in Senate Bill 95, now pending in Congress. That measure, if enacted, will entirely abolish imprisonment for desertion; it will limit Allotment to the seaman's relatives only, and make vessels, that is, shipowners, liable in monetary damages for injuries inflicted upon the seaman by the wanton act of ships' officers. As amended by the Senate on July 2, 1898, the Bill permits imprisonment for desertion in a foreign port, at the discretion of the court, but limits the term to one month. It is also proposed to limit the amount of allotment to "original creditor" to one month's pay, and to make the shipmaster liable in damages for cruelty to seamen.

These amendments have been suggested by way of compromise, and are entitled to favorable consideration as such. But experience justifies the belief that in practice these amendments would effect but little, if any, modification of existing evils. Whether the term of imprisonment be long or short, whether imprisonment be mandatory or discretionary, matters little: the bare possibility of that penalty operates to restrain the seaman from the exercise of personal liberty when his condition becomes unbearable. As the representatives of the shipping interests have said, the power of imprisonment would be effective as a threat held over the seaman *in terrorem*. The limitation of allotment to "original creditor" would not materially lessen the power of the crimping element, for the reason that, given any recognition, however little, they will retain control, by the device of "blood-money" and other ramifications of their business known only to the initiated, over a large part of the seaman's earnings. In fact, the limit of the crimp's power is not defined by statutory, but by economic, or wage, law: it is, in short, the "limit of subsistence." In the matter of the shipmaster's liability in

damages, it is obvious that the seaman would fail of redress because of the former's inability to respond.

The original provisions of Senate Bill 95 are justified, not only upon moral grounds, but by actual experience. The Maguire Act, passed in 1895, extended these provisions to seamen in the coastwise trade. That Act, despite much criticism at the outset, mostly by the class which it was intended to operate against, has proved uniformly beneficial, both to seamen and shipowners. The same result may be reasonably anticipated in the foreign-going trade. The abolition of imprisonment for desertion would not increase the number of seamen leaving their ships in foreign ports. For many years it has been customary to get rid of crews abroad in order to save the expense of their maintenance during long waits in port. Previously to 1884 this was done by forcing the crews, through ill-treatment, to desert. In that year an Act was passed providing for the discharge of seamen abroad by mutual agreement. This is now generally done, except in those instances in which the shipmaster finds it materially more profitable to retain his crew. The only practical change effected by the proposed law would be to induce the shipmaster who desired to retain his crew to treat them with some consideration, instead of, as at present, depending upon his power to retain them by force. So, with regard to Allotment and the personal treatment of the seaman, the interests of the shipowner under the original provisions of the Bill would lie in treating directly with the seaman, instead of with the crimp, and in employing officers qualified in their profession rather than in the characteristics of the blackguard and bully.

Other provisions of Senate Bill 95 deal with the working-hours at sea, so as to divide the day into "watch and watch," instead of keeping all hands on deck during the day and making the watchers alternate on duty at night, as is the present custom; the more prompt payment of seamen at the end of the voyage, thus obviating the necessity of incurring debt to the crimp; the right to claim one-half of the wages due at each port of lading and discharge; the inspection of vessels upon demand of a majority of the crew; the enlargement of forecastles; and improvement in the food and water scale.

With reference to the provision for the inspection of vessels, it is proposed that the right to demand inspection shall be vested in a majority of the crew, irrespective of the officers; since it is known that the latter prefer to take unreasonable chances rather than join in such a demand. Such a provision will bring the United States law on the point into accord with that of other nations. Great Britain, Germany,

Italy, and Denmark grant this right to crews independently of officers. In the British code it is stipulated that "one-fourth of the seamen, or not less than five," may demand a survey in case of unseaworthiness: three seamen may call a survey upon the food or water. The German statutes give the power of calling for a survey upon either the vessel or its stores to an officer or "not less than three seamen." The enlargement of fore-castle space from seventy-two to one hundred cubic feet per man, and the increase of the daily water-ration from three to five quarts per man, besides being necessary for ordinary comfort, will tend to lessen the scorbutic and other diseases which are exceptionally prevalent in American ships, as shown by the reports of the Marine-Hospital Service.

A Bill embodying these provisions passed the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress. Will the House reaffirm its position in the present Congress? Such a measure commends itself, both upon the ground of justice and of expediency. In the early days of our national history it was freely asserted that the declaration that "all men are born free and equal" was "unfounded, false, and contrary to universal observation." As late as 1857 the United States Supreme Court, in the *Dred Scott* decision, gave effect to that sentiment by ruling that the Negro was a being of inferior order, and tacitly exempted by the Fathers from the Constitutional privileges of citizenship. But Jefferson's conception of the rights of man in his own person, kept constantly before the people, ultimately destroyed the slavery of the blacks. As has been well said,

"It was the preamble of the Declaration of Independence which elected Lincoln, which sent forth the Emancipation Proclamation, which gave victory to Grant, which ratified the Thirteenth Amendment."

Yet in 1897 the Supreme Court declared that the Thirteenth Amendment does not apply to American seamen. So far as that class is concerned, the declaration of men's freedom and equality is still a "glittering and sounding generality." Justice demands that the seaman be freed from this stain upon an honorable and important calling.

The question of expediency is simply the question whether or not a higher mental, moral, and physical standard in the seaman would be for the benefit of commerce; whether American seamen, native or naturalized, seeking employment on board American ships by choice, would be more efficient than the class of men now employed, and who alone can be secured under existing conditions.

The question is often asked: "Why does not the American boy go to sea?" Numerous replies have been ventured; but the most reasonable

inference points to an instinctive revulsion against conditions which he has been taught to look upon as the extreme of degradation. He sees the seaman brutalized at sea, robbed ashore, practically without redress, an object of pity and contempt. He sees in the American ship's crew the drift-wood of all races, driven to a desperate resource, sometimes as the alternative of hunger, and sometimes as an escape from imprisonment. At the present moment an American boy named Amos Stone, a native of Boston, and the son of respectable parents, is an inmate of a lunatic asylum at Seattle, Washington, as the result of treatment received at the hands of the officers of an American ship. Another American boy, Ephraim W. Clark, has been confined in Thomaston (Maine) Penitentiary for more than twenty-three years for mutiny under circumstances of the most extreme provocation. Such cases contain a sufficient explanation of the native American's aversion to the sea.

From a national point of view, the expediency of improving the merchant seaman's conditions is seen in his relation to the naval service. The feature of our naval equipment whose relative importance has recently been demonstrated above all others is the "man behind the gun." It was the latter who constituted the supreme difference between the fighting forces of Dewey and Montejo, of Sampson and Cervera. The man behind the gun in war is the man before the mast in peace. The merchant service is his training-school and recruiting-ground.

Looking at the nation's expanding horizon, and keeping in mind our recent experience in enlisting seamen, it is pertinent to ask how the naval defender of the future may be secured. Rear-Admiral Dewey has stated that we must have the best men, as well as the best officers, ships, and guns. Will they be found in the merchant service,—Americans, living under American conditions, and therefore qualified by understanding and impulse to defend their own and their country's heritage? Or will they be found, the pariah, the Ishmaelite, and the nomad, the dark and soddened scourings of the beach, the slaves whose only interest in the fortunes of war centres in the prospect of changing masters?

Now, when the Nation's heart goes out in gratitude for the exploits of her gallant seamen, no reward could be more appropriate, or afford stronger proof of sincerity, than the passage of an Act of Congress extending to the seaman in his private life the blessings of liberty and personal security. Such a measure would make the seaman a better American: it would make him a more efficient factor in time of peace, and would add power to his arm in time of war. W. MACARTHUR.

COALING-STATIONS FOR THE NAVY.

It is taken for granted that the reader, if an American citizen, is possessed of a love of his country, and has at heart all that pertains to her prosperity, her progress, and her standing among the nations of the earth; that, further, he desires his country to be ready at all times and at all places to defend the lives and property of her citizens, to aid in advancing civilization, to promote enlightened and humane government, to further the progress of the Christian faith, and to protect innocent people from barbarous and inhuman treatment. It is clear that these duties require a naval force commensurate in size with that of the country.

The navy, to be efficient, must have certain accessories. These change from time to time in accordance with the design and construction of ships. For instance, in the days of wooden ships a cruise of three or more years without docking was very common. Now, the iron and steel hulls of ships foul and corrode so quickly that it is necessary to dock the latter for the purpose of cleaning and painting their bottoms at least once a year, and frequently every six months. In addition to facilities for docking, it is necessary to have stations where provisions, ammunition, and coal may be obtained. The modern man-of-war is largely filled with steam machinery in order that high speed may be obtained. She is also heavily loaded with ordnance and armor. A large part of her stowage space is devoted to coal. It follows that little space and weight can be devoted to provisions; and some ships do not carry more than three months' supply. Again, with the old slow-firing, muzzle-loading guns, ships carried in their magazines sufficient ammunition to last during several prolonged naval actions. With the modern rapid-firing guns the magazines may be emptied in a few hours. By far the most serious problem is to obtain an adequate supply of coal. This is of great bulk and weight, and, except in the quiet waters of a harbor, very difficult to take on board. It is with this problem that the writer proposes to deal. It should be borne in mind that our warships now have no sail-power. Without coal they are as helpless as a dismasted sailing-vessel in mid-ocean. With coal and without ammunition they can fight with their rams and torpedoes, or run away.

The reader must remember that, in accordance with the Laws of Nations, every port is closed to a belligerent ship in time of war except under certain restrictions: viz., that a ship shall not remain in port longer than twenty-four hours, unless in distress or in need of repairs; that she shall not take on board any more coal than necessary to carry her to a home port; and that she shall not be permitted to take on provisions or stores which will aid her in any way to carry on war. The idea underlying these international rules is that a neutral shall give no assistance to one belligerent at the expense of another.

The ordinary coaling-stations for commercial ships are, as a rule, sufficient in time of peace for our ships of war. As we were at peace from 1865 to 1898, a period of thirty-three years, it is but natural that the necessities of war were lost sight of by the people. This article deals with the necessities of war alone.

If the average intelligent layman were asked if he believed in the Nelsonian method of sea-fighting, viz., to pursue the enemy to the ends of the earth, if necessary, and bring him to battle as soon as sighted, he would probably answer in the affirmative; not perhaps from any personal knowledge of sea-fighting, but for the reason that the reputation of Nelson as a sea-fighter is world-wide. Every intelligent reader is aware that he was one of the greatest admirals known to history. If the layman were asked if he believed in the acquisition of foreign island territory, or in what at the present time is termed "expansion," the chances are about one to three that he would reply in the negative. It would probably not occur to him that there was any particular connection between the two questions. It remains to be seen if any can be traced.

The ships of our navy, omitting monitors, torpedo-boats, etc., used for harbor-defence, have a steaming-radius of from two thousand to five thousand miles. There are very few with a radius above four thousand miles. In other words, these ships, if not delayed by gales or accidents, can steam from one to two thousand miles and return, provided the return is immediate. It should be understood that a ship of war constantly consumes coal, even when at anchor, for what are termed auxiliary purposes; viz., to run auxiliary engines, such as the engines of the electric generators, and steam pumps for flushing, for fire, for freeing the ship of water, etc., and for steam-ventilating-fans. Steam must also be constantly supplied for distilling water, and for heating, drying, and cooking. The modern ship of war requires all these auxiliaries for sanitary purposes. During the fiscal year 1897 fully 55 per cent of the coal consumed by the navy was for auxiliary purposes. Therefore, in

computing the necessary supplies of coal for ships of war, we must take into consideration the amount of coal used when not steaming. If a ship, after reaching her destination, be delayed for war purposes, the consumption of coal when not steaming is much increased, even though she be at anchor; for, under these circumstances, in order to prevent surprises and to be able to chase or to escape, the fires in all the boilers must be lighted, and must be kept in readiness for immediate use at high speed. The ships blockading the port of Santiago during the late war were an illustration of this fact.

It is well known that many authorities more or less familiar with the requirements of ships at sea consider that coaling-stations separated by a distance a little less than the steaming-radius of an ordinary ship are sufficient. This is true only in time of peace, when ships of war have to make ocean journeys. As an illustration of this fact reference is again made to the blockade of Santiago, where, in order to be ready at all times, with sufficient force, for the appearance of the Spanish squadron, it was necessary to have coal delivered to the ships on the spot, whatever its cost. This was accomplished, not without much trouble and expense, by means of steam-colliers. Rarely did a vessel of war have one alongside without some damage resulting, both to the war-vessel and to the collier. Eventually a coaling-station was established at Guantanamo, at a distance of only forty miles from Santiago. Even then, one of the most important battleships of the fleet, the "Massachusetts," was there coaling when the crucial moment came, and the Spanish ships made their exit. Happily her presence was not necessary. The point here made is the illustration of the necessity of having coal near at hand at the immediate theatre of war. If delivered on the spot by steam-colliers, a base of supply to fill the holds of the latter becomes necessary.

If the illustrations herein are correct and the theories sound, what are the necessities of a fleet that starts out, as Nelson's did, to pursue the enemy wherever he may go, until he is found and brought to battle? Of what value will be a fleet of fifty magnificent ships of war on the Pacific Coast, if the enemy is located in the China Sea and there is not a chain of coaling-stations, which have been previously well stocked, stretching along the distance of eight thousand miles from the Pacific Coast to China? Why, without them the fleet will be helpless.

It has been said by those who are opposed to the annexation of the Philippines: "If Dewey had only sailed away after destroying the Spanish fleet, we should have escaped this vexatious problem." It is

presumed that they meant "*steamed away*," since Dewey's ships practically have no sails. The question that immediately presents itself to a naval officer is, Where could he have gone? The nearest United States port was then 7,000 miles from Manila. Honolulu, which did not belong to us at that time, is 5,000 miles from Manila. The public does not yet realize how much Dewey had at stake when he entered Manila Bay. He had to win, and further, to capture a base for his ships, where they could receive supplies of coal, provisions, ammunition, etc. No retreat was open to him.

When it was proposed to send a small reinforcement to Dewey during the latter part of the war, it was necessary to provide sufficient coal to carry those ships to Manila. The distance from New York to Manila, *via* the Suez Canal, is 11,500 miles. Not a ton of coal could be counted on from neutrals, as our ships were headed for an enemy's territory for hostile purposes. It was necessary to send a "covering squadron" part of the way with the reinforcing ships; and it was estimated that, in addition to full bunkers upon the part of every ship when starting, 40,000 tons additional coal would be required. This amount was provided and carried by eleven steam-colliers. The latter vessels were held in readiness at Hampton Roads for many weeks. Such a collection of cargo steamers greatly hampers the mobility of a fleet of warships. They are slow; they have single screws and are much more liable to accidents than warships; and, finally, they require convoy. It is true that the Government colliers during the war carried a few light guns and trained officers and men, rendering them less helpless than merchant steamers. The most serious part of the problem, however, was the transfer of coal from the colliers to the warships. The necessity for smooth water for this purpose has already been alluded to; and it is exceedingly difficult to find such outside of neutral waters. The latter are not available, because neutral territory cannot be used as a base of operations against a Power friendly to the neutral. Of course the harbors of an enemy can be made use of, if they can be captured and are safe for such purposes. In the instance referred to above this problem was left to the commander-in-chief to solve.

The writer desires to present here the question of the future status and use of our fleet in the Atlantic. Our ships can barely cross the ocean without coaling, not to speak of their return. Some of them cannot do even this. Under these circumstances what influence can our fleet ever have anywhere along the eastern shores of the North and South Atlantic oceans? England has her Halifax, her Bermuda, and her Jamaica,

where there is not only an abundance of coal, but there are docks and all naval stores needed by the fleet, with cable communication between the stations. It is fortunate for us that these stations are English; but it is our duty to see that no more naval bases are established within striking-distance of our coast. In this connection the attention of the people of this country is called to the fact that the Danish West Indian Islands are for sale.

At present our ships in time of war can only cruise up and down our coast and advance to the eastward a limited distance not exceeding one-half of their steaming-radius, and must always keep a sufficient coal-supply to return to a port where their bunkers can be replenished. On account of delays caused by gales, fog, etc., it will not do to figure too closely on the steaming-radius of any ship. Again, when it becomes necessary to chase at full speed, the consumption of coal per mile is much greater than when going at moderate speed. When this country was in its infancy, with a small population, poor in everything except courage, our ships roamed the seas over and visited every ocean. They burnt, sunk, and destroyed the enemy's ships in sight of their own coasts. The "Essex," with Porter, was for a long time master of the Pacific; and rich prizes surrendered to our cruisers in the Indian Ocean. Are we to remain content without means to accomplish as much to-day?

When we pass between the Pillars of Hercules and enter the Mediterranean, do we leave all rights behind? Are we not entitled to some recognition along the highways of commerce? Is the work of Preble, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Somers in suppressing piracy on the Barbary Coast worth nothing? Are not our missionaries and merchants in the uncivilized Levant entitled to some protection? How can an appeal to force be made there without a naval base, and how can the Nelsonian method of sea-fighting be carried out without a station for coal and supplies? Are the political problems so great and so complex that we dare not acquire territory in this closed sea? Were the blood and treasure poured out in the Algerine wars nearly a century ago poured out for naught? After being the first to subdue the enemies of civilization along the North African Coast, are we without any rights there now? Can we not fairly ask for one small refuge for our ships on this coast that is being parcelled out among the nations of Europe?

At one time during the recent war it was considered necessary to assume the offensive on the Spanish Coast; and preparations for so doing were made. Contemplate the difficulties attendant upon an attack with

modern ships on a coast with modern means of defence 3,300 miles from a base of supplies. Had Spain possessed sufficient moral courage to have kept her fleet at home, and abandoned her West Indian possessions,—which were lost to her the moment war was declared,—as every strategical reason dictated, the problem would have been vastly more difficult than it was after the destruction of Cervera's fleet. Such an attack could have been successfully made only by first capturing the Canary Islands and using them as a base.

We are now apparently contemplating with indifference the carving up and serving out of the great continent of Africa to the nations of the earth. Indeed there is not much of any value remaining. Is not the hard work of our navy for many years on the Atlantic African Coast, while engaged in the suppression of the slave trade,—thereby advancing civilization,—worth one small harbor for use as a naval and mercantile base? Is our own sable child, Liberia, to be abandoned and left as prey for any land-grabber that comes along? Have Mozambique, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Muscat, where our Salem merchants and ship-owners led the way, no longer any charms for us? Or is it to be said that the Monroe Doctrine prevents us from ever going east beyond our own shores with our warships, except in time of peace. Would the author of that famous declaration have subscribed to such a sentiment? Is this great country, because of a wise policy, finally incorporated among its unwritten laws for the purpose of self-defence, to abandon all naval influence on the shores of Europe and Africa? If it is to be done, it should be done with eyes wide open, and only after careful and deliberate consideration and with a full knowledge of what it means.

It means that in future, whatever the circumstances, however just the cause, our naval ships cannot, in time of war, follow an enemy to the shores of Europe and Africa. In other words, it means that we cannot adopt the Nelsonian method of sea-fighting. Does not history prove that war is ended by the destruction of sea-power more surely, more certainly, and more quickly than by any other method? Was not the late war with Spain ended by the destruction of the Spanish fleets at Manila and at Santiago? Of what moment to Spain was the loss of the eastern end of Cuba? It had been lost for two years. The Spanish fleet at Santiago was destroyed because it came to our own shores, and thereby aided us to end the war. Its difficulties in procuring coal in the West Indies are a matter of history. It could not strike our coast for want of coal. Are we to place ourselves in the same impotent position with reference to Europe and Africa? Is not

our geographical position an indication and a proof that any future attack against this country must be naval? Such an attack can only come from the east. Shall we not have the necessary accessories to enable us to destroy an invading force, even before it leaves its own shores? How are we to do so without a coal-supply-station somewhere on the other side of the Atlantic? Perhaps some Anti-Expansionist can answer this question.

As commerce will not flourish where it cannot be protected, it means that commerce must be totally abandoned in these waters. It means that we renounce forever the proud position we held forty years ago, as one of the chief carriers of the commodities of the world; that the Stars and Stripes, which waved from the gaffs of hundreds of the finest clippers the world has ever known, are to be seen no more on merchant ships in the busy European ports; that the hardy seamen, the outer bulwark of the nation's defence, who sailed their ships across the stormy Atlantic Ocean in winter and in summer, in storm and in sunshine, are to disappear; and that we are to continue to pay out our hundreds of millions to the owners of foreign bottoms for transporting our products to European and African ports. To be sure, the ocean greyhound and the tramp steamer have largely supplanted the clipper. These, however, require less skill and nerve to navigate than did the white-winged ships of half a century ago. It means that history hereafter will record that the United States had ceased to take the part in promoting peaceful commerce that she had done in the past, on the coasts of Africa, in the Dardanelles, on the Scheldt, and at the entrance to the Baltic; for of what value are words and diplomatic representations without force to back them up? It is positively known that the *prestige* of the United States has been doubled at the courts of Europe since the naval battles of Manila and Santiago. It is also known that some of the European Powers are becoming alarmed at the appearance of another Anglo-Saxon naval Power which must be taken into consideration in future political combinations.

And now let us turn to the south and glance at the map of the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea, located at our very doors. The building of an isthmian canal in the near future is a certainty: it will be a highway between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and must be guarded as an army defends its line of communication over which pass its supplies and sinews of war. In future our maritime interests cannot be greater in any part of the world away from our own coasts than in the vicinity of the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus of Panama. It is of paramount importance that we have coaling-stations and depots

for supplies located near all the great strategic points in the West Indies. Commencing at the west, the first is the Yucatan Channel; next, the old Bahama Channel; next, the Windward Passage between Cuba and Hayti. It is presumed that we have at present, and will have in the future, sufficient authority to insure stations in Cuba near these important places, where coal may be obtained. The next important position is the Mona Passage, between Hayti and Porto Rico. The port of Mayaguez, at the west end of Porto Rico, can be made a fair coaling-station: Samana Bay, Santo Domingo, is a better one. Passing on eastward, next comes the Virgin Passage, which may be controlled by ships supplied from ports at the east end of Porto Rico. West of this passage is the Danish island of St. Thomas, with the harbor of Charlotte Amalie. This should be by no means neglected and should never be permitted to pass into the hands of a commercial or naval rival. We need another coaling-station somewhere on the Spanish main; we must have coal at the termini of the isthmian canal; and we should absolutely possess Chiriqui Lagoon for a naval station, with docks, repair shops, and all supplies.

We have great interests on the eastern coast of South America. On account of our intention, publicly declared, to maintain the sovereignty of the territory of the South American republics against any aggression on the part of a European nation, it is but natural to suppose that we might expect some compensation from these republics. Further, that this compensation might be in the nature of an extension to us of facilities for war purposes, such as coaling-stations and depots for supplies at strategic locations. It is necessary for us to possess sovereign rights over any such stations, in order to prevent complications during war. It is not believed, however, that the South American republics consider themselves under any obligations to this country, notwithstanding the fact that there have been critical periods in the history of more than one when the services rendered by us were of the greatest value. It is not believed that we can rely, in time of war, upon the good-will of the South American republics to the extent of supplying us with coal and other naval necessities. The attitude of Chile in 1891, and during the recent war, is not promising in this respect. Therefore, it would seem a necessity to provide two or three stations between Cape Horn and the West Indies where our ships might replenish their coal-bunkers.

We now pass to the Pacific Ocean, once claimed by Spain as a *mare clausum*. It would seem that the greater part of the mantle of Spain's possession, whatever it was, has fallen upon the shoulders of

this country. We have possessed for a long time a golden empire to the eastward of this ocean; and now we are about to take possession of another to the westward. It behooves us to see that the line of communication between the two is not endangered by any Power likely to be hostile to us. The distance from San Francisco to the Philippine Islands, by way of Honolulu and the island of Guam, is about 7,000 miles. The first stopping-place on the journey, going west, is at our recently acquired possessions, the Hawaiian Islands, 2,100 miles from San Francisco. The value of these islands for coaling and naval stations, and as a strategic point of defence for the Pacific Coast, cannot be overestimated. The harbor of Honolulu is small. It is located about one mile from the open sea; and ships drawing twenty-eight feet of water can enter and moor alongside of its docks. Two slips, two piers, and a coal-storage capacity of 20,000 tons, exclusively for the use of naval ships, are in process of construction at this port. At a distance of about five miles west of the entrance to Honolulu is a magnificent land-locked sheet of water, called Pearl Harbor: at present ships of even moderate draft cannot enter it, owing to the formation of a bar near its mouth. When this bar is dredged, and the navigation of the entrance improved,—which can be done at moderate expenditure,—Pearl Harbor will present a most favorable location for a complete naval station, located from four to five miles from the open sea, with excellent means for defence. It should be our policy, in future, to locate there a naval dockyard such as found at Halifax, Bermuda, Jamaica, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Cape of Good Hope, Australia, Esquimalt, and other British colonial possessions.

The next stopping-place belonging to us, as we pursue our journey to the westward toward the Philippines, is the harbor of Port San Luis d'Apra, Island of Guam, one of the Ladrone, or Mariana, group, recently acquired from Spain by treaty. The distance from Honolulu to Guam is 3,337 miles. While most of our ships can steam this distance without being obliged to replenish their coal-bunkers, not all can do so; and it is entirely too great a separation of coaling-stations for efficient war purposes. The "Raleigh," now *en route* to the United States, is obliged to come *via* the Suez Canal, as she cannot steam from one coaling-port to another in the Pacific.

The Ladrone Islands have always belonged to Spain. They comprise all the islands lying within that portion of the earth's surface bounded by the 13th and 21st parallels of north latitude, and the 144th and 146th meridians of longitude east of Greenwich. The group is made up of

seventeen islands, running nearly north and south for a distance of about 500 miles. Only five of these islands are inhabited: these are Guam, Rota, Tinian, Saipan, and Agrigan, mentioned in their order from south to north. The total population of the group is about 10,000, the larger part of which is on the island of Guam. The inhabited islands are healthy and fertile. There are several active volcanoes in the group on the uninhabited islands; and earthquakes and severe gales occasionally occur. The rainy season extends from November to the middle of April; the prevailing winds are northeast, though in summer for three months they are from southeast to southwest; and the average temperature ranges from seventy to eighty degrees Fahrenheit. Supplies of food and water are abundant at Guam. Tanapag in Saipan, and San Luis d'Apra in Guam are the only harbors worth mentioning in the entire group, all other anchorages being exposed and unsafe open roadsteads. Of the two, San Luis d'Apra is the better: the harbor of Tanapag is not well surveyed or well known. Only the island of Guam has been acquired by treaty, the other islands of the group remaining in the possession of Spain. Its nearest neighbor is the island of Rota, thirty miles north, Guam being the southernmost of the group. The harbor of Tanapag, in Saipan, is one hundred and twenty-five miles from the harbor of Port San Luis d'Apra. The population of the group is now made up of natives from the Philippines and the Caroline Islands, with a few Spaniards and their half-breed descendants.

Guam is about thirty-two miles long, and from five to eight miles wide. It was the port of call for the treasure-laden Spanish galleons which went yearly between Manila and Acapulco. It has only a fair harbor: coral reefs extend out from its shores, for the most part, from one to two miles. Even small boats can pass over these reefs only at high water. There are no piers, lighters, storehouses, or other means for landing cargo, and but few inhabitants. The town of Agana, located about six miles from Port San Luis d'Apra, on the shores of the open sea, contains about 6,000 inhabitants and is the capital of the island. It possesses good Government buildings, a hospital, churches, schools, etc. It is said that 90 per cent of the inhabitants can read and write. The harbor has no buoys or other means of marking dangers to navigation. Much work is necessary before an efficient coaling-station can be established at this island. First, a survey is required; and for this purpose a ship is already on the way to the island. Until a coaling-depot can be established, coal will be supplied by means of Government steam-colliers, one now being *en route* from Manila. Admiral Ammen, who

visited the Ladrone Islands in 1846, says in his book, entitled "The Old Navy and The New": "Nowhere in the wide world has Nature been more lavish with her treasures to men than on the Island of Guam, or more earnest in sparing him pain."

It is 1,750 miles from Guam to Manila, *via* the north end of the island of Luzon, and 1,506 miles *via* San Bernardino Straits. The latter separate Luzon from the island of Samar. While these straits are navigable, they are not well surveyed and charted. The Philippine Islands have been so frequently described of late that only their general characteristics need be mentioned here.

It is estimated that there are at least one hundred good harbors in the group. The islands are so closely crowded together that vessels can anchor almost anywhere among them. Coaling-ports can be established as desired. The following harbors, on account of their location and the excellence of their protection, are the most important:

Harbor.	Island.
Manila	Luzon.
Malampaya Sound	Paláwan.
Iloilo	Panay.
Cebú	Cebú.
Pollok	Mindanao.

Malampaya Sound, Paláwan, is a most valuable site for a naval station. The extent of the indentation is nineteen miles, with a width of two to four miles. The entrance is three-fifths of a mile wide and between high headlands. The inner half of the Sound is approached by passing through another narrow channel with the most perfect means of defence. Within is a broad, open harbor, six to ten fathoms deep, with good holding-ground. There is an abundance of good fresh water.

Other valuable harbors may be discovered when the group is well surveyed. All charts of the islands and their adjacent waters are now very defective.

Coal will probably be found in nearly all of the large islands: their geological characteristics indicate its presence. In addition, the group occupies a position midway between the great coal-producing islands of Formosa and Borneo. Coal is now being mined on the island of Batan. It has been mined considerably on the island of Cebú, mining operations having been suspended only for the want of transportation facilities for the coal. It has been stated upon excellent authority that the Cebú coal is superior to the Japanese and of about the same quality as Australian.

In addition to Batan and Cebú, coal is known to be present on the islands of Luzón, Negros, Masbate, and Mindoro.

The Philippine Archipelago, largely forming the eastern boundary of the China Sea, occupies a most favorable position both from a military and a commercial point of view. The Straits of Mindoro, located between the island of that name and the island of Palawan, is a great highway for commerce between the coast of China and Australia and the Polynesian Islands. In fact, the entire commerce of the China Sea is within easy striking-distance of Manila harbor. Hong Kong is only six hundred miles distant. Manila in future is sure to become a great commercial entrepot for trade between the United States and China and Japan. It is about one thousand miles from Manila to Shanghai. This distance is too great for vessels of war to pass to and fro for coal; and the United States should possess a coaling-station somewhere near the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang or in the Yellow Sea.

It is always best to have coaling-stations isolated by means of a water boundary. An island with a good harbor and with good natural means of defence presents the most favorable conditions for such a station. One of the islands of the Chusan Archipelago is suggested as a most valuable acquisition to this country for a naval base. With the recent concessions made by China in the way of granting territory to other first-class nations, it would appear that the United States might, with becoming modesty, ask for one of these islands.

Let us now return to the Pacific Ocean, which we cannot guard too carefully against the inroads of foreign rivals. We need coaling-stations in the Aleutian Islands and on the Alaskan coast. These being our own possessions, such stations will come in due time, it being purely a question of money available for that purpose. The same may be said of locations on the southern or United States side of Puget Sound. The next station south is San Francisco, where there should be a very large depot for the storage of coal.

All of the coal mined on the Pacific Coast is a species of lignite, which is inferior for steaming purposes and not sufficiently good for naval use if other can be obtained. As it is about 15,000 miles from the coal-shipping ports of the Atlantic Coast to San Francisco, and as it takes from four to five months for a sailing-ship to traverse that distance, it can be readily understood why a large stock should be kept in store in San Francisco harbor.

In this connection, it is interesting to state that there is kept in store at Malta for the British navy from 125,000 to 150,000 tons of the

best Cardiff coal, although Malta is only about 2,000 miles from the source of supply.

It may not be generally known that, owing to the shallow water on the bar, the harbor of San Francisco cannot be entered at all stages of the tide and during all kinds of weather. The only harbor south of Puget Sound where this can be done is Magdalena Bay, on the coast of Lower California which belongs to Mexico. This bay is a magnificent sheet of water, perfectly land-locked, and presents one of the most important locations for a coaling-station on the Pacific Coast. Puget Sound, the Hawaiian Islands, Magdalena Bay, and a port near the Pacific terminus of the proposed transisthmian canal, are the most important strategic locations for coal-supply-stations anywhere in the Northeastern Pacific Ocean. It needs no argument to establish the fact that a coaling-station on the Pacific side of the Isthmus of Panama is absolutely essential. Fortunately, there are several harbors there from which a selection can be made.

If a map of the Pacific Ocean be examined, it will be seen that the line of communication between Hawaii and the Philippines by way of Guam is flanked by numerous islands extending east and west for a distance of about 2,500 miles. The eastern islands are known as the Marshall group, and were taken possession of by Germany in 1885. This group is composed of 46 islands, with a land area of 150 square miles and a population of 10,000. The group is made up of flat coral islands and atolls. The islands are poor in vegetation; and the natives draw their food-supplies chiefly from the cocoa-nut, pandanus, and bread-fruit trees. Yams, bananas, and taro are cultivated to some extent. The German capital is at the island of Juluit, which is also used as a naval base. The harbor is said to be a poor one. The native men are excellent sailors.

South of the Marshall Islands is the Gilbert group, annexed by Great Britain in 1892. This group, located on the equator, consists of 16 islands, all coral reefs or atolls. There is very little soil on them, and scarcely any vegetation except cocoa-nut and pandanus trees. These islands are densely populated, containing about 40,000 inhabitants. They have only about 170 square miles of land. Food-supplies are chiefly obtained from the sea.

West of the Marshall group are the Caroline Islands; and west of these the Pelews. The Pelews are frequently classed with the Carolines; and both will be considered together. These islands were discovered by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century. They were

visited by Spanish expeditions during the later part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth. Later they were claimed by the Spanish; but no attempt to take possession of or govern them was made until 1886, when Germany hoisted her flag on the island of Yap. The Spanish Government objected to this act; and eventually it was disavowed. During the excitement in Spain following the seizure of Yap by Germany, Señor Castelar stated in the Cortes that after Spain the United States had the next claim to the Caroline Islands, on account of the labors of American missionaries there. During the following year, 1887, Spain took possession of the Carolines, and established a small garrison with a governor on the island of Ponapi, one of the easternmost, and another on the island of Yap, one of the westernmost. As these islands, extending east and west for about 2,000 miles, are within one day's steaming-distance from the direct route between Hawaii and the Philippines, their future disposition is a matter of vital importance to the United States. For the most part they are located between the parallels of 5° and 10° north latitude and the meridians of 134° and 164° of longitude east of Greenwich. They consist of 48 islands or small groups of islands: 43 are of low coral formation, and 5 are basaltic. The latter are surrounded by coral reefs and are in places from 800 to 2,800 feet above the level of the sea; they are also densely wooded and well watered. The Carolines have a land area of about 500 square miles, and a population of 40,000. The chief islands are Ponapi, Kusaie, Yap, Lukunor, Ruk, and the Pelews. Nearly all of the islands have excellent harbors; and some of the latter are as well sheltered as a wet dock. Our own ships have explored and surveyed many of these harbors. The island of Wolea, possessing an excellent port, is nearly due south of Guam, and less than 300 miles from it.

The distance from Honolulu to Ponapi is 2,655 miles; to Kusaie 2,445 miles. From Ponapi to Guam it is 900 miles; and from Kusaie to Guam, 1,204 miles. From Ponapi to Manila, *via* the San Bernardino Straits, is 2,361 miles; from Kusaie, 300 miles additional. The Pelews are 600 miles, and Yap is 750 miles, from the Philippines.

All of the Caroline Islands are healthy; and they are outside of the zone of earthquakes and violent storms. The natives are docile and much attached to their American teachers.

American missionaries first went to the Caroline Islands from Honolulu in 1852. They made their headquarters on the islands of Ponapi and Kusaie, which are the best adapted for residence. At that time the inhabitants were ignorant and savage. From these two islands the

missionaries commenced to work among the adjacent islands, including the Gilbert and Marshall groups. Their plan was to bring young men to Ponapi and Kusaie from other islands, and, after educating and training them as teachers, to return them to the islands whence they came, to instruct the natives. The best results were obtained on the island of Ponapi. On that island there were no less than 15 churches in 1887. To-day on the island of Kusaie nearly every person can read and write and speak English. For thirty-five years after missionary work commenced there was no form of government on any of the Caroline Islands except that administered by native chiefs. Such was the condition of affairs in 1887, when Spain took possession of Ponapi. A governor, 50 soldiers, 25 convicts, and 6 Roman Catholic priests were sent from Manila. The American missionaries were promptly expelled. Once only since that time has their missionary vessel, the "Morning Star," been allowed to touch at any point on the island except under the guns of the Spanish fort; and intercourse with the natives has been strictly prohibited. In short, all missionary work on the island has ceased. The natives have refused to have anything to do with the Spaniards and have withdrawn into the interior. No attempt has been made by Spain to control any other of the Caroline Islands, except the island of Yap. Kusaie remains the headquarters of American missionaries.

In possession of a hostile nation, these islands are capable of becoming very formidable naval bases from which attacks on the line of communication between the Pacific Coast and the Philippines can be made. Is it not time to apply the Monroe Doctrine to the North Pacific Ocean?

The only interest we have in the great South Pacific Archipelago, with its vast island territory, is at the Samoan Islands. Notwithstanding the fact that this country explored and surveyed many of the islands in the South Pacific more than fifty years ago, our claims have narrowed down to being one of three nations forming a protectorate over the above-mentioned islands. By treaty with the Samoan Government—previously to the formation of this tripartite Government, consisting of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany—the United States secured a lease for a coaling and naval station at the harbor of Pago Pago, on the island of Tutuila. In accordance therewith, this Government is about to construct, at Pago Pago, facilities for storing coal. The question arises as to what complications would follow if this station were used for supplying ships with coal during a war. The other members of the tripartite Government, if neutrals, might consider it unfriendly to permit

the use of that harbor for such purposes. Possibly it might be. Greater complications might ensue if one of the members of the tripartite Government were itself at war with this country. It is therefore urged that these islands be divided, the United States to obtain absolute sovereignty over the island upon which it has had a claim for many years.

It is absolutely essential to have a coaling-station somewhere on the western coast of South America, either on an island or on the mainland. The absence of such a base of supply is very much felt at present, and will be accentuated after the completion of the isthmian canal.

The question of coaling-stations has been considered thus far solely from a military point of view. The commercial side of the question is more attractive to the economist. Great Britain, by her colonial enterprise, has made herself the financial clearing-house of the world and the mistress of the seas. She has acquired vast markets for her manufactures by the annexation of colonial territory. Her coaling-stations are, as a rule, a source of revenue rather than expense, or, as a writer has said, are assets rather than liabilities.

In this paper the effort has been made to deal only with facts. What are the wishes of the American people with regard to those facts?

R. B. BRADFORD.

AT THE NEW YORK THEATRES.

ABOUT four years ago, in an effort to find out what was being done in the interest of dramatic art in New York, I spent every evening of one week at a theatre; and, keeping a diary, I published in *THE FORUM* an account¹ of what I saw, with a few frank observations as to the cause of a bad condition, and some modest suggestions as to a means for the betterment of that condition. I have just had a similar experience. I did not go to the theatre every evening for a week,—I could not so arrange my engagements,—but I went to eight performances in a fortnight, and so saw the most notable pieces contemporaneously on the stages of the leading theatres.

I must say that, both as entertainment and as art, the conditions have vastly improved. I must also say that the improvement has not been brought about at all in the way that I suggested in my former article. My idea then was, and for that matter still is, that theatrical management has been made entirely too commercial, and that the actor has been so subordinated that he is merely a hired man, like any other servant; not being permitted to carry out to any extent his own ideas as to plays to be produced, or parts to be taken, or methods of playing parts after they have been assigned. The managers, I then said, were merely amusement purveyors, with no concern for anything else than the weekly balance-sheets. They are still that, and nothing more. I ought to say, however, for fear of being misunderstood, that the managers are not in the least to blame for their attitude. They are business men; and as such they would be very foolish to measure a play or a company of actors by any standard other than that of the box office. But this is very bad for dramatic art. The business men who have become managers are not to blame for what they have done. They have merely taken advantage of opportunities that were offered. The blameworthy are the actors themselves, who have surrendered their rightful place in theatrical control. If they ever regain control, it will be through the establishment of an academic theatre which, in object,

¹ "A Week in New York Theatres," *THE FORUM* for March, 1895.

in permanency, in dignity, and in character, shall resemble the subsidized theatres of the Continent.

The improvement in conditions from four years ago is quite marked. Then sex problems were in vogue: then every new play had unchastity for its theme. The public must have tired of all this drivel and vulgarity; for in the new plays what there is of this is subordinate, rather than ever at the front. This is a very distinct gain; and we should be grateful for it, no matter whence or why we got it. But I shall defer further reflections till I have reported on what I saw on my visits of observation.

Tuesday, November 15.—The Garden Theatre: Mr. Richard Mansfield in Edmond Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac." This is a very wonderful play. In Paris it has excited more interest, and received more praise, than any drama produced for a quarter of a century. In France Rostand, the young author, is proclaimed a great poet and a great dramatist. He is placed by some on a plane with Molière: by others he is said to be in the same class as Shakespeare. His drama is certainly a great production, both as a poem and as a play. Whether it deserves to rank so high as some would place it, is a question foreign to the purpose of this article. But it is gratifying to all sincere lovers of the drama that such a play should have been written at this time, and even more gratifying that such a poem should be so entirely pleasing to an audience of the day. We have been told that modern audiences would not have this and that: we have been told that they wanted either coarse and suggestive merriment or depictions of the downright filthy life which is chronicled in the gossip of the daily press. Optimists have never believed this. Now appears Rostand's play; and crowded houses are thrilled through a long performance of a drama which is a poem from beginning to end. The public has never lost its taste for what is truly great and good.

There is a very large cast needed for this play,—forty-three men and nine women;—and in most of the scenes the stage is pretty well filled with people. And yet, when one comes away, he remembers with distinctness only the two central personages, *Cyrano* and *Roxane*. That he does not recall the others, is evidence that the actors in the minor parts do what it is theirs to do very acceptably and do not make discords. This, I take it, is as it should be; for these others are but accessories. *Cyrano* and *Roxane* are the play—his love for her, and her love for the soul of him.

As the play and its hero were so fully described in a recent number of *THE FORUM*,¹ it does not seem necessary to tell again the story of the poem at this time except in barest outline. *Cyrano de Bergerac* was a Gascon soldier of the earlier half of the seventeenth century. In real life he was a roistering, quarrelsome duellist of wonderful success in his encounters with the sword. After he left the army he wrote several plays, two of which were produced shortly before his death. He had a large nose, which was much disfigured by the slashes it had received in numerous fights. This is the person Rostand makes the hero of his poem, the motive of which is the love of *Cyrano* for *Roxane*, and the restraint upon his love because he knows that his disfiguring nose will prevent any woman from considering him as a possible lover. Just, however, as a faint hope is awakened he learns that *Roxane* has given her love to another,—a dull-witted, but handsome, youth, quite unworthy in everything save beauty. *Cyrano* desires that *Roxane* shall be happy and that he shall in a measure contribute to it. He, therefore, decides to assist the handsome lover in his love-making. And so the words that are spoken, the letters that are written, are *Cyrano's*; and he is at least partly the lover who wins the fair lady. This is the theme; and just as *Cyrano* dies *Roxane* learns the truth. Such are the outlines of the story upon which Rostand has constructed the most successful play of this end of the century.

If this play were not beautifully acted, it would be intolerable. But the performance at the Garden Theatre left little to be desired. Whether Mansfield's *Cyrano* is equal to that of Coquelin it is bootless to inquire: whether or not it is an imitation of Coquelin's it is profitless to ask. But it is very satisfactory. In the first act the enunciation was so rapid that I could understand very little of what *Cyrano* said. I had an idea that if I had not been familiar with the play I should have been quite bewildered. I cannot be sure of this, however, for I do not believe that a majority of the audience had read the play; and yet I never saw a house filled with people more absorbed in what was happening on the stage. Before the second act was finished the illusion was complete; and thereafter the audience—critics, dullards, and all—lived on the stage, lived with the actors, who did not seem actors, but real men and women who joyed and suffered, who fought and died. I cannot recall an illusion of the stage that has been so complete and so prolonged. Here was a triumph both for author and for actor.

¹ "Cyrano de Bergerac," by MR. GUSTAV KOBÉ in *THE FORUM* for December, 1898, p. 502.

In my twenty years of visits to the New York playhouses we have had nothing new of a class so high as this. Indeed, I am inclined to put it in a class by itself. It appears to please all persons, each according to his or her capacity for appreciation. I heard a literary man say a little while ago that he did not care to see "Cyrano" on the stage because the poem had delighted him so greatly that he feared to have his pleasure spoiled by those who spoke the lines. He was persuaded to go, and was grateful indeed to those who urged him out of his original determination. On the stage, as acted by the company at the Garden Theatre, the poem became even more poetic, and the beauties, which seemed to the critic too elusive and fine for the actor's art, took on new beauty. All this proves that Francisque Sarcey was right when he said, in his critique of the first performance, "A poet is born unto us; and what charms me most is, this poet is a man of the theatre."

Thursday, November 17.—The Knickerbocker Theatre: Mr. Hall Caine's "The Christian." This is a very distressing melodrama, and is a dramatic rendering of Mr. Caine's novel of the same name. The novel, it will be recalled, had great popularity all over the English-speaking world; the great reading masses finding it very much to their liking; while the critics and all others who were jealous in the defence of good taste and art in literature declared that it was vulgar, ill-written, slipshod, and maudlin. The same may be said of the play, and with more positiveness. We need not blush when we read even what is utterly silly in a book; but when the same thing is put upon the stage greater force is given to it and we see it with much greater vividness. When it is hopelessly maudlin and vulgar, we can hardly refrain from a certain kind of angry displeasure. And when such sloppy sentimentality is exposed as that in "The Christian," this angry feeling is accompanied by a certain kind of despondency; for we see that the majority of the audience like immensely what has been constructed for them.

It is not necessary for me to tell the tale. The book has been so generally read and discussed that most persons are familiar with it. But its utter unreality was not shown in the book as it is on the stage. In life there are no such stilted heroes as Hall Caine's: in life there are no villains that approach his in the hopeless vulgarity of their villainy. But really the heroes are more vulgar than the villains; for the heroes preserve a seriousness through it all, while the villains say "Hah, hah!" between their teeth, as they rush off the stage, and thereby impress upon us the fact that they are only making believe. There is an attempt

now and then to be witty in the play; and these witticisms hit the mark. However, the chief villain's "Hah! now he is mine" is genuinely funny, and relieves the sad tension of the situations most wonderfully.

"The Christian" is one of the most successful plays, from a business standpoint, that has been acted for years; and it is likely that its production in this country will result in very great gain for the author. How it will take in England is another matter; for Dissenters are not popular there, except among themselves. The hero, it is true, is an ordained clergyman of the English Church; but in practice, in sentiment, and, most of all, in speech, he is a Dissenter of Dissenters—a Salvation Army laddie in the robes of a priest of the Roman Catholic Church.

It was hard for me to sit through this play, which consists really of five acts. When two acts were finished I should have fled; but I had not the heart to disturb the four weeping women between me and the aisle and so interrupt the luxury of their tears. They were having a "rare good time."

The play was entrusted to very skilful hands; and the actors were forceful in carrying out what the melodrama demanded of them. Their accomplishments as players had a double effect; for they made the scenes more delightfully distressing to those who liked them, and accentuated the vulgarity of the situations and the sentiments to those who liked them not.

Saturday Evening, November 19.—Wallack's Theatre: Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett's "A Lady of Quality." This was founded on the very successful novel of several years ago, which the literary critics were agreed was on a higher plane of workmanship than anything else Mrs. Burnett had done. Some found fault with the morals of the book, and asserted that those who did wrong should not be permitted to escape the consequences. But no large section of the public demands that art shall always be preaching sermons; and so Mrs. Burnett's book was widely read, much discussed, and very genuinely enjoyed. A year ago it was produced here in its dramatic form, the same charming actress, Miss Julia Arthur, taking the principal part.

The scene is laid in the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the heroine, *Clorinda Wildairs*, is the daughter of a dissolute baronet. She dresses in boy's clothes, rides astride in the hunting-field, swears like a stable-boy, and is at once hoyden, vixen, and shrew. The villain, *Sir John Oxon*, appears in the first act, and discloses the fact that

he has laid a wager to win the favors of the wild young girl. He wins the wager, as we learn in the second act, when he, now betrothed to an heiress, comes to break off with *Clorinda*. *Clorinda*, learning of *Oxon's* betrothal before he meets her, dismisses him with scorn. Then she accepts the suit of an elderly nobleman, immediately after which she meets the *Duke of Osmonde*, the only man for whom she has ever had a respectful admiration. The *Duke* discloses to the audience, if not to *Clorinda*, that he is in love with that beautiful woman. The third act opens in London with *Clorinda* a widow and a countess, and the *Duke of Osmonde* about to appear. *Oxon* comes on the stage in the attitude of bully and blackmailer. *Clorinda* defies him; and he goes away to search for a lock of hair, which he had cut from her head as the evidence of her favor. Meantime *Osmonde* appears and makes very stilted love to *Clorinda*, who yields at last—as she meant to do from the beginning. This business being settled, the *Duke* rushes off, and *Oxon* reënters. He tells *Clorinda* of the wager that originally took him to her; of his recovery of the lock of hair; and of his intention to have her for himself, now that she is rich,—otherwise to prevent her from becoming the *Duchess of Osmonde*. *Clorinda*, maddened by his insults, strikes him with the handle of her heavy riding-whip; and he falls dead at her feet. She covers the body with a sofa, and then receives a numerous company of guests. At dead of night she hides the body in the cellar, which afterward she has bricked up. The next and last act is her meeting with *Osmonde* after his return. He overhears her frantic talk with her sister, and learns that it was she who killed *Oxon*, and, presumably, why she killed him. He approves of everything, forgives everything, and they “live happily ever afterward.”

In the novel the *dénoûment* is different. *Osmonde* never learned her story; but they lived happily ever afterward all the same. Possibly Mrs. Burnett feared that, in a realistic representation on the stage, an audience would be shocked to see a woman who had slain one lover happy in the arms of another. If this were the reason for the alteration in the play, I do not think she need have bothered; for it seems quite impossible that anyone should take seriously what in this play is done and said. From beginning to end it is most palpable play-acting; and there is no more illusion than that we create at a masked ball, when, in unaccustomed costume, friend talks to friend in a voice that is frankly assumed. But the play affords a pleasing entertainment. Indeed, the heroine is on the stage nearly all the time, and is so fair to look upon that she is entertainment in herself.

Monday Evening, November 21.—Daly's Theatre: Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice." Whenever during his long and successful management Mr. Daly has put a play on the stage, it has always been well worth notice. I am not including, of course, the musical farces with which he supplements his regular season; though against these very little can be said, as the merriment of them is usually refined, and the horse-play relieved and saved by humor. But the serious things, whether new plays or the revivals of old comedies, are always worthy of serious attention. Mr. Daly has, it is true, sometimes failed to hit the public taste; but he has never seemed to be discouraged. On the contrary, he has always gone on to better things, as though confident of his ability to win success. He, therefore, never skimps in any of his productions. What is worth doing at all seems to him to be worth doing well. And so, when for the first time he produced "The Merchant of Venice," he put it forth with a setting which with entire propriety may be called gorgeous.

Mr. Daly has a very able company; and it is equal to almost any demand that can be made upon it. Its chief member, Miss Rehan, has a capacity so wide in its scope that she appears to be able to take any part that has been written. She is now in the maturity of her power, ripe in experience, and rich in beauty. It is therefore gratifying to record that her *Portia* was entirely satisfactory.

When a play such as this is revived it is impossible not to compare, mentally at least, the actors in it with those previously seen. And we have seen great *Portias* in New York, even in recent years, and *Shylocks* too. I fancy that no old theatre-goer went to Daly's without a keenly whetted curiosity as to how this new *Portia* would compare in this great part with Miss Terry and a half-dozen others who have been distinguished in it. It may be said at once that her interpretation of the part is not in imitation of anyone else. In *Portia* she employs the same methods which she has found efficacious in other plays, and achieves the same success to which she is accustomed. It may be said, with truth perhaps, that she is not great as an elocutionist; it may be said also, and perhaps with just as much truth, that she lacks the "grand manner" of the olden time, during which convention "built big" about such parts as this. And other special things might be said of this particular and that in her acting of *Portia* and her speaking of the lines. But in the end the conclusion must be arrived at that her *Portia* is a living woman, a living, feeling, beautiful woman moving through a brilliant comedy which is at the same time one of the greatest poems ever created.

Therefore her success is certain; and she has added to her well-earned laurels by this latest achievement.

The *Shylock* struggled valiantly with a part almost too strong for him. It was, however, a smooth and well-thought-out performance; while the scenery and stage setting generally were thoroughly artistic and beautiful.

With this play Mr. Daly asked the question very plainly as to whether the New York public really wanted Shakespearian plays. The pessimists, as is their nature, said at once that the time for Shakespeare was past; but there are others who believe very sincerely that Shakespeare would be as much enjoyed as ever, if the public had sufficient opportunities to become accustomed to his plays. The taste has been diverted; but I do not believe that it has been spoiled.

Tuesday Evening, November 22.—The Lyceum Theatre: "Trelawny of the Wells," by Mr. Arthur W. Pinero.¹ I do not know whether Mr. Pinero intended this as a burlesque or not. On the playbills it is called a comedietta; and, therefore, I am inclined to believe that the playwright did not intend that horse-play should predominate. It does, however, at the Lyceum. And it may be that without this exaggeration and noisiness the play would be tame. As it is, it affords an evening of gay entertainment; and we should be grateful for it. If the play or comedietta, or burlesque, or whatever it is, has any purpose, it is to contrast the Bohemian society of the stage folk with the conventional life that flourishes among the English upper middle-class. In the play, both of these are overdrawn; and so, I fancy, the contrast in effect may not be unfair, though in both cases the representations are.

The play has to do with a young man, the grandson of a vice-chancellor, who falls in love with an actress. The actress is taken to the vice-chancellor's house on probation. There she is bored by what the lines of the play represent as narrowness and dulness; and the vice-chancellor is shocked by her freedom of manners and her disregard of the conventions. She goes back to the theatre; her lover goes on the provincial stage; and everybody is boisterously unhappy till the lovers are brought together in the rehearsal of a new play. And there we are.

I do not believe that any actors off the stage ever behaved as do these in Mr. Pinero's play. But surely Mr. Pinero knows better than I; and then the actors who are in the play must know all about it. Still I am more than half convinced that all this was meant for a burlesque, a hoax

¹ An article on "The Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero," by Mr. GUSTAV KOBÉ, appeared in THE FORUM for September, 1898, p. 119.—ED.

on the public. It is absolutely certain that no English vice-chancellor ever had a household which in the slightest degree resembled the one which is here put upon the stage. The actress who is supposed to shock these straightlaced residents of Cavendish Square is at every moment of the time a thousand times more conventional in her appearance and her action than those she is supposed to shock.

But, as was said before, the play is very good fun; and an evening at the Lyceum while this piece holds the stage will be spent gayly and innocently. It is a great relief from some of the sex problems Mr. Pinero has sent us. It is quite devoid of vulgarity. I have said that the acting was mostly horse-play. That is quite true; but there were two exceptions. Miss Mannering, who had the part of *Rose Trelawny*, and Mr. Morgan, who acted as *Tom Wrench*, held aloof from this; and each is as serious as the surroundings will permit. Indeed Mr. Morgan showed extraordinary skill in that quietness of action upon the perfection and general adoption of which the success of the new dramatic school depends. Of this school there are several able exponents on the American stage. Most of them, however, are women. This member of the Lyceum company is one of the very few men who are worthy to be classed in the same rank as the accomplished women who are at this time the chief ornaments of the stage and the greatest attractions of the playhouses.

Wednesday Evening, November 23.—Madison Square Theatre: "On and Off," from the French of Alexandre Bisson. This is a farce pure and simple; and it affords as good entertainment as anything seen on the New York stage in years. Most of the comedies we see, especially those imported from England, are converted into farces by the actors, who seem to believe that they have to do so in order to give the plays the necessary movement and snap. But this is a frank farce which pretends to be nothing else. And from beginning to end it is free from coarseness. The name of the farce made me feel very shy of it: but I was wrong in my suspicions; and I am grateful for the opportunity to say so. It is, to be sure, fooling, as farces should be; but it is delightful fooling all the time. In it the phonograph is introduced with good effect; and the sepulchral voice that comes from that machine adds greatly to the gayety of the situations.

I should not like to say that most of the comedies on the New York stage are entrusted to actors who would be more at home in noisy farces. I do not need to say it. These actors proclaim it nightly, and, in some instances, at two *matinées* a week besides. But in this farce we have in the chief part one of the most accomplished actors of the

day,—a player whose work in many lines has met not only popular favor, but critical approval. In this farce Mr. Holland is admirable—admirable in his *abandon*, admirable in his reserve. His acting in this instance shows the inestimable advantage of training in a wide range of characters and of plays. All the parts in the farce were well done, however; and the well-pleased audience laughed and chuckled from the rise of the curtain to its fall.

Thursday Evening, November 24.—The Empire Theatre: "The Liars," by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones. This is a very commonplace play by an English playwright who appears to have very commonplace talents and much industry in the exercise of them. He has not quite succeeded in getting rid of the idea that French art depends upon the flavor of vulgarity which seems inseparable from the French life, as it is shown to us by the novelists and playwrights of Paris. Mr. Jones, therefore, continues to insert into his depiction of English life the false idea that the chastity of women is always on trial.

It is true that the plot of "The Liars" is so slight, and at the same time so obvious, that no one in the audience is in suspense even for a moment as to what is going to happen. No one feels any concern as to the safety of the young woman; for there is absolute certainty that everything will be worked out satisfactorily, with tears, contrition, and reconciliation at the end. The audience, being relieved of apprehension, and undisturbed by the slightest illusion, is in a condition to enjoy the humorous antics of the people on the stage. And these people are men and women of very marked talent, the chief actor, Mr. John Drew, being a comedian of approved ability. He is evidently a thorough humorist; for he provokes laughter in the simplest possible way. He has, too, that genius which the best *raconteurs* possess; for he gains our confidence, and we are ready to respond appropriately whenever he bids us. This is a rare faculty; and in such a play as "The Liars" it is absolutely necessary. Without him, or some one like him, the play would not get on at all. There is no demand for naturalness from him; and therefore the simple devices he employs divert us exceedingly. The evening was gay and filled with more or less hearty laughter. But the next morning it was really difficult to recall what had been amusing. This play is one of the great successes of the season; and the house is crowded at every performance. Mr. Drew, however, is exceedingly popular in New York, and always attracts.

Friday Evening, November 25.—Garrick Theatre: "Catherine," by Henri Lavedan. This is a translation from the French; and, when I

saw it, it had occupied the stage of the Garrick Theatre for ten weeks, and had always attracted large audiences. The first translation was made, I am told, by the London critic, Mr. Clement Scott; but the Ollendorff English of this version was considered a trifle too mechanical. The play is a very slight thing; and there is little or no suspense in it. We see at the beginning how the whole thing is to be worked out. *Catherine Vallon* is the mainstay of a poor, but respectable, family. She is a music-teacher; and, while giving piano lessons to *Madeleine de Coutras*, the brother—a very rich and, in his youth, a real Sunday-school young man, who is also a duke—falls in love with her. *Catherine* has already a lover, a young man in her own class, who also has virtues to spare; and to him she engages herself just before the *Duke's* mother comes to ask, in behalf of her son, *Catherine's* hand in marriage. *Catherine* asks for time. Then the lover appears, and, with a generosity more than human, gives up his sweetheart to her noble suitor. After they are married *Catherine* gets jealous of the *Duke's* cousin, who is also in love with him. This cousin, who is not viciously bad, but who is no better than she should be, is the villain of the play. *Catherine* catches the cousins embracing; and then she concludes to leave her grand home. She sends, however, for her highly moral lover; he straightens out the tangle; and all once more are as happy as possible.

It will be seen that in this very simple plot there is nothing novel, nothing novel except that it should be of French manufacture and still preserve a Sunday-school atmosphere. The construction, however, is good; and the play moves along so smoothly that one is half persuaded that things are really happening. And there are times when the illusion is complete; for the play is most admirably acted. The honors of it easily go to Mrs. Lemoyne, who plays the part of the *Duchesse de Coutras*, and who is a very accomplished actress. Her methods are very quiet. She never rants, never rushes around, never screams, never screws up her face nor rolls her eyes, never saws the air with her hands, nor walks back and forth to show her gowns and prolong her scenes. She is a complete artist, the realization of quietness, of naturalness. Hers is an important part; but, confided to a person of less ability, it would have been only a peg to hang two or three episodes upon. Miss Annie Russell, the star of the piece, is also an accomplished player; and she gets all that is possible out of her part. She, too, is quiet in her methods, and can express emotion without raising a whirlwind. Indeed in this little play all the women do excellently well. They surpass the men in lack of self-consciousness and in the capacity to be quiet.

When I prepared my article for THE FORUM in 1895 I went to six performances, as follows: Gillette's "Too Much Johnson"; Sardou's "Madame Sans Gêne"; Grundy's "A White Lie"; Jones's "The Case of Rebellious Susan"; a German comedy, "The Railroad of Love"; and Sardou's "Gismonda." One of these was American, one was German, two were French, and two were English. Among them there was not a great play. Of course both of Sardou's were of finished construction; though one, by reason somewhat of its subject and treatment, and also on account of the ineptness of the players, was both brutal and coarse. Both of the English plays were of the sex-problem character; and both were vulgar in idea and immoral in influence. The German play was rather a farce than a comedy, and was full of harmless fun. The American piece was a very broad farce; and I described it as "immoral and coarse, without relief." In the main these plays were all well acted; and, without exception, they were put on the stage with a most admirable liberality of setting.

But the showing as a whole was distressing, though by no means hopeless. We had able actors and liberal managers: the difficulty seemed to be to obtain good plays which the public would care for. To be sure, the method of employing actors seemed to me to be wrong, inasmuch as it circumscribed their rightful province in the theatre, and quite took from them the responsibility for taking the initiative and being original. That condition has not been changed, nor is it likely to be in the immediate future, as the managers are more firmly in control now than before. But the conditions which concern the public have improved; for the plays given are in the main of a higher class, and the acting is better also.

Of the eight plays I saw this winter one was an English classic of the highest order, and one a French poem which will surely be among the classics when it is no longer new. Of the remaining six three were English and two were French; while one was American, if it be correct to count Mrs. Burnett as one of ourselves. I need not speak of "The Merchant of Venice" nor of "Cyrano de Bergerac." They are of an order so much higher than the other six that they cannot be compared with either of them in any way; nor can either of them be compared to the plays produced when I made my former report. Of the three new English plays one is wholesomely amusing, one amusingly commonplace, and the third, "The Christian," is, in my opinion, depressingly immoral. The two French plays are both clean and pure. The American play is, as I have said, merely a play, and is neither bad nor good.

In a recapitulation such as this the very marked improvement is not as apparent as it should be. Indeed, it is very hard to convey an idea of the difference. Those former visits depressed me. I was convinced that what I saw on the stage were not depictions of life, but, in great measure, mere arrangements of disagreeable and often nasty situations which ought not to be mentioned in polite society, much less placed upon the stage. On my recent visits I saw only one play that was actually vulgar; and even in this instance the vulgarity of it entirely escaped the majority of those who saw it. One of the others was commonplace, one was meant to be very *risqué*, but escaped, and in the others there was nothing harmful whatever. Then we had "The Merchant of Venice" and "Cyrano." Such a showing is a very great and gratifying advance.

When nastiness revelled behind the foot-lights the managers apologized for it by saying that they were giving only what the public required. However the public felt then, there is now a change; whether it has been made by public demand or not I do not know. One thing however is certain; viz., the theatres are much more crowded now than they were then. Here, too, it is not safe to draw hasty conclusions. There seems to be more money to spend this winter than there was a few years ago. And there is another thing. In times of prosperity money is spent with a light heart, and people do not count the cost.

Mark Twain, in a recent article in *THE FORUM*,¹ made an eloquent plea for tragedy. He asks for a tragic tonic once in a while, as then

"we shall enjoy the comedies all the better. Comedy keeps the heart sweet; but we all know that there is wholesome refreshment for both mind and heart in an occasional climb among the solemn pomps of the intellectual snow-summits built by Shakespeare and those others."

In this our great humorist, turned serious for a season, is undoubtedly right. We need tragedies; we need great plays, either old or new, not only for the sake of the people who go to the playhouses, but for the sake of the men and women of the stage; for it is in great plays, and in great plays alone, that they can acquire that easy skill and that commanding distinction which place the great actor at such a distance from the mummer and the mountebank.

If the plays and the acting I have seen indicate fairly the condition of dramatic art in America, then I must conclude that the condition is infinitely more healthy than it was four years ago.

JOHN GILMER SPEED.

¹ "About Play-Acting," in *THE FORUM* for October, 1898, p. 143.

INDEX.

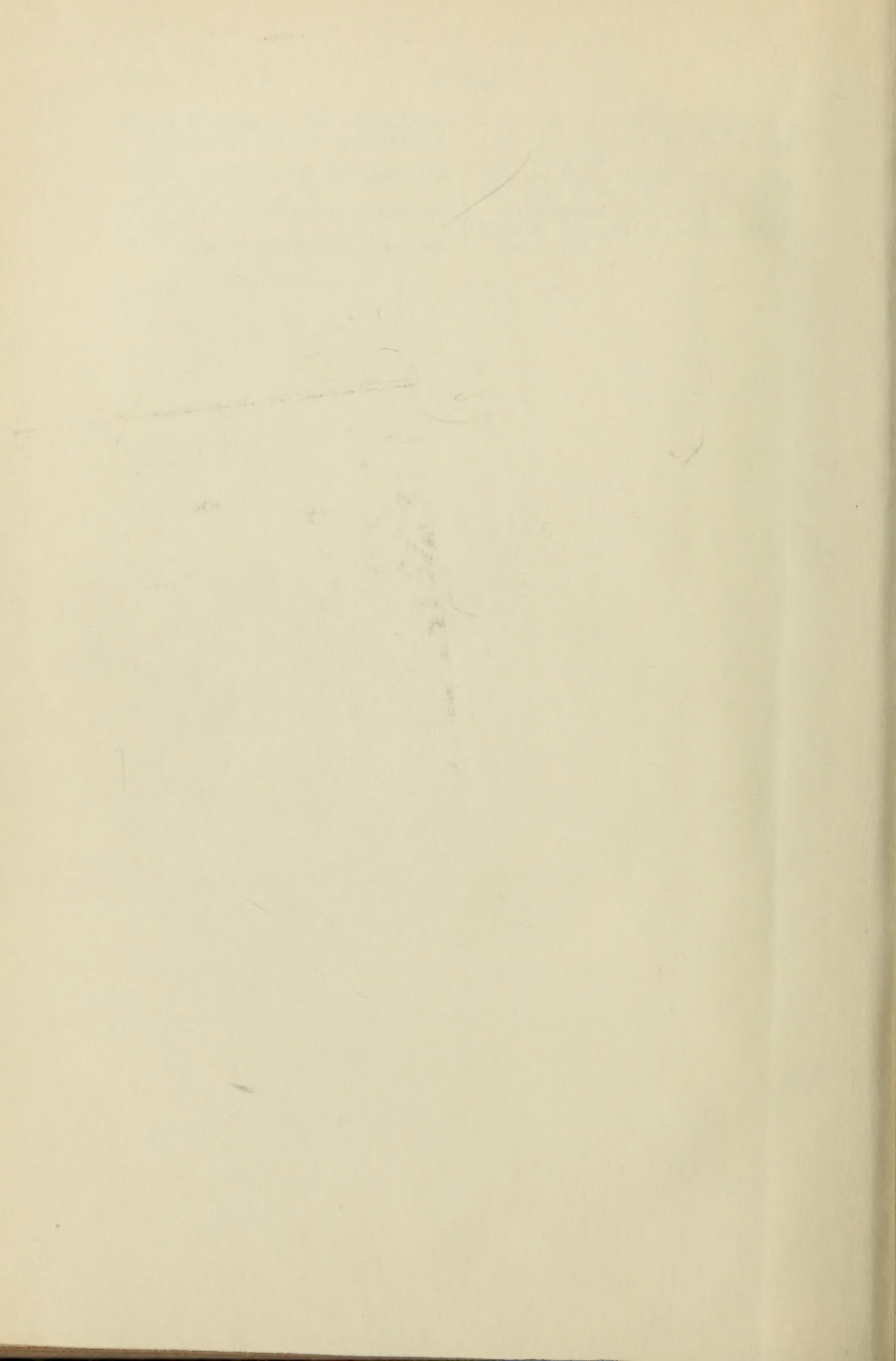
- ABBOT, HENRY L. The new Panama Canal, 343
 About play-acting, 143
 Air, The upper regions of the, 561
 Amateurs in war, 157
 American literature and American nationality, 633
 American nationality, American literature and, 633
 American seaman, The, under the law, 718
 Annexation and universal suffrage, 393
 Anti-Trust Act, the Federal, Recent construction of, 452
 Are the Germans still a nation of thinkers? 592
 Army of the United States, The, 513
 Art, Democratic, 66
 BABCOCK, J. W. Lessons of the recent election, 403
 BACON, CECIL FREDERICK. Intercollegiate debating, 222
 BAILEY, E. LAMAR. Tramps and hoboes, 217
 Balloon in warfare, The, 1
 BEALE, TRUXTUN. Our interest in the next congress of the Powers, 37
 Bergerac, Cyrano de, 502
 Bismarck, 188
 BLACKMAR, FRANK W. San Francisco's struggle for good government, 567
 BRADFORD, R. B. Coaling-stations for the navy, 732
 BULKLEY, JULIA E. Social ethics in the schools, 615
 Byron revival, The, 242
 Canal, The new Panama, 343
 Canal, The Nicaragua, 331
 CARY, EDWARD. Tammany past and present, 200
 Change in English sentiment toward the United States, The, 364
 Civil service, Political activity in the, 413
 Civilization, The war and the extension of, 650
 CLARK, S. N. Some weak places in our pension system, 306
 Coaling-stations for the navy, 732
 College education, Does it pay? 354
 Consulting psychologist, The new psychology and the, 80
 CORBIN, H. C. The army of the United States, 513
 COVILLE, FREDERICK V. Our public grazing-lands, 108
 Cubans, The conduct of the, in the late war, 152
 Culture and education, 693
 Cyrano de Bergerac, 502
 Dangers of Imperialism, The, 177
 Debating, Intercollegiate, 222
 Decade of magazine literature, A, 211
 Democratic art, 66
 DENBY, CHARLES. Shall we keep the Philippines? 279; the doctrine of intervention, 385; why the treaty should be ratified, 641
 Development, The course of human, 56
 DILKE, CHARLES WENTWORTH. The future relations of Great Britain and the United States, 521
 Doctrine of intervention, 385
 Does college education pay? 354
 DORNER, OTTO. Good roads and State aid, 668
 DRAGE, GEOFFREY. England and Russia in the Far East, 129
 Dreyfus affair, The, 257
 East, the Far, England and Russia in, 129
 EATON, CHARLES H. A decade of magazine literature, 211
 Educated negro, The, and menial pursuits, 434
 Education, Culture and, 693
 Education, Does college, pay? 354
 Election, Lessons of the recent, 403
 Election, The recent, and its results, 547
 Election, The significance of the Oregon, 41

- England and Russia in the Far East, 129
 English sentiment toward the United States, The change in, 364
 EUCKEN, RUDOLF. Are the Germans still a nation of thinkers? 592
 Far West, Gold and other resources of the, 97
 Federal Anti-Trust Act, Recent construction of the, 452
 Fires, Forest, 406
 Forest Fires, 406
 Free coinage of silver by the United States alone—the Populist conceit, 136
 Future relations of Great Britain and the United States, The, 521
 GANNETT, HENRY. Forest fires, 406
 GARDNER, AUGUSTUS P. The school system of Porto Rico, 711
 Germans, Are the, still a nation of thinkers? 592
 Germany and Great Britain, 321, 459
 Gold and other resources of the Far West, 97
 Gold, The increasing supply of, 656
 Good roads and State aid, 668
 GOODRICH, JOSEPH KING. Some Japanese ways, 673
 Government and society in the Klondyke, 603
 Grazing-lands, Our public, 108
 Great Britain and the United States, The future relations of, 521
 Great Britain, Germany and, 321, 459
 GUYOT, YVES. The Dreyfus affair, 257
 Havana, Col. Waring on the sanitation of, 529
 HEATH, PERRY S. Political activity in the Civil Service, 413
 HERGESELL, H. The balloon in warfare, 1
 HILL, DAVID J. The war and the extension of civilization, 650
 HILL, G. EVERETT. Col. Waring on the sanitation of Havana, 529
 Hoboes, Tramps and, 217
 HOWARD, O. O. The conduct of the Cubans in the late war, 152
 Human development, The course of, 56
 Imperialism, Isolation or? 14
 Imperialism, The dangers of, 177
 Increasing supply of gold, The, 656
 Indians, the Pillager, Protest of, 471
 Industrial investigations: fallacious statistics and erroneous generalizations, 229
 Intercollegiate debating, 222
 Intervention, The doctrine of, 385
 Isolation or Imperialism? 14
 JANE, FRED. T. Naval lessons of the war, 294
 Japan, The relation of, to other nations, 427
 Japanese ways, Some, 673
 JONES, JOHN CARLETON. Does college education pay? 354
 Journalism: its rewards and its opportunities, 441
 KERR, JAMES. The recent election and its results, 547
 Klondyke, the, Government and society in, 603
 Klondyke, The pilgrimage to the, and its outcome, 45
 KOBBE, GUSTAV. The plays of Arthur Wing Pinero, 119; *Cyrano de Bergerac*, 502
 LATCHA, J. A. Gold and other resources of the Far West, 97
 Lessons, Naval, of the war, 294
 Lessons of our war loan, 27
 Lessons of the recent election, 403
 LEUPP, FRANCIS E. The protest of the Pillager Indians, 471
 Liquor legislation in Norway, 551
 LOGAN, WALTER S. Saxon and Latin courts, 703
 LOMBROSO, CESARE. Sociological and ethnical sources of the greatness of Venice, 485
 LOW, A. MAURICE. Amateurs in war, 157
 LOW, SIDNEY. The change in English sentiment toward the United States, 364
 MABIE, HAMILTON W. American literature and American nationality, 633
 MACARTHUR, WALTER. The American seaman under the law, 718
 MCCAMANT, WALLACE. The significance of the Oregon election, 41
 MACDONALD, WILLIAM. The dangers of Imperialism, 177
 MCGEE, W. J. The course of human development, 56
 MCMASTER, J. B. Annexation and universal suffrage, 393
 Magazine literature, A decade of, 211
 MATHEWS, BYRON C. A study in nativities, 621
 Menial pursuits, The educated negro and, 434
 MILLER, WARNER. The Nicaragua Canal, 331
 Moral of the Cuban War, The, 282
 MORRILL, JUSTIN S. The Populist conceit—the free coinage of silver by the United States alone, 136
 Nativities, A study in, 621
 Naval lessons of the war, 294
 Navy, Coaling-stations for the, 732
 New Panama Canal, The, 343
 New psychology, The, and the consulting psychologist, 80
 New York theatres, At the, 748

- Nicaragua Canal, The, 331
 North Carolina, The race war in, 578
 Norway, Liquor legislation in, 551
 Oregon election, The significance of the, 41
 Our interest in the next congress of the Powers, 37
 Our public grazing-lands, 108
 Our war with Spain from the political point of view, 167
 PALMER, FREDERICK. The pilgrimage to the Klondyke and its outcome, 45; government and society in the Klondyke, 603
 Panama Canal, The new, 343
 PEABODY, FRANCIS G. Liquor legislation in Norway, 551
 Pension system, Some weak places in our, 306
 Philippines, Shall we keep the? 279
 Pilgrimage to the Klondyke and its outcome, The, 45
 Pillager Indians, Protest of the, 471
 Pinero, Arthur Wing, The plays of, 119
 Play-acting, About, 143
 Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero, The, 119
 Political activity in the Civil Service, 413
 Populist conceit, The,—the free coinage of silver by the United States alone, 136
 Porto Rico, The school system of, 711
 Powers, Our interest in the next congress of the, 37
 PROCTER, JOHN R. Isolation or Imperialism? 14
 Protest of the Pillager Indians, The, 471
 Quarantine and sanitation, 684
 Race war in North Carolina, The, 578
 Recent construction of the Federal Anti-Trust Act, 452
 Recent election and its results, The, 547
 REIN, WILHELM. Culture and education, 693
 Relation of Japan to other nations, The, 427
 ROBERTS, GEORGE E. The increasing supply of gold, 656
 ROYCE, JOSIAH. The new psychology and the consulting psychologist, 80
 Russia, England and, in the Far East, 129
 San Francisco's struggle for good government, 567
 Sanitation, Quarantine and, 684
 SCARBOROUGH, W. S. The educated negro and menial pursuits, 434
 SCHÄFER, DIETRICH. Bismarck, 188
 SCHÄFFLE, ALBERT VON. Germany and Great Britain, 321, 459
 SCHOENHOF, JACOB. Industrial investigations: fallacious statistics, and erroneous generalizations, 229
 School system of Porto Rico, 711
 Seaman, The American, under the law, 718
 Shall we keep the Philippines? 279
 Silver, The free coinage of, by the United States alone, 136
 SMITH, GOLDWIN. The moral of the Cuban War, 282
 Social ethics in the schools, 615
 Society in the Klondyke, 603
 Sociological and ethnical sources of the greatness of Venice, 485
 Some Japanese ways, 673
 Some weak places in our pension system, 306
 Spain, Our war with, from the political point of view, 167
 SPEED, JOHN GILMER. At the New York theatres, 748
 State aid, Good roads and, 668
 Statistics, Fallacious, and erroneous generalizations, 229
 STEVENS, D. W. The relation of Japan to other nations, 427
 Study in nativities, A, 621
 Sudermann, Hermann, 374
 Suffrage, universal, Annexation and, 393
 Tammany past and present, 200
 Theatres, At the New York, 748
 Tramps and hoboos, 217
 Treaty with Spain, The, why it should be ratified, 641
 TRENT, WILLIAM P. The Byron revival, 242
 TRIGGS, OSCAR LOVELL. Democratic art, 66
 TROWBRIDGE, JOHN. The upper regions of the air, 561
 TWAIN, MARK. About play-acting, 143
 United States, The army of the, 513
 United States, The change in English sentiment toward the, 364
 United States, The future relations of Great Britain and the, 521
 Universal suffrage, Annexation and, 393
 Upper regions of the air, The, 561
 VANDERLIP, FRANK A. Lessons of our war loan, 27
 Venice, Sociological and ethnical sources of the greatness of, 485
 War, Amateurs in, 157
 War, The, and the extension of civilization, 650
 War, The moral of the Cuban, 282
 War, Naval lessons of the, 294
 War loan, Lessons of our, 27
 Warfare, The balloon in, 1
 Waring, Col., on the sanitation of Havana, 529

- | | |
|---|--|
| WEESE, TRUMAN A. DE. Journalism:
its rewards and its opportunities,
441
WELLS, BENJAMIN W. Hermann Su-
dermann, 374
West, the Far, Gold and other resources
of, 97
WEST, HENRY LITCHFIELD. Our war | with Spain, from the political point
of view, 167; the race war in North
Carolina, 578
Why the Treaty should be ratified, 61
WILLCOX, DAVID. Recent construction
of the Federal Anti-Trust Act, 452
WYMAN, WALTER. Quarantine and san-
itation, 684 |
|---|--|

11
12
13
14



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